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POMPEY'S PILLAR,

TRAVELS

IN

VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

EUROPE ASIA AND AFRICA

BY

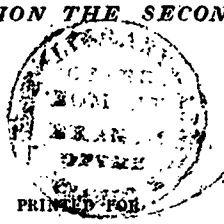
EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE LL.D.

85383

PART THE SECOND

GREECE EGYPT AND THE HOLY LAND

SECTION THE SECOND



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THE PRINCIPAL

COPPER-PLATES, MAPS, AND CHARTS,

IN THIS VOLUME.

TO SERVE AS DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

No. 1. A View of Pompey's Pillar near Alexandria; shewing the mode by which some British Sailors first gained an ascent to the Capital of the Column; from a drawing made upon the spot by Fauvel, etched by Letitia Byrne - - - - - - - *To face the Title.*

The Obelisk of Heliopolis near Caïro; from a drawing made upon the spot by the Author, etched by L. Byrne - - - *To face page* 102

Entrance to the principal Pyramid of Djïza; altered from Denon, and etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - 136

4. Hieroglyphic Tablet, as it was discovered at Saccára, closing the mouth of one of the Catacombs or Mummy-Pits; from a design by the Author, etched by Elizabeth Byrne - - - - - - 172

5. Lares, Beads, Amulets, &c. found at Saccára; designed from the Originals by I. B. Harraden, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - 176

6. Antiquities found at Saïs; from a drawing by Harraden, etched by L. Byrne, 214

7. Fac-Simile of an entire Hieroglyphic Tablet, as found at Saïs in the Delta, taken with printer's ink by an impression upon the original Stone, and afterwards etched by L. Byrne - - - - - 220

8. Inverted position of Hieroglyphics, as seen upon the four sides of the square mass of brecca beneath the Pedestal of Pompey's Pillar; from a sketch by the author, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - 260

9. A Plan of the Catacombs of Necropolis at Alexandria, as surveyed by the French; engraved by Neele from a drawing made by the Reverend George Wilkins - - - - - - - - - - - 286

No. 10. View of the Island of Rhodes, as taken by the Author in latitude 36°. 10'. from the deck of a Turkish Frigate, distant about twenty miles from *Lindo*; etched by L. Byrne - - - - *To face p.* 316

11. Entrance to the Bay of Marmorice, bearing north, with a View of the Coast of Caria, opposite Rhodes; from a sketch by the Author, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - 320

12. Head-Lands visible at sea; in one plate, viz.

1. Amorgos at sun-set Oct. 12, bearing s. w and by w. distant thirty miles.
2. Boccaze of Samos, bearing N. E. and by E. distant fifteen miles.
3. Boccaze between Andros and Tenos, bearing N. E. and by E. distant ten miles; from outlines by the Author, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - 366

13. Portal of a Temple of Bacchus near Naxos, with a View of the Town and Harbour of Naxos; designed by H. Wright, Esq. from a sketch made by the Author, and etched by E. Byrne - - - - - 398

14. The Parthenon at Athens; from a drawing made upon the spot by Preaux, etched by E. Byrne - - - - - - - - 488

15. The Erecthéum at Athens; from a drawing by Preaux etched by L. Byrne, 498

16. The Odéum of Regilla, at Athens, built by Herodes Atticus; with the Acropolis and Parthenon; also a distant View of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, the Choragic Pillars, &c.; from a drawing by Preaux, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - 506

17. Monument of Philopappus, near Athens; from a drawing by Preaux, etched by E. Byrne - - - - - - - - - 544

18. Magnificent Remains of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, at Athens, with a part of Mount Hymettus; from a drawing made upon the spot by Preaux, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - 554

19. Temple of Jupiter Olympius, as seen in the opposite direction, looking towards Athens; with a distant View of the Theatre and *Torso* of Bacchus, the Choragic Pillars, the Acropolis, Parthenon, &c.; from a drawing made upon the spot by Preaux, etched by E. Byrne - - 556

20. An Athenian Lady in the dress commonly worn; engraved by Pollard, 590

21. Master of the Caïque in which the Author navigated the Archipelago, as taken from the life by THEODORE THE CALIUCK; (being a widower, *he wears his beard as a mark of mourning* according to the custom of his island;) engraved by Cooper - - - - - - 594

COPPER-PLATES, MAPS, AND CHARTS.

No. 22. Part of a *terra-cotta* Cornice and Frieze found in the Hieron of Æculapius in Epidauria; from a drawing by W. Wilkins, Senr. Esq. etched by E. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - *To face p.* 622

23. Terra-Cotta Vessels found in the Sepulchres of Peloponnesus; designed from the Originals by Angelica Clarke, etched by E. Byrne - 664

24. Remains of the Temple of Jupiter at Nemea; from a drawing made upon the spot by Preaux, etched by E. Byrne - - - - 714

25. Temple of Octavia at Corinth; from a drawing by Preaux, etched by E. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - - 736

26. An Albanian of Greece, taken from the life; engraved by Pollard, 762

27. View of Eleusis, as it appears in the *Via Sacra* from the Defile of Daphne; from a sketch made by the Author, etched by L. Byrne, 771

28. General Outline of the Route - - *N. B. for the end of the Volume.*

LIST OF THE VIGNETTES.

Page

No. 1. REMAINS of an Edifice with "*pointed arches*," at Acre; from Le Bruyn, etched by E. Byrne - - - - - - - - - 1

2. Arabs raising water from the Nile into their plantations; from Denon, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - - 28

3. Tombs of the Sultans near Caïro; from Denon, etched by L. Byrne - 68

4. Entrance to the *Amnis Trajanus* from the Nile; from Denon, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - - - 96

5. Remarkable form of one of the Pyramids of Saccára; as designed by the Author, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - 151

6. Antient Egyptian Sepulchre having the hemispherical form of the Primeval Mound; from a sketch made by the Author, etched by L. Byrne - 159

7. Transition from the shape of the Primeval Mound, in antient sepulchres, to the more artificial structure of the Pyramids; designed by the Author, engraved on wood by Austin - - - - - - 160

8. Antient Peribolus of Saïs, formed by high mounds of earth, as seen from the Nile; from a sketch by the Author, etched by L. Byrne - - 198

9. View of the Obelisks called *Cleopatra's Needles*; from Denon, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - - - 236

10. Land around Aboukir, and a bird's-eye View of the Town; from Denon, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - - 298

LIST OF THE VIGNETTES.

		Page
No. 11.	Map of Patmos; altered from Tournefort, engraved by Neele -	334
12.	Map of Paros, Antiparos, &c. from the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*; engraved by Neele - - - - - - - - -	377
13.	The first sight of Athens, seven leagues distant, as presented to persons sailing from *Sunium* to the *Piræeus*; sketched by the Author, etched by L. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - -	434
14.	Plan of Athens, from a drawing by W. Wilkins, Jun. Esq. engraved by Neele - - - - - - - - - - - -	462
15.	Charon, with Mercury, conducting a Female Soul to the Shades; designed from an antient Scarabæan Intaglio by Angelica Clarke, engraved by Pollard - - - - - - - - - - - -	516
16.	View from the Parthenon at sunset; etched by L. Byrne, from a drawing made by the Author - - - - - - - - - -	576
17.	Headlands viewed from the summit of Hymettus, bearing South and by West; a Wood-cut by Austin, after the Author's outline done upon the spot - - - - - - - - - - -	581
18.	Ruined Structure now occupying the site of the Temple of Apollo, upon Mount *Cynortium*, in the Hieron of Æsculapius, in Epidauria; from a drawing made by the Author upon the spot, etched by L. Byrne -	597
19.	Propylæa of Mycenæ; from a drawing by Sir William Gell, etched by E. Byrne - - - - - - - - - - - -	653
20.	Silver Medal of Stymphalus in Arcadia; from a drawing by J. A. Carr, Jun. Esq. engraved by Cooper - - - - - - - -	709
21.	Map of the Isthmus of Corinth; shewing the site of the Isthmian solemnities, the Antient Vallum, the Canal of Nero, &c.; from an original survey made by the Author, engraved by Mutlow - -	741

*** *The Binder is cautioned, in cutting the edges, to beware of injuring the Plates.*

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONTENTS.

PART II. SECT. II.

PREFACE *to the Second Section of Part the Second.*

Catalogue of PLATES, MAPS, *and* CHARTS. *List of the* VIGNETTES.

REMARKS ON THE LIBRARIES OF GREECE

BY THE REV. R. WALPOLE, M.A.

With an account of the CATALOGUE *of* BOOKS *now preserved in the* MONASTERY *of* PATMOS, *as it was copied for the* MARQUIS of SLIGO.

CHAP. I.

VOYAGE FROM SYRIA TO EGYPT.

P. 1.

The Romulus makes preparation for sailing—The Author takes leave of Djezzar—Further Account of Acre—Existence of the POINTED ARCH *in the Holy Land, and elsewhere in the East—Anecdote of Deare, an English Sculptor—Voyage to Egypt—Accident which befel the Romulus—Arrival at Aboukir—The Braakel receives Orders to convoy a Squadron to Marseilles—French Prisoners—Author narrowly escapes being conveyed to France—Discovery of the Worship of Astaroth upon Mount Libanus—Dangerous Passage of the Bar at the Mouth of the Nile—Fort St. Julian—State of Affairs in Rosetta—Price of Provisions—Manufacture of Coffee—Curious Remains of Pointed Arches—Probable Consequence of the Interruption of the Mecca Pilgrimage—Exhibition of the* PSYLLI, *or Serpent-Eaters.*

CHAP. II.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE TO GRAND CAIRO.

P. 28.

*Example afforded by a Naval Officer—Inaccuracy in the Maps of Egypt—Triple Harvest of the Delta—Mode of raising Water from the Nile—Summer Habits of the Egyptian Arabs—*FICUS SYCAMORUS*—Etesian Winds—*MOTUBIS*—Dancing Women—*DEBE*—*SINDION *and* DERRÛL*—Turkish Cavalry—Arab Customs—*FOUA*—*RACHMANIE*—Description of the Country—Diseases—Facility of visiting Upper Egypt—*KOUM SCHERIFF*—*AMRUS*—Birds—Singular Animal Appearance—Plants—*EL BUREDGIAT*—Remarkable Phænomenon—Tumblers—Abundance of Corn—Southern Point of the Delta—Arrival at* BULAC*—View of the Pyramids—Visit to the Reis Effendi—House of the French Institute—Jewel Market—Interior of Caïro—Jugglers—Trees—Incense—Gum Arabic—Plagues of Egypt—Statistics of Caïro—British Army from India—Dinner given by the Commander-in-chief—Discovery made by Brahmins in Upper Egypt—Examination of an Abyssinian concerning Bruce's Travels—Fidelity of that Traveller's Observations confirmed.*

CHAP. III.

GRAND CAIRO.

P. 68.

Arabic Language, as spoken in Egypt—Dress of the Women in Caïro—State of Society—Houses—Gardens—Ceremony of Ululation in honour of the Dead—Exaggerated descriptions of the Country—Supposed Sacrifice of a Virgin to the Nile—Book Market—Antient Medals in circulation—Custom of the Arabs in passing a Bridge—Appearance of Women in the Streets—Enormities practised by the Turks—Extortions—Discovery of a curious Manuscript—Citadel—Pointed Arches—Interesting Inscription—Mosaic Painting—Present State of the Art—Joseph's Well—Origin of the Citadel—View from the Ramparts.

CHAP. IV.

HELIOPOLIS, AND THE PYRAMIDS OF DJIZA.

P. 96.

Passage along the Canal—Visit to Heliopolis—*Matarea—Pillar of* On—*Style of the Hieroglyphics—Intelligence concerning them—their Archetypes—*Crux ansata—*its meaning explained—Of the* Hieralpha *and the* Testudo—*Other Symbols—Kircher—History of the Obelisk—Minerals of the Arabian Desert—Doubtful origin of Egyptian Jasper—Petrifactions—Dates & corn—*Almehs—*Of the Alleluïa & cry of lamentation—Voyage to the* Pyramids—*Appearance presented by the principal Pyramid—Objects seen from the Summit—nature of the Limestone used in its construction—Extraneous Fossil described by Strabo—Mortar—Labours of the French Army—Theft committed by an Arab—Visit to the interior of the larger Pyramid—Notions entertained of its violation—Its passages—Observation at the* Well—*Examination of some inferior Channels—Chamber of the Sepulchre—*The Soros—*its demolition attempted—*The Sphinx—*its surface found to be painted—Discovery of an Antient Inscription—Custom of painting antient Statues—Extract from* Pauw.

CHAP. V.

PYRAMIDS OF SACCARA.

P. 151.

*Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids—Audience of the Vizier—Voyage to Saccara—Nocturnal Festivities of an Arab Village—Appearance of the Country to the South of Caïro—*Indigofera—*Situation of Memphis—*Tumulus *seen among the Pyramids—The most antient Sepulchres not pyramidal—Village of Saccara—Difference between the Pyramids of Saccara and those of Djiza—Descent into the Catacombs—Notion founded on a passage in Herodotus—Evidence for the Horizontal Position*

Position of the Bodies—Difficulty of ascertaining the truth—Repository of Embalmed Birds—Cause of their Interment—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Antelope—Antiquities found by the Arabs—Horses of the Country—Theft detected—History of the Pyramids—Manner of the Investigation—Age of those Structures—Their Sepulchral Origin—Possible Cause of the violation of the principal Pyramid—Historical Evidence concerning the building of Pyramids in Egypt—Further view of the subject—Hermetic Sitlæ—Mexican Pyramids.

CHAP. VI.

GRAND CAIRO TO ROSETTA.

P. 198.

Monastery of the Propagandists—Marriage Procession—Visit to the Reis Effendi—First Intelligence concerning the Alexandrian SOROS—*Preparation for Departure—Arrival of the Covering for the* Caaba *at Mecca—Escape of four Ladies—Passage down the Nile—Chemical Analysis of the Water and Mud of the River—Remains of the City of* SAÏS—*Antiquities—Bronze Reliques—Aratriform Sceptre of the Priests and Kings of Egypt—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Enumeration of the Archetypes—Curious Torso of an antient Statue—Triple Hierogram with the Symbol of the* Cross *—its meaning explained—Mahallet Abouali—Berinbal—Ovens for hatching Chickens—Tombs at Massora Shibrecki—Birds—Arrival at Rosetta—Mr. Hammer sails for England—State of Rosetta at this season of the year.*

CHAP. VII.

ROSETTA TO ALEXANDRIA.

P. 236.

Voyage to Aboukir—Visit to Lord Keith—Journey to Alexandria—Arrival at the British camp—Communication with Lord Hutchinson—Entrance into the French garrison—Wretched state of the inhabitants—Visit from a party of Merchants—Discovery of the Tomb of Alexander—*Circumstances of its removal by the French—Its situation upon the Author's arrival—Internal evidence of its authenticity—Other antiquities collected by the French—Cleopatra's Needles—*Pompey's Pillar *—Discovery of the Inscription—Sepulchral origin of the Column—Manner of its support—Proof that it was erected by the Romans—Restoration of the legend upon the pedestal—Events that occurred after the death of Pompey—Shrine constructed by Cæsar—Testimony of the Arabian Historians—Hadrian's monument to his—Traditionary name of the Pillar founded on historical evidence—Interview with Menou—Surrender of the Rosetta Tablet—Intercourse between the armies—French Institute—Catacombs of Necropolis—*Serapeum *of* Racotis—*Of* Hades *and of* Ammon—*Cause of such elaborate sepulchres—Descent into the* Cryptæ—*Remarkable Symbol—Imperfect accounts of the Alexandrian Antiquities—Conduct of the Capudan Pasha.*

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDRIA TO COS.

P. 298.

Preparations for leaving Egypt—Journey to Aboukir—Cities of Nicopolis, Taposiris Parva, *and* Canopus—*Uncertainty of their topography*—Thonis—*Changes which have taken place upon the coast*—Heraclium—*Aboukir Bay—Turkish Frigate—Persons composing her Crew—Discipline at Sea—Bay of Finica—Meteoric Phænomena—Eastern coast of Rhodes—Lindus—Southern shores of Asia Minor—Bay of Marmora—Rhodes—Cos—Town of Stanchio—Situation of the French Consul—Antient sculpture—Inscriptions*—Asclepiéum—*Votive offerings—Singular article of the Mahometan Law—Population, commerce, and produce of Cos.*

CHAP. IX.

COS TO PATMOS.

P. 334.

Messenger from the Vizier—Botanical discoveries—Casiot vessel—Antient custom of singing Vespers—Leria *and* Lepsia—*Arrival at* Patmos—*Critical situation of a part of the French army—Monastery of St. John—Library—Ignorance of the Monks—Manuscripts—Discovery of the* Patmos Plato—*Other valuable Works—Manuscript in the hand-writing of* Alexius Comnenus—*State of the island—Antient Medals—Extensive prospect—Holy Grotto—Dinner given by the French Officers—Barthelemy—Women of the island—Bells—Stratagem for obtaining the Greek Manuscripts—Fruitless attempt to leave the island—View of* Samos—Icaria—*Western port of* Patmos—*Geological phænomena—Plants and animals—Marble* Cippi—*Departure from* Patmos—*Prognostics of Greek mariners.*

CHAP. X.

PATMOS TO PAROS.

P. 377.

Gale of wind—Vessel driven to the south of Naxos—Panormo—Independent Shepherds—Appearance of the island—Minerals—Naxian Boccaze—Town of Naxos—Manuscripts—Inhabitants—Population—Antiquities—Inscriptions—Sculpture—Medals—Gems—Colossal Statue—Temple of Bacchus—Other Ruins—Smeriglio—*Arrival at Paros*—Parechia—*Castle—Inscriptions—Ship stranded—Antiparos—Grotto—its possible origin—mode of descent—description of the interior—Nature of the Stalactites—manner of their deposition—Paradoxical Phænomena—Crystallization of Alabaster*—Arragonite—*Visit of the French Ambassador*—Oliaros—*Antient Quarry of Parian Marble*—Marpessus—*Cause of the prevalence of Parian Marble in Grecian Sculpture—Marvellous skill of the Antients in working the Quarries—Bas-relief—Explanation of the Inscription—Origin of the work—Evidence it affords—Theory of Crystallization.*

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND SECTION OF PART THE SECOND.

THIS further addition to the SECOND PART of these Travels, will enable the Reader to form a tolerable estimate of the probable compass of the entire Work: and it may serve to prove, that the author, if he should live to complete his undertaking, has not exceeded his original estimate, in the account of a journey through forty-five degrees of longitude, and nearly forty of latitude. By the endeavours made to concentrate the subject, he may perhaps sometimes have omitted observations which a particular class of Readers would have preferred to those which have been inserted. He has sometimes, for example, sacrificed statistical notices, that he might introduce historical information, where Antient History is pre-eminently interesting; and again, on the other hand, he has purposely omitted much that he had written on the subject of Antiquities, that he might insert a few remarks upon the Egyptian and Grecian scenery, and upon the manners of the people. General observations, as applied to the inhabitants of Greece, cannot well

be made: it would be a vain undertaking to characterize in one view such a various population. Throughout every part of the country there may be observed, not only a difference of morals and of habits, but also peculiarities of religion and of language. In the mixed society of one island, the *Italian* character seems to predominate; in another, *Turks* or *Albanians* have introduced their distinctions of manners and customs. Perhaps this may be one of the causes which, added to the fine climate of the country, and to its diversified landscape, communicate such a high degree of cheerfulness during a journey or a voyage in Greece: for whether the traveller be upon its continent, or visiting its islands, a succession of new objects is continually presenting itself; and in places which are contiguous in situation, he may witness a more striking change, both as to natural and to moral objects, than would be found in other countries, for example in Russia, if he were to traverse a very considerable portion of the globe[1]. After all, an author, in the arrangement of his materials, cannot be supposed capable of making any exact calculation, as to what his Readers may deem it proper for him to omit, or to insert: but so far as experience has enabled the writer of these Travels to determine, he has endeavoured to obviate former objections; first, by disposing into the form of Notes all extraneous matter and all citations; and secondly, by compressing even these, as much as possible, both

(1) "Where'er we tread, 'tis haunted, holy ground,
And one vast realm of wonder spreads around."
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, p. 105. *Lond.* 1805.

both by diminishing the size of the type, and by the omission of Latin interpretations of Greek authors, which are often erroneous. With regard, however, to the numerous additions made to his Work in the form of Notes, it may be proper to state, once for all, that they are exclusively his own, with the exception of the extracts made from the *Manuscript Journals* of his Friends: and when these occur, the name of the traveller has always been added, to whom the author is indebted for the passage inserted. He has been induced to mention this circumstance, that no person may be made responsible for any of those errors and imperfections which belong solely to himself.

In addition to the *Manuscript Journal* of Mr. WALPOLE, this part of the Work will be found to contain also a few Extracts made from the posthumous Papers of the late Lieutenant-colonel JOHN SQUIRE, of the corps of Royal Engineers; who met with a melancholy fate, in the service of his country, at *Truxillo* in Spain, in the thirty-third year of his age. The death of COLONEL SQUIRE was owing to a fever occasioned by excessive fatigue at the siege of *Badajoz*. Never was the loss of any officer more deeply and sincerely lamented by his friends and fellow-soldiers. To be employed in fighting the battles of his country was his ruling passion; and in fighting them he had been nobly engaged for the last thirteen years of his life. During that space of time, he served on the several expeditions to the *Helder*, to *Egypt*, to *South America*, to *Sweden*, under Sir J. Moore, to *Portugal* and *Spain*, under the same general, to *Zealand*, and a second time to the *Spanish Peninsula*, where he terminated his honourable career. The active mind of Colonel Squire

Squire did not content itself with the acquirements proper to his profession only, but was impelled by a large and liberal curiosity to obtain every sort of useful or of interesting knowledge. In all the countries which he visited, he kept a full and accurate journal not only of military affairs, but of every thing else either curious or important. It is to Colonel Squire that the literary world owes the discovery of the Inscription upon the pedestal of *Pompey's Pillar* near *Alexandria*, which had eluded the ingenuity of all former travellers.

The *Catalogue* of the *Patmos Library*, communicated by the MARQUIS of SLIGO; and the Remarks made by Mr. WALPOLE, not only upon that Catalogue, but also upon the *Libraries of Greece*; will, it is hoped, be considered as valuable additions to this Work. The author is desirous also to mention his obligation to the last of these Gentlemen, for the assistance he has rendered in the illustration of many of the Inscriptions. Nor can he pass in silence the advantages he has derived from the *Manuscript Journal* of his friend and companion, Mr. CRIPPS; particularly in that part of his Travels which relates to EGYPT; where the continuation of his own narrative was often interrupted by fatigue or by illness.

A more

(1) The original copy is written in the form usually adopted by the Modern Greeks in their cursive style; abounding in contractions, and containing many orthographical errors. If the Reader only direct his attention to the title of one Manuscript therein mentioned, namely, that of *Diodorus Siculus*, he will be convinced of the importance of making further inquiry into the state of the *Patmos* Library; such, for example, as the French Nation caused to be instituted, when they despatched the celebrated Hellenist, *Villoison*, to the Monasteries of *Mount Athos*.

A more accurate representation of the appearance of antient Inscriptions upon Greek Marbles, than had appeared in former books of travels, it is presumed has been adopted. For this purpose, a new species of type was invented by the author, and used in former publications. It has already received the approbation of literary men; the Society of Antiquaries having applied to the University of Cambridge for the loan of these types, when engaged in publishing the late Professor Porson's restoration of the celebrated *Rosetta* Inscription. Considerable attention has also been paid towards making improvement in the Plates; and a new mode of representing *Hieroglyphics* will be found in the *Fac-simile* of a Tablet discovered among the Ruins of *Saïs*.

It may, perhaps, be deemed a bold acknowledgment to confess, that the account of *Heliopolis*, and of the *Memphian Pyramids*, was written without consulting a single page of Jacob Bryant's "Observations upon the Antient History of Egypt." The author has, however, since bestowed all the attention he could command, upon that learned Work; and the perusal of it has made known to him, the source of Larcher's opinion concerning a *Pseudo-Heliopolis* in *Arabia*, together with his reasons for placing the renowned city of that name in the *Delta*, although the French writer did not acknowledge whence they were derived. Now the whole of Larcher's pretended discovery, and of Bryant's most elaborate dissertation, may be reduced to a single query; namely, Whether we are at liberty to alter the received text of an antient author, in such a manner, as to transpose the

names

names of two *Nomes*[1]? If we be not allowed this freedom, the opinions thereby deduced have no weight. After all the labour bestowed upon the subject, the truth must rest upon the examination of a few brief extracts from Herodotus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus, as compared with the modern geography and existing antiquities of Egypt, with which Bryant was but little acquainted. It will always be urged, to use his own words[2], that "Strabo was upon the spot, and very inquisitive, and very minute and diligent in his description;" and that "we cannot suppose him to have been grossly mistaken." Bryant believed that the whole space between the *Pelusiac* branch of the Nile and the *Red Sea* was such a sandy waste, that the Israelites never could have inhabited it: although he confesses that "the Jews, who, during the Captivity, betook themselves to this country, thought it no despicable spot to settle in:" and although the present cities of *Old* and *New Caïro*, by their situation, prove that this district has now the preference, he asserts that there were "no *Nomes*, nor places of any repute," in that part of Egypt[3]. "When they were occupied," says he,

(1) *Heliopolites* and *Latopolites*.

(2) *Observations upon Antient History*, *p.* 120. *Lond.* 1767. *So also*, *p.* 123 (Note). "Strabo's authority must be valid: he was an eye-witness of what he speaks of; and seems to have been very inquisitive and exact." Strabo does, however, sometimes describe countries of which he was ignorant, from the reports and writings of others; as in the account he gives of *Argolis* in *Peloponnesus*, where he acknowledges this, and proves his want of information, by affirming that there existed in his time no remains of the city of *Mycenæ*.

(3) See Observations, &c. p. 109.

he[4], "it was chiefly by foreigners, who obtained leave of the princes of Egypt to take up their habitation within them." Wherefore it should appear that the presumed allotment of this territory to the Israelites would be strictly consistent with the antient usages of the country.

The positions of *Heliopolis*, and of the places near to that city, in *Arabia*, are by no means doubtful; since they are always mentioned together, and in the clearest manner, by Herodotus, by Strabo, by Josephus, by Ptolemy, and by Antoninus, in his Itinerary. Cellarius places *Phacusa*, *Bubastus*, and *Heliopolis*, in ARABIA; upon the authority of Ptolemy. Bryant censures him for so doing; and knowing nothing of the rich borders of *Arabia*, accuses him[5] of stationing provinces "*in the deserts.*" The authority of Cellarius ought not to be superseded by the mere opinion even of such a scholar as Bryant; especially if that opinion be unsupported by matter of fact; and in this instance the principle of the "*malim errare*" is very admissible. The evidences for the position of *Heliopolis*, as deduced from Herodotus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus, are as follow.

"To one going upwards from *Heliopolis*," says Herodotus[6], "Egypt is narrow, owing to the Mountain of Arabia. In this mountain are the quarries whence the stones were taken

(4) See Observations, &c. p. 107. (5) Ibid. p. 112. Note 7.

(6) Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιουπόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, στεινή ἐστι Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, κ. τ. λ. ἐν τῷ καὶ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι, αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. Herodoti Euterpe, c. viii. pp. 92, 93. *Lond.* 1679.

taken for building the Pyramids of Memphis." The mountain, mentioned by Herodotus in this passage, is evidently *Mokatam:* and *Letopolis, Latopolis,* or *Litopolis,* which Bryant thinks[1] derived its name from those quarries (q.d. ΛΙΘΟΠΟΛΙΣ), being near to it, is mentioned with *Heliopolis* by other writers. We may now consider the circumstances of association under which *Heliopolis* is noticed by Strabo[2]:— "These places (*Phacusa* and *Phithom*) are near to the vertex of the *Delta:* there is the city of *Bubastus* and the *Bubastic Nome*; and beyond this[3] the *Nome of Heliopolis,* where the *City of the Sun* is situated." After describing the temple and the antiquities of the city, he continues by giving a description of the Nile beyond the *Delta*; speaking of *Libya* as being upon his *right,* and *Arabia* upon his *left.* Then he adds this remarkable observation: "Wherefore the *Heliopolitan Nome* is in *Arabia.*" After this, he introduces the *Litopolitan Nome* and the *Babylonian fortress,* as next in succession to the *Heliopolitan* upon the *Arabian side* of the river.

This position of the *Nomes* in Lower Egypt is equally authorised by Ptolemy. He enumerates them as they occurred from *north* to *south*[4], after Strabo's method of description;

(1) See Observ. upon Ant. Hist. p. 123. Note 5. *Lond.* 1767.

(2) Οὗτοι δ' οἱ τόποι πλησιάζουσι τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Δέλτα. Αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡ Βουβαστὸς πόλις, καὶ ὁ Βουβαστίτης νομός· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡλιοπολίτης νομός. Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου πόλις, κ. τ. λ. Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1141. edit. *Oxon.* 1807.

(3) Ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ: Sic MS. Par. Med. iv. Vid. p. 1141. ed. *Oxon.*.

(4) Vid. Ptolem. Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. *Paris,* 1546.

description; giving them in this order;—"the *Bubastic Nome*, and its metropolis BUBASTUS: the *Heliopolitan Nome*, and its metropolis HELIOPOLIS." These, together with *Aphroditopolis*, he places in *Arabia*[5].

The same position is assigned to them by the Itinerary of Antoninus:

IN ARABIA.

Aphroditopolis.
Scenas Mandras . . M. P. XX.
Babylon . . . . . M. P. XII.
Heliu . . . . . M. P. XII.

Other evidence to the same effect, if necessary, may be deduced from Diodorus Siculus, and from Josephus.

In the observations upon *Alexandria*, some additional remarks will be found concerning the *Soros of Alexander the Great*, so fortunately added to the trophies of our victories in EGYPT, in the very moment when it was clandestinely conveying to *Paris*. Since the original publication of the *Testimonies* respecting this most interesting monument, the Editors of the Edinburgh Encyclopedia have considered the evidence as decisive; and have, by means of their valuable work, given it a passport to the notice of posterity, which the writings of the author were little likely to afford. Occasionally, indeed, it has been urged, that some unknown personage, belonging to the British

(6) Ἐν μεθορίῳ Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἀφροδιτοπόλεως, Βαβυλῶν, Ἡλιούπολις. Ptolem. Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. *Paris*, 1546.

British Museum, does not concur in the opinion thus maintained concerning this remarkable relique. The author has been sometimes asked, Why it is not called the *Soros of Alexander*, in the Catalogue of Antiquities put into the hands of strangers who visit that stately repository? How shall he venture to answer so formidable an interrogation? May he not also propose another, equally redoubtable? it is this: Why has even the historical evidence, touching its discovery, been so unaccountably omitted? Wherefore has the circumstance been withheld from notice, that the Arabs held it in traditionary veneration, as the TOMB OF ALEXANDER? The reason why it has not received the appellation of a *Soros* is easily explained. The meaning of this word had never been duly understood[1], when the Tomb arrived in England; although this is precisely the name given by Herodian to the conditory of Alexander's body; neither had it then been heeded, that what Herodian termed a *Soros*, Juvenal, according to a custom of the Romans, mentioned by Augustinus[2], had himself alluded to under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*[3]: nay, so remarkable was the ignorance of a few persons who opposed the opinion now entertained of this *Soros*, that because it had, at a later period, served as a *cistern* in Egypt, they doubted its original *sepulchral use*; and some even ventured to deny, in direct contradiction of all history, that

(1) This can only be disproved by shewing that in some publication dated anterior to 1805 this word had its real signification.

(2) "Quia enim arca in quâ mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam Σαρκοφάγον vocant, Σορὸς dicitur Græcè." *Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib.* xviii. *c.* 5.

(3) "*Sarcophago* contentus erit."—— *Juvenal.*

that Alexander was buried in *Alexandria*[4]. When the Catalogue appeared, in which the Antiquities are enumerated, finding that it had not been deemed advisable to state any particulars, even regarding the modern history of the Alexandrian *Soros*, and that the remarkable fact of its being considered by the Arabs as the *Tomb of the Founder of their City* had been suppressed, the author wrote to request, that a few copies of a Letter he had addressed to the Gentlemen of the British Museum upon the subject, might be distributed *gratis* by the porter at the door: but he was answered, that this would not be approved. The question may therefore now rest,—and, as it is humbly conceived, not on the test of *authority*, but of *evidence*. If mere authority could have any weight, the author might safely adduce the opinions which have fallen, not from private individuals, but from illustrious and renowned men; from a PORSON, and a PARR, and a ZOUCH[5]; from scholars of the highest eminence both at home and abroad; who have approved his testimony, and have aided and encouraged him in making it public. It is upon the *evidence* alone that this question can be decided; and this is so simple, and so conclusive, that it is open to every apprehension. It merely amounts to this: Whether the Cistern held sacred by the Arabs

(4) For the removal of the body from *Memphis* to *Alexandria*, see Quintus Curtius, Pausanias, &c. &c. Καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μέμφιδος. Pausan. Attica, c. vii. p. 17. edit. *Kuhnii. Lips.* 1696.

(5) *Dr. Zouch's* opinion upon this subject occurs in a Letter written by the present *Earl of Lonsdale* to the *Rev. J. Satterthwaite*, of Jesus College, Cambridge, Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty; who communicated it to the author. Although the testimony of such a scholar as *Dr. Zouch* (with whom the author had no personal acquaintance) be

Arabs as the conditory of Alexander, be, or be not, the *sort of receptacle* which Historians teach us to believe did contain his body. Any one who had read even such a compilation as '*Purchas his Pilgrims*,' and had therein found it stated, probably from Leo Africanus, that in *Alexandria* there "*yet remaineth a little Chappell, wherein they say that the high Prophet, and King Alexander the Great lies buried*," would surely have been curious to inquire what was really exhibited by the Arabs as the Tomb of the founder of their city: and if, during its examination, this turn out to be nothing of Arabian workmanship, but in reality the particular kind of Tomb which Historians have actually ascribed to Alexander,—a *Soros*, as it is mentioned by Herodian[1], covered

be highly flattering, yet it is hoped that the insertion of it may be pardoned; as it alludes to a fact of some importance in the evidence concerning *Alexander's Tomb*; namely, the remarkable allusion made to the *Soros* by JUVENAL (who himself visited Egypt), under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*.

Lord Lonsdale's Letter is as follows; it was dated

"*Cottesmere, Jan.* 16. 1806.

"My Dear Sir,

"As Dr. Zouch's opinion of Dr. Clarke's history of the Tomb of Alexander may not be unacceptable to you, I send you the following Extract from a Letter I received from him a few days ago."

"I have been much gratified with reading a history of the Tomb of Alexander by Dr. Clarke, of Jesus College, Cambridge. Indeed I scarcely laid down the volume until I had gone through it. *He seems to have proved his point*; at least to have rendered it highly probable, that the precious monument deposited in the British Museum is what he thinks it to be. I cannot but believe that *Juvenal* expressly alludes to this splendid Tomb, in which the remains of the Macedonian Hero were interred:

'Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem
Sarcophago contentus erit.'——

(1) In describing the visit paid to it by Caracalla, who placed upon it his purple vest;—ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου ΣΟΡΩΙ. *Vid. Herodian. Hist. lib.* iv. *Hist. Rom. Script. op. H. Steph.* 1568.

covered with hieroglyphics; being an inscription[1] in the *sacred writing*[2] of the Priests, by whom it had been more antiently guarded and revered;—if this prove to be the case, it will be found a very difficult matter to prevent the public from identifying such a relique, however unsuitable the consequence may be, to the views and feelings of any private individual, or set of individuals, belonging to the British Museum. Powerful evidence bears down all opposition;—it asks not for *opinion*; it demands *assent*.

It has indeed been urged, that other conditories of the same kind were found in Alexandria; one of a similar description being now placed with the Alexandrian *Soros* in the British Museum: but this is *not true:* and even if it were, no other can lay claim to the tradition which so remarkably distinguished this. The other antiquities alluded to, came from *Caïro*, and from *Upper Egypt:* that, in particular, now placed by the side of this, is the well-known Cistern which was formerly called the "*Lover's Fountain*," and stood near to the Castle of *Kallat el Kabsh* in *Grand Caïro*[3]. Other remains of the same nature, less perfectly preserved, came from *Upper Egypt*; whence they were brought by the French to *Alexandria*.

It had been somewhat loosely affirmed, that the Egyptians always buried their dead in an upright posture: and the author, noticing this egregious error in his "Testimonies concerning

(2) Τοῖς τε Ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. See the Inscription on the Rosetta Stone.

(3) See a correct representation of it, as engraved in Bowyer's Work, entitled *Sir Robert Ainslie's Collection of Views in Egypt, &c. from Drawings by Luigi Mayer.*

concerning Alexander's Tomb," maintained that the opinion could neither be reconciled with the appearance of the Tombs of the Kings of *Thebes*, nor with the evidence afforded by the principal Pyramid at *Memphis*[1]. Since that publication appeared, Mr. Hamilton has incontestably proved that the affirmation was *loose indeed*, for that the Egyptians *never* buried their dead in an upright posture[2]. A writer, however, in one of the Monthly Journals[3], attacked the author for having disputed, although upon his own ocular demonstration, the *upright* position of the bodies. "Surely," said he, "it will surprise the reader to learn, that one of the principal writers by whom the fact above alluded to has so *loosely been affirmed*, was Herodotus." It might, indeed, surprise any reader, if this were true: but the assertion is groundless, and altogether founded upon the most glaring misconception of the text of that author; as it is not only admitted by every scholar, but decidedly manifested by the appearance of the bodies in the sepulchres of Egypt. Herodotus does not say that they were placed upright *in the tombs*, but in the *private houses* of the Egyptians[4], after the persons

(1) Tomb of Alexander. Introd. p. 7. *Camb.* 1805.

(2) See p. 165, Note (8), of this Volume. See also *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, p. 317. *Lond.* 1809. "It was evident," says Mr. Hamilton, "that the bodies had been placed *horizontally*, not *upright*: consequently the passage of Silius Italicus, quoted to assist the contrary supposition, must have alluded to the posture in which the deceased were kept, while yet retained in the houses of their relations." The same is maintained by Pauw: *Philos. Diss. vol.* II. *p.* 39. *Lond.* 1795.

(3) See the Critical Review for July 1805. vol. V. No. 3. p. 276.

(4) See Pauw, Philos. Dissert. vol. II. p. 39. *Lond.* 1795.

persons employed to embalm the body had delivered it into the care of the relatives. It is well known that the Egyptians frequently kept the bodies of their dead, after the funeral rites were performed, for a long time in this manner in their dwellings. Sometimes they made them to be present at their feasts[5]. And hence it is, that Herodotus, alluding to this practice, says, the relations take the body home, and place it in a chamber appropriated for its reception, "*setting it upright against the wall*[6]." Upon these last words, the absurd notion was founded of its *upright position in the sepulchres of the country*: a notion entirely exploded, and contradicted by the evidence of the sepulchres themselves.

Upon reviewing the observations made upon the Grecian Theatres, the author is aware that they might have been more collectively disposed, instead of being dispersed in different parts of his Work: but the business of a traveller requires, that he should register facts, rather than write dissertations: if his remarks be deemed worth preserving, others will not be wanted, hereafter, to collect the scattered materials, and give them a more connected form.

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(5) ——"Et à mensis exsanguem haud separat umbram." *Sil. Ital. lib.* 13.

(6) Ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον. Herodot. Hist. lib. ii. c. 86. p. 120. *Lond.* 1679.

Cambridge, May 24th, 1814.

CHAP. XI.

PAROS TO ATHENS.

P. 424.

Voyage to Syros—*Affecting Interview—Syra—Plants—Remains of Antient Customs—Gems and medals—State of the Island—Voyage to* Gyarus—*Hydriots—Wretched Condition of Jura—Voyage to* Zia—*Carthæa—Ravages committed by the Russians—Ruins of* Ioulis—*Medals—Hospitality of the modern Greeks—Antient Dances—Produce of Zia—Minerals.—The Author sails for* Athens—*View near the mouth of the* Sinus Saronicus—Sunium—*Temple of* Minerva Sunias—*Anecdote of a Naval Officer*—Patrocleïa—*Other Islands in the Saronic Gulph*—Calaurea—*Albanians—Elimbo—First Sight of Athens*—Zoster *Promontory—Doubtful Story of Minerva's Statue—Arrival at the* Piræeus—*Approach to Athens.*

CHAP. XII.

ATHENS.

P. 462.

Origin of the fabulous Contest between Neptune and Minerva—Antient Sepulchral monument—Excavations at Athens—View of the Cecropian Citadel—Funereal Aspect of the City—Objects in the perspective—State of the Antiquities—*Interesting Relique—Remarks upon entering Athens*—Guilletiere—*Ascent of the Acropolis—Adytum of Pan—Ἱερὰ of the Greeks—Portable Shrines—Statue of Pan—Celebrated Artist—Spoliation of the Temples—Comparison between the Grecian and Roman Buildings*—Athenian, Posidonian, *and* Æginetan *Architecture—Cause of the Injury sustained in the Sculpture of the* Parthenon—*Splendid Representation of the* Panathenæa—*Description of the Work—The* Cothurnus, *and* Petasus *or* Pileus—*Practice of gilding and painting Statues—Marbles used in the Acropolis—Singular Construction of the* Erecthéum—*Of the* Prytanéum—*Temples of* Pandrosus *and* Minerva Polias *Of the Olive, and Well*—Propylæa—*Walls of the Acropolis*—Odéum of Regilla—*General description of the Theatres of Greece*—Areopagus—*Temple of* Theseus.

CHAP. XIII.

ATHENS.

P. 516.

Temple of the Winds—*Unknown Structure of the Corinthian Order—The* Bazar—*Population and Trade of Athens—State of the Arts—Manufacture of Pictures—Monochrome Painting of the Antients—Terra-Cottas—Origin of Painting and Pottery among the Greeks—Medals and Gems—Explanation of the* Amphora *as a symbol upon Athenian Coins*—Ptolemæum—*Antient Marbles*—Theséum—*Grave*

of TWEDDELL—*Description of the Temple*—Areopagus—*Piræean Gate*—Pnyx—*Monument on the* Museum—*Antient Walls*—Theatre and Cave of Bacchus—*Monument of* Thrasyllus—*Choragic Pillars*—*Remarkable Inscription*—*Origin of the Crypt*—*Ice Plant in its native state*—Arch of Hadrian—*its origin*—*when erected*—Temple of Jupiter Olympius—*Discordant accounts of this building*—*reasons for the name assigned to it*—Ilissus—*Fountain* Callirhoë—*False notions entertained of the river*—Stadium Panathenaicum—*Sepulchre of Herodes*—*Hadrian's Reservoir*—Mount Anchesmus—*View from the summit.*

CHAP. XIV.

ATHENS.

P. 568.

Excavations—*Great Antiquity of the Athenian Wells*—*Curious Inscription upon a* Terra-cotta *Lamp*—*Excursion to* Hymettus—*Temple of* Diana—*Monastery*—*Visit to the summit of the mountain*—*Plants*—*Panoramic Survey of the Country*—*Return to* Athens—*Singular Adventure that befel the Author*—*Description of the Ceremonies of the Bath, as practised by the Turkish and Grecian Women*—*Further Observations in the* Acropolis—*Inscriptions*—*Specimen of* Cadmæan Characters—*Additional remarks upon the* Parthenon—*Effect of Sunset behind the mountains of Peloponnesus.*

CHAP. XV.

PELOPONNESUS.

P. 597.

Departure from Athens for the Péloponnessus—*Extraordinary talents of a* Calmuck *Artist*—*Further account of the* Piræeus—*the* "long walls"—*Tomb of* Themistocles—*its situation*—*remains of this monument*—*Objects visible in passing the Gulph*—Ægina—*Temple of* Jupiter Panhellenius—*Antiquities near to the port*—Anchestri *Isle*—*Ignorance of the Pilot*—Epiâda—*Greek Medals*—Arbutus Andrachne—*Appearance of the Country*—Liguriò—Conâk, *or inn*—Coroni—Cathedra *of a Greek Theatre*—Hieron—*Mountains*—*Temple of* Æsculapius—Stadium—*Architectural* Terra-cottas—*Temple of the* Coryphæan Diana—*Temple of* Apollo—*Circular edifice*—*Theatre of* Polycletus—*Epidaurian serpent*—*Aspect of the* Coilon—*Perfect state of the structure*—*dimensions and detail of the parts*—*Journey to* Nauplia—Lissa—*Dorian and Egyptian antiquities*—Arachnæus Mons—Cyclopéa—Nauplia—*House of the Consul*—*Turkish Gazette*—*Public rejoicings*—Athletæ—Pyrrhica—*Population*—*Air*—*Commerce*—*Gipsies*—*Characteristic features of Grecian cities*—Tiryns—*Celtic and Phœnician architecture*—*Origin of the* Cyclopéan *style*—*History of* Tiryns—*character of its inhabitants.*

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. XVI.

PELOPONNESUS.

P. 653.

Further inquiry into the Origin of Tiryns—*Road to Argos*—*River* Inachus—*Plants and minerals*—Argos—Terra-cotta *Vases*—*Ignorance of their Sepulchral use*—*Hecate's Supper*—*Lectisternium*—*Probable cause of depositing Earthen Vessels in Sepulchres*—*Origin of the custom*—*Population of Argos*—*Antiquities*—*Theatre*—Hieron *of* Venus—Diras—Cyclopéa—*Alcyonian Lake*—*Oracular Shrine*—*Other remains of the city*—*Character of the antient Argives*—*View of the Argive Plain*—*Fabulous Contest between Neptune and Juno*—Hieron *of* Ceres Mysias—*Antiquity of* fictile *materials in building*—Mycenæ—*State of the Ruins*—*Extraordinary Sepulchre*—*not the Treasury of Atreus*—*Heroum of Perseus*—Sophocles—*internal evidence of his having visited the spot*—*of the* Δῶμα *and* Προπυλαία—Tomb *of* Agamemnon—*Interior of the* Tumulus—*Enormous lintel*—*Use of the* triangular cavity *above the entrance*—*Inner chamber*—Leonine Gate—*Dimensions and description of the* Propylæa—*Mythological Symbols*—*Consecrated Gates*—*Of the* Pylagoræ—*Ægyptian characteristics*—*Worship of the Sun*—*Walls of* Mycenæ.

CHAP. XVII.

PELOPONNESUS.

P. 709.

Journey to Nemea—*Defile of* Tretus—*Cave of the* Nemeæan Lion—*Fountain of* Archemorus—*Temple of the* Nemeæan Jupiter—*Albanians*—*Monument of* Lycurgus—*Nemeæan River*—Apesas—*Sicyonian Plain*—Sicyon—Theatre—*Prospect from the* Coilon—Stadium—Temple of Bacchus—*Other Antiquities*—*Medals*—*Paved Way*—*Fertility of the land*—Corinth—*Fountain of the Nymph* Pirene—Sisyphéum—*Temple of* Octavia—*Visit to the Governor*—Odéum—*Climate of Corinth.*

CHAP. XVIII.

PELOPONNESUS AND ATTICA.

P. 741.

Visit to the Isthmus—*Remains of the Antient Vallum*—*Canal of* Nero—Lechæum—*Cinerary receptacles in the rocks*—*Remarkable* Tumulus—Acrocorinthus—*Ascent to the Citadel*—Hiera—*Prospect from the Summit*—Hexamillia—*Discovery of the Town of* Isthmus—*Port* Schœnûs—*Temple of* Neptune—Theatre—Stadium—*Sepulchre of* Palæmon—*Trees from which Victors in the* Isthmia *were crowned*—*Extraordinary mart for Grecian Medals*—*Dress of the Levant Consuls*—*Pandæan Horn*—Cenchreæ—*Bath of Helen*—Convangee—Cromyon—*Manners of the Peasants*—Scironian *Defile*—*Boundary between* Peloponnesus *and* Hellas—ΚΑΚΗ ΣΚΑΛΑ—*Entrance of* Hellas—*Causes of the celebrity of* Megara—*The modern town*—*Inscriptions*—*Journey to* Eleusis—Kerata—*Eleusinian Plain*—Acropolis of Eleusis—

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONTENTS.

Eleusis—*Marble Torso*—*The* Flowery Well—*Aqueduct*—Temple of Ceres—*Statue of the Goddess*—*Superstition of the Inhabitants*—*Inscription*—*Sudden departure for* Athens—Via Sacra—*Vast extent of Antient* Thrace—*The* Rhéti—*Eleusinian* Cephissus—*Salt Lake*—*Defile of* Daphne—*The rock called* Pœcile—*Temple of* Venus—*Monastery of Daphne*—Hieron *of* Apollo—*View of Athens at sunset*—*Athenian* Cephissus—*Site of the* Academy—*Arrival at* Athens—*Negotiation with the* Waiwode—*Return to* Eleusis—*Method devised for removing the* Statue of Ceres—*Difficulties encountered*—*Success of the undertaking*—*Further account of* Eleusis—*Long Walls*—*Of the* Rharian *and* Thriasian *Plains*—*Temples of* Triptolemus, *of* Neptune, *and of* Diana Propylæa—*Temple of* Ceres—*Port of* Eleusis—*Antient* Theatre—*Acropolis*—*Return to* Athens.

ADDITIONAL NOTES - - - - P. 794.

APPENDIX, No. I.

P. 799.

Extract from Colonel Squire's MS. *Journal; giving an account of Caiffa, Acre, &c. and of his Interviews with Djezzar Pasha.*

No. II.

P. 806.

On the Discovery by Colonel Capper of the Existence of Antient Pagan Superstitions in Mount Libanus, particularly those which relate to the Worship of Venus.

No. III.

P. 811.

A Catalogue of Books in the Hellenic and in the Romaic Languages, printed at Venice, at the Press of Theodosius of Yanina, with their prices in Venetian Liri and Soldi.

No. IV.

P. 815.

Temperature of the Atmosphere, according to Diurnal Observation made during the Journey; with a corresponding Statement of the Temperature in England during the same period.

No. V.

P. 820.

Names of Places visited in the Author's Route.

REMARKS *on the* LIBRARIES *of* GREECE,

BY THE REV. R. WALPOLE, M. A.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

CATALOGUE *of* BOOKS *now preserved in the* MONASTERY *of* PATMOS,

AS IT WAS COPIED FOR THE MARQUIS OF SLIGO.

These Remarks of Mr. WALPOLE *being too long to be inserted in the Notes, among the Extracts from his MS. Journal, the Author has prefixed them as an appropriate Introduction to this Volume.*

THE names of *Nicholas the Fifth*, of *Francis the First*, of some of the *Medici* family, of *Bessarion*, *Busbeck*[1], and *Peiresc*, are held in just estimation by the lovers of antient literature. By their means, the Libraries of Europe have been furnished with great numbers of valuable Manuscripts, collected with cost and labour, in different parts of the Levant. The first of these persons laid the foundation of the VATICAN LIBRARY, and supplied it with many Manuscripts from Greece. From the same country, *Francis the First*, at the exhortation of *Budæus*, procured many also; particularly from MOUNT ATHOS. The exertions of the *Medicean* family are familiar to every one. *Bessarion*, who died in 1483, had made a collection of Manuscripts at the expense of 30,000 crowns;

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(1) In this manner he writes his own name, always. *Lamb.* l. i. 99. & l. xi. *addit.* p. 1007.

crowns; and his own account of his exertions in the cause of Greek letters is worthy of notice[1]. The Manuscripts purchased by *Busbeck*, during his embassy, are known to every scholar, from the account given of them by *Lambecius*. Many also were obtained in the East by those whom *Peiresc*[2] had sent out; they visited Cyprus, Egypt, and Constantinople; and in the first of these places, portions of *Polybius* and *Nicolaus Damascenus* were found[3].

There is no doubt that Constantinople and Athos have contributed the greatest number of the Manuscripts we possess in different parts of Europe. There were monasteries full of learned men at Byzantium, to a late period; and every monastery had its library. The Turks, on their conquest, did not occasion that indiscriminate destruction which idle declamation has sometimes imputed to them. *Mahomet the Second* secured the Library of the Greek Emperors, which was preserved by his successors, until it

(1) "Cæterùm, non tam magnum numerum librorum quàm optimos et excellentes, deque singulis solummodò unum exemplum studui colligere, unde evenit, ut ferè omnia volumina quæ in ruinis universæ Græciæ remanserant integra, et quæ vix alibi reperiuntur, congesserim." *Cam. Op. Sub. Cent.* 3.

(2) In 1631. See his Life by *Gassendi*.

(3) As many Manuscripts had been collected, at vast expense, in Greece for the Library at BUDA (destroyed by the Turks in 1256), we ought not to omit mentioning it. *Alexander Brassicanus* had seen in it the whole of *Hyperides* with *Scholia*, the Works of many of the Greek Fathers, and of the Classical Writers. From this Library issued parts of *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*. A Manuscript of *Heliodorus*, from which was taken the first edition of the *Æthiopics*, was found by a soldier, and brought to *Vincentius Obsopœus*: it belonged to this Library. *Neander* thus speaks of the collection: "Ex mediâ Græciâ inæstimandis sumptibus emerat Matthias Corvinus rex." *Epist. p.* 10.

it was destroyed by *Amurat* IV.[4] At Byzantium, *Constantine Lascaris* transcribed many of those works which were afterwards placed in the MADRID LIBRARY. In this city were procured those Manuscripts which were left to the ESCURIAL LIBRARY by *Hurtado de Mendoza*; and which had been presented to him by *Soliman the Second*. *Possevin* has given partial Catalogues of some of the Libraries at Constantinople; and a traveller in 1597 mentions a valuable collection which he had seen in that city[5].

With respect to Athos, we find that two hundred Manuscripts are deposited in one library alone[6], brought from the monasteries on the mountain; and a great part of those at Moscow[7] had been collected by the Monk *Arsenius* in Athos, at the suggestion of the Patriarch *Nicon*.

We must add Thessaly, Chios, Corfu, Crete, Cyprus, Chalce (the island in the Propontis), Rhodes, and Epidauria, as places which have supplied some Manuscripts[8]. We should have had much valuable intelligence concerning the libraries in the monasteries of Thessaly, if the life of Professor *Biornstahl* had been prolonged. He had visited all of them; and had resided many days at Triccala, for the express purpose of copying a Greek Manuscript belonging to a monastery. *Biornstahl* was attacked by a fever at the foot

(4) Hist de l'Acad. IV. Jortin's E. H. vol. V.

(5) G. Dousa. It. Const. 71.

(6) Præf. to the Catalogue of the Coislen. Library.

(7) In the Library of the Holy Synod.

(8) See the following references: Diar. Ital. of Montfaucon; Fabric. Bib. Gr. 7. 241; Fabrotus Not. Basilicorum; Bib. Coislen. p. 178; Crusii Turco-Græc. p. 498.

foot of Mount Olympus: here he was obliged to continue ten days, without medical assistance; and was then taken to Salonica, where he died, in July 1779[1].

Notwithstanding our acquisitions are already great, we should not intermit our researches in the Levant. Many Manuscripts may be saved by them from destruction. "I myself," says Dr. *Covell*, "have seen vast heaps of Manuscripts (for I never found them on shelves, or in good order) of the Fathers and other learned authors, in the monasteries at Mount Athos, and elsewhere, all covered over with dust and dirt, and many of them rotted and spoiled[2]." An inquiry should be made into the truth of what was stated to *Hemsterhusius* by some Greeks[3], "that part of the Comedies of *Menander* was still in existence." Application might be made to the Greek Nobles of the Phanar, many of whom are versed in Antient Greek, and who are probably the possessors of some valuable Manuscripts. Parts of the First Book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of *Eusebius* were printed by *Fabricius*[4] from a Manuscript belonging to Prince *Mavrocordato;* and a copy of the Greek Orators, now in England, was the property of a Greek Noble.

It

(1) From a Writer of the date 1557, we have an important notice respecting a library on Mount Olympus: "Dicitur adhuc hodiè in Olympo Monte Monasterium reliquum esse thesauro optimorum librorum dives ac celebre." *Orat. de Stud. Vet. Phil. inter Melanc. Declam.*

(2) Villoison's account of the destruction of Manuscripts at Patmos may be consulted. Proleg. to Homer.

(3) Jul. Pollux. p. 1272, Note.

(4) Delectus Argumentorum.

It may be reasonably supposed, that many Manuscripts in Greece have experienced the treatment which works of the same sort have met with in other countries. *Poggius*, we are told, found, while he was at the Council of Constance, a Manuscript of *Quintilian* on the table of a pickling-shop. *Masson* met with one of *Agobardus* in the hands of a bookbinder, who was about to use it for the back of a book[5]: and one of *Asconius* was about to be employed for the same purpose. *Musculus* found[6], in the roof of a Benedictine monastery, some of the works of *Cicero*, and the whole of *Ovid*. Numbers of Manuscripts in Greece are irrecoverably lost to us, either by design or accident; and of those, which we may hereafter meet with, we cannot suppose all will prove to be of equal value[7]:

Πολλοί τοι ναρθηκόφοροι, παυροὶ δέ τε βάκχοι.

Yet if we meet with only few of which we shall be able to say, as *Casaubon*[8] once said to *J. Scaliger*, that they are "πολυτιμητὰ, et verè χρυσοῦ ἀνταξία," the trouble of research will be well requited[9].

A List

(5) Naudè, 121.

(6) "Accidit, ut aliquando sub ipso ædium tecto confusam dissolutarum membranarum congeriem *Musculus* offenderit," &c. *M. Adamus in Vitâ Musculi.*

(7) Those which have an appearance of antiquity in the writing, are not always the most antient. The Monks employed persons who were copyists by profession; men who not only repaired the titles of Manuscripts, but were dexterous enough to copy the antient characters. "The Manuscripts written in Lombard letters," says *Simon*, "are not always from a hand as antient as the time of Lombard writing. The same may be said of other works."

(8) On receiving a Manuscript of the unpublished Mechanics of Athenæus.

(9) Some exertions on the part of the Government would, without doubt, be attended with success. Let us hear what was done in France, so late as in the time of Fleury:

A List of Theological Manuscripts in the Library of PATMOS has been given by *Possevin*[1]; their number amounting, according to his statement, only to fifty-five. The present Catalogue, containing the titles of ninety-two Manuscripts and about four hundred printed volumes, and of which an account is here subjoined, by no means precludes the necessity of further examination. The Greek compiler of it has not stated any circumstance relating to the Manuscripts, by which we can form an estimate of their value: he gives no information respecting the form of the letters or that of the spirits, or any of those subjects which would lead us to a knowledge of their respective dates.

There is one Manuscript mentioned in it, concerning which it is impossible not to feel more than common curiosity: it is one of DIODORUS SICULUS. By an accurate inspection of it, we should learn whether the hopes, which have been more than once entertained of the existence of the lost books of that historian, are in this instance also to be disappointed[2]. *H. Stephanus* had heard that the forty books of *Diodorus* were in Sicily. This report arose probably from *Constantine Lascaris* having said in Sicily, that he had seen all these books in the Imperial Library at CONSTANTINOPLE. *Lascaris* fled from this city at the capture of it by the Turks.

In

Fleury: "Il a envoié dans le Levant quelques savans qui en sont revenus avec une riche moisson de Manuscrits ou Grecs ou d'autres langues Orientales." *Bib. Rais. Juillet*, 1739.

(1) See the Appar. Sacr.

(2) Photius, in the ninth century, perused entire *Diodorus Siculus*.

In the turbulence and confusion of that period, the entire copy to which he referred might have been lost. "Deum immortalem," says *Scaliger*, "quanta jactura historiæ facta est amissione librorum illius Bibliothecæ, præsertim quinque illorum qui sequebantur post quintum[2]."

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS[3]

IN THE PATMOS LIBRARY.

A.

Aristophanes. Three copies.

Ammonius[4]. Two copies.

Aristotle. Various copies.

Apollonius Rhodius.

Exposition of John Zonaras[5] on the κανόνες ἀναστάσιμοι of John of Damascus.

Anastasius of Sinaï. His Questions and Answers[6]. MS.

Ἄσμα ἀσμάτων, with an Exposition (perhaps by M. Psellus). *See Lamb. lib.* iii. *p.* 77.

Arrian.

Anthology of Epigrams.

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐξ ἀπορρήτων γραμματικὴ.

Ἀρχῆς καὶ αἰτίας περὶ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησίων; i. e. of the Greek and Roman Church.

Æsop.

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(2) In Euseb. Chron. CIↃ.IↃCCCCLXVII.

(3) It has not been thought necessary to copy the title of every one of the printed books mentioned in the Catalogue: the names of all the Manuscripts are faithfully transcribed.

(4) Ammonius, son of Hermias, master of John Philoponus.

(5) Flourished about 1120. *See Allatius de Libris Eccles. Græcorum. Paris,* 1646.

(6) Died 599. *See Lamb. Comm. l.* v. *p.* 92.

Ἀνθολογία λέξεων διαφόρων. One volume.
Ælian.
Panoplia[1] Dogmatica of Euthymius Zigabenus. MS.
Ἀποστολικοὶ καὶ συνοδικοὶ κανόνες[2].
Athanasius.
Athenæus, Deipnosoph.
Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαϊκά.
Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.
Appian.
Ἀμφιλοχίου[3], Μεθοδίου, καὶ Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης, τὰ εὑρισκόμενα.
Ἀντωνίου Κατηφόρου γραμματική.
Ἀριθμητικῆς συνοπτικὴ ἑρμηνεία Μπαλάνου (Balanus).
Ἀλεξάνδρου.
Ἄνθος χαρίτων[4].
Ἀσφαλὴς ὁδηγία τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν ἠθικῆς ζωῆς.
Ἀκολουθία[5] τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης.
Æschines.
Ἀζύμων περί.
Ἀετίου[6] ἰατρικόν.
Ἀδὰμ Ζοιρνικαβίου.
Ἀδολεσχία φιλόθεος.
Ἀλεξανδρείας περιγραφή.
Ἀνασκευὴ τῆς τοῦ Βοῤῥέρου βίβλου. (Refutation of a Work of Voltaire.)
Ἁρμονία ἱερογραφική.

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(1) See, for an account of this work, Lambecius, l. iii. p. 168.

(2) Lamb. l. v. p. 230.

(3) Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, died 393. Andrew, archbishop of Crete, died 720.

(4) See Crusius, Turco-Græc. 222. and Du Cange, App. ad Gloss. Gr. in v. τρελός.

(5) "Preces et officia." Αἰκατιρίνη (*Catherine*); sometimes *aspirated;* at other times with a *lenis*, as in *Du Cange*, i. 1140; who also gives *Hæcatherina*, in Index Auct.

(6) Born at Amida (*Diarbekr*); and wrote between the years 540 and 550. *Fab.* ix. 230.

B.

Basil. Copies of different parts of his Works.
Βησσαρίωνος γραμματική.
The Logic of Blemmides[7]. MS.
Βαλσαμῶνος[8] ἐξήγησις τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων. MS.
Lexicon of Phavorinus.
Lives of Saints.
A book called the Pastoral Flute, αὐλὸς ποιμενικός.
Βιβλίον καλούμενον Θηκαρᾶς.
A small MS. of Prayers.
Βλάχος.
Βουλγαρίας[9] ἅπαντα.

Γ.

Gregory of Nazianzum. Various copies.
Holy Scripture.
Γερασίμου βλάχου εἰς τὰ μετεωρολογικά. MS.
Galen.
Gregory of Nyssa.
Γαβριὴλ[10] φιλαδελφίας περὶ σχισματικῶν. MS.
Γρηγορίου[11] Κορεσίου κατὰ Λατίνων. MS.
Treatises of Gerasimus.
Harmony of Scripture.
Γορδίου, ὅτι ὁ Πάπας[12] καὶ ὁ Μωάμεθ εἰσὶν ὁ Ἀντίχριστος. MS.
Grammar of Gaza[13].

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(7) Blemmides lived in the middle of the thirteenth century. His logic was published in 1605, by *Wegelin.*

(8) Theodore Balsamon, of the twelfth century. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* 596.

(9) Of Theophylact. "Achridis in Bulgaria archiepiscopus 1070 clarus; quem inde Bulgarium vocant." *Fab. B. G.* vii. 586.

(10) Gabriel Severus, metropolitan of Philadelphia; "a bare-faced Metousiast." *Covell. Rise of Transubstantiation.*

(11) Coresius, a friend of Goar. *Euchol.* 678.

(12) "That the Pope and Mahomet are the Antichrist." Πάπας, "the Pope;" παπὰς, "a priest."

(13) On which Erasmus read Lectures at Cambridge.

Δ.

Demosthenes.
Dio, and Herodian.
Psalms of David.
Διδασκαλίαι[1] διαφόρων εἰς τὰ κατὰ Κυριακήν.
Diogenes Laertius.
Διαμαντῆ ῥυσίου. (sic.)
Dositheus.
Dionysius the Areopagite. MS.
Διαταγαὶ γάμου Σαμούηλ πατριάρχου.
Διήγησις μερικὴ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστοριῶν (sic), καὶ πρότασις φιλοσόφου ὑπὲρ (perhaps περὶ) τοῦ Θεομάχου Ἡρώδου. MS.
Old and New Testament.
Δογματικὸν[2] Ἰωάννου Βέκκου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως.
The Grammar of Daniel.

E.

Gospels.
Eustathius.
Epiphanius.
Epictetus.
Euclid.
Etymologicon.
Eusebius.
Encyclopædia. Four volumes.
Selections from different Fathers.
Euchologium.
Ἐξομολογητάριον[3]. MS.
Tract on Baptism.
Τετραευαγγέλιον[4].
Exposition of the Apocalypse.

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(1) Instructions respecting the Lord's Day.
(2) Veccus, or Beccus, patriarch of Constantinople.
(3) A Form of Confession, and Direction to Penitents. *Covell*, 260.
(4) See Du Cange in v. Εὐαγγέλιον.

Ἑορτολογία.
Euripides.
Ἐπίσκεψις πνευματικοῦ πρὸς ἀσθενῆ. Visit of a Confessor to a sick person.

Z.

Zonaras.

H.

Hesiod.
Herodian.
Herodotus.

Θ.

Themistius[5], περὶ φυσικῆς.
Theodoret.
Theophrastus.
Theocritus.
Theodorus Ptochoprodromus[6].
Theodorus's (abbot of Studium[7]) Catechetical Discourses.
Theophylact.
Θέατρον πολιτικόν.
Theotoki.
Thomas Magister.

I.

John Chrysostom.
Isidore's[8] (of Damiata) Letters.
Isocrates.
John of Damascus[9].

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(5) Born in 317, in Paphlagonia.

(6) Perhaps one of the Poems of this Writer (see *Vill. Anec. Gr.* ii. 243), or his Exposition of Sacred Hymns. See *Lamb.* l. v. p. 277. He lived in the beginning of the twelfth century.

(7) A monastery at Constantinople. Theodore was born in 759. "Il passe pour un des grands Saints de ce siécle-là parmi Messieurs les Imaginaires; qu'il me soit permis de me servir de ce terme, mille fois plus doux que celui d'Iconolatres." *Bayle Rep. des Lettres, Mars* 1686.

(8) "One of the most valuable men of the fifth century." *Jortin, E. H.* iv. 113.

(9) Died 750. The last of the Greek Fathers.

Justin (ἱστορικόν).
John Philoponus, περὶ κοσμοποιΐας[1].
The same, εἰς τὰ Ἀναλυτικά.
Justin Martyr.
Justinian, κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων.
John Stobæus.
Julius Pollux.
Other Treatises of John Philoponus.
Isaac[2], bishop of Nineveh; τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἀσκητικά.
Josephus.
Ἰσμαὴλ[3] κατά. MS. "Against Mahometanism."
John of Damascus.
Ἰωάννου[4] σχολαστικοῦ ἡγουμένου Σινᾶ ὅρους.
Hippocrates. Aphorisms.

K.

Κορυδαλέως περὶ ψυχῆς.
The Logic of the same.
Cyril.
Coresius[5].
Κατακουζηνοῦ ἀπολογία κατὰ Λατίνων.
Callimachus.
Κλεομήδους κυκλικὴ θεωρία.
Κυριακοδρόμιον[6].

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(1) See the remark of Lambecius on the title of this work, lib. i. p. 139. The Alexandrine Grammarian flourished in the early part of the seventh century after Christ. Vossius gives a different date: *De Philosoph. Sec. c.* 17. The name of John Philoponus was afterwards assumed by Le Clerc.

(2) Lived in the sixth century.

(3) Cantacusenus wrote, in 1360, a work on this subject.

(4) John Climacus, called Scholasticus. This is probably his Life, written by Daniel, monk of Raith.

(5) A Constantinopolitan divine; and friend of Goar. *Euch.* 678.

(6) See Du Cange, Gloss. Græc. p. 771. 1.

Καλλιγραφία.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

Λ.

Liturgies.

Lucian.

Lexica.

Treatises against the Roman Church.

M.

Macarius. Homilies.

Michael Psellus[7] εἰς τὰ μεταφυσικά. MS.

Macarius. Various treatises.

Meletius on the power of the Pope.

Μέλη ποιητριῶν ἐννέα.

Melissa[8].

Μετεώρων περὶ ἐγχειρίδιον.

Μανασσῆ τοῦ ἡλιάδου ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον Ὑψηλάντη. Encomium on Prince Ypsilante.

Maximus Planudes.

Matthew Blastares[9].

Meletius. Geography.

N.

Nectarius[10].

Nicephorus Gregoras.

Νομικὸν βασιλικόν. MS.

Νομοκάνονες[11].

O.

Œcumenius.

Olympiodorus εἰς τὰ μετέωρα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Ὁμηρόκεντρα[12] καὶ κεντρῶνες.

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(7) Of the eleventh century.

(8) Antonius Melissa lived about 760. *Fab. Bib. Græc.* ix. 744. "a studio colligendi Μέλισσα, sive *Apis*, dictus est."

(9) Of the fourteenth century.

(10) Patria Cretensis, defunctus anno 1665. *Fab.* ix. 310.

(11) Lamb. l. vi. p. 51.

(12) Homerici centones.

Π.

Acts of Synods.
Plutarch.
Pausanias.
Pindar.
Πόλεμος πνευματικός.
Polyænus.
Ποιητῶν τῶν παλαιοτάτων γεωργικὰ, βουκολικὰ, καὶ γνωμικά.
Πατερικόν. MS.
Πέτρα σκανδάλου.

Ρ.

Ῥητορικὴ Σκούφου.
Ῥαντισμοῦ στηλίτευσις.
Ῥωλίνου τόμοι—15.

Σ.

Catenæ Patrum on the Psalms and Matthew.
Sophocles.
Suidas.
Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης.
Simplicius.
Συνοδικὸς νόμος.
Σημειώσεις[1] διδαχῶν. MS.
Σύνταγμα[2] κατὰ ἀζύμων.
Συμφωνία τῆς γραφῆς.
Συνεσίου ἐπιστολάριον.
Catena Patrum on the Octateuch.

Τ.

Τάργα[3] τῆς πίστεως τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Τυπικόν[4].

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(1) Notes on Homilies.

(2) Respecting this controversy (concerning unleavened bread), see the note in Lamb. *l.* iii. *p.* 65.

(3) Propugnaculum Fidei. *Fab. B. G.* viii. 86. It was edited at Paris in 1658.

(4) Perhaps, Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας &c. "The order of reading the service." *Lamb. l.* v. 285.

Φ.

Φιλοκαλία[5].
Photius.
Philo Judæus.

X.

Χρυσάνθου Νοταρᾶ.
Χριστοφόρου ἐγχειρίδιον, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.
Chrysostom on the Psalms.

Ψ.

Volumes relating to the Psalms.

Ω.

Ὠκέλλου κατά.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ τῶν ἐν ΒΕΜΒΡΑΝΑΙΣ[6] ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ.

A.

Canons of the Holy Apostles.
Athanasius, without a beginning.
Ἀπόστολος.
Ἀποροῦμενα[7] τῆς θείας γραφῆς.
Exposition of the Acts of Apostles.
Anastasius of Sinaï.
Canons[8] of the Apostles and Fathers.
The Panoplia[9] Dogmatica of Alexius Comnenus.

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(5) Treatises of some of the Fathers.

(6) "A more common form among the later Greeks," says *Salmasius*, "than Μεμβράναις."

(7) Perhaps the Work of Theodoret, entitled Θεοδωρήτου εἰς τὰ ἄπορα τῆς θείας γραφῆς: or from Maximus, who died in 662. See the first volume of his Works.

(8) See Lamb. l. iv. p. 197.

(9) See Fabricius, viii. 329. Bib. Gr.

The Exposition[1], by Zonaras, of the Canones, or Sacred Hymns, of Joannes Damascenus.

Ἀποστολοευαγγέλιον[2].

B.

Βασιλειῶν περὶ, ἄναρχον.

Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου δογματικὴ πανοπλία.

Lives of Saints.

Basil. 9 vols.

Basil on the Hexaëmeron. 2 vols.

The same on the Psalms. 2 vols.

The same on Isaiah.

The Ascetica[3] of the same.

Βουλγαρίας[4]. 2 vols.

Βιβλίον Τούρκικον.

Γ.

Γρηγορίῳ[5] τῷ Θεολόγῳ σχόλια εἰς τὸ "πάλιν Ἰησοῦς," καὶ εἰς τὸ "χθὲς τὴν λαμπράν."

Of the same author. 9 vols.

Of the same, with Scholia.

Γραφῆς τῆς θείας ζητήματα.

Γρηγορίου[6] τοῦ Θεολόγου ἕνα βιβλίον, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι γράψιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, τοῦ ἰδίου γράψιμον.

Gregory of Nyssa.

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(1) Κανόνες ἀναστάσιμοι. *See Lamb. l.* iii. *p.* 39, and the Notes. Zonaras lived in 1120.

(2) See Du Cange, Glos. Gr. in voce; and Goar, Euchol. 921.

(3) "Basil was a grand promoter of an ascetic life: all the monks and nuns in the Greek Church are everywhere of his order." *Covell.* p. 251.

(4) See this title in the Printed Books, p. xi.

(5) Gregory of Nazianzum; "cui post Johannem Apostolum pro peculiari panegyrico, et κατ' ἐξοχήν, *Theologi* cognomen adhæsit." *Muratori.*

(6) "A work of Gregory Nazianzen, which is in the hand-writing of the king Alexius Comnenus. His own hand-writing."

Exposition of Holy Scripture.
Gregory the Theologue. 2 vols.
Of the same, Epistles.
Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου τετραστίχων ἐξήγησις.
Gregory of Nyssa, and others of the Fathers, on the Lord's Prayer.
Orations of Gregory Nazianzen.
Exposition on the Epistle to the Romans.

Δ.

Demetrius Gemistus[7], περὶ τῆς ἐν μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ πατριάρχου λειτουργίας.
Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρειοπαγίτου.
Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου Ἱστορικόν.

E.

Gospels. Various copies.
Εὐαγγελικὴ συμφωνία.
Commentary on the Psalms.
Interpretation of the Old Testament.
Ἑξαποστελάρια[8] ὅλου τοῦ χρόνου.
Commentary on one of the Gospels.
Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.
Ἐφραΐμ[9] λόγοι διάφοροι.

Θ.

Θαλασσίου[10] τοῦ ἀββᾶ καὶ Ἀντιόχου.
Theodoret on the Psalms.
Theodore, abbot of Studium.

I.

Ἰωσὴφ[11] Βρυεννίου λόγοι διάφοροι.

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(7) Deacon and prothonotary in Constantinople.
(8) See Goar, Euchol. p. 436.
(9) Ephraem, or Ephraim, born at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. *See Lamb. l.* 1. *p.* 117.
(10) Abbot of a monastery in Libya. *Cave, Hist. Ecc.*
(11) Lived about 1420. A Byzantine monk.

Theological Enchiridion of John of Damascus.
Exposition of the History of Job.
Ἰωάννου[1] τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἡγουμένου τῆς Ῥαϊθοῦ.
The same.
Isidore. Epistles.
Ἰωάννῃ[2] τῷ Θεολόγῳ παρακλήσεις.
Ἰσαὰκ[3] ἀββᾶ τοῦ Σύρου λόγοι ἀσκητικοί.
Ἰωάσηφ[4] βασιλέως Ἰνδῶν βίος.
On the Ten Categories.
John of Damascus.
John Scylitza[5].
Ἰατροσοφία[6]. 3 vols.

K.

Κανονάριον.

Λ.

Various Discourses.
Discourses of Chrysostom and others on Lent.

M.

Maximus, περὶ ἀπορρήτων τῆς θείας γραφῆς.
Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ Αὐγουστίνου, Συμεών τε τοῦ νέου Θεολόγου, καί τινες νεαραὶ Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως[7].

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(1) Perhaps the Epistle of John the abbot of Raith to John Clinacus. *Lamb. l.* iv. *p.* 185.

(2) Παρακλήσεις, *Prayers.* St. John is called in the Menæa, Ἀρχηγὸς τῆς Θεολογίας.

(3) Lived in the sixth century.

(4) "Historia Judaïca de Barlaamo eremita, et Josapho rege Indiæ." *Fab.* ix. 737.

(5) John Scylitza, a Thracesian by birth, wrote an Epitome of History. *Lamb. l.* ii. *p.* 578.

(6) Collection from the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, and Meletius.

(7) For an account of Symeon, see Leo Allat. de Sym. Scriptis, from p. 143 to 179. Maximus died in 662. Νεαραὶ, *novellæ*, of Romanus; see Du Cange in voce.

Μελετίου[8] Συρήγου μεταφραστοῦ, Discourses on the Twelve Months. 14 vols.

Imperfect Menæum.

Menæa for the whole Year. 12 vols.

N.

Νικήτα[9] Σερρῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.

Νομικόν.

Nicolaus, archbishop of Constantinople. Letters, and some Expositions of Scripture.

Π.

Life of Pachomius[10].

Πατερικά[11]. 4 vols.

Παύλου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ.

Πανηγυρικόν[12].

Acts of the Apostles[13].

Σ.

Συναξαριστής[14]. 2 vols.

Catena Patrum on Isaiah.

Also on Pentateuch.

Συνόδων κανόνες.

Στουδίτου (perhaps of Theodore).

Τ.

Τριῴδιον ἀτελές[15].

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(8) Meletius Syrigus, Cretensis, (*Fab.* ix. 308.) lived in 1638.

(9) Metropolitan of Serræ in Macedonia, about the year 1077.

(10) Died in the middle of the fourth century.

(11) "Variæ adhortationes et narrationes ex variis scriptis et vitis Patrum. *Fab.* ix. 312."

(12) Liber Ecclesiasticus. Du Cange in voce. See also Cave, *De Lib. Eccl. Græcorum.*

(13) A MS. of Pachymer, who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century, is omitted in this Catalogue. Possevin mentions it. *Fab.* vii. 776.

(14) Synaxariorum Scriptor. Du Cange in voce.

(15) See Du Cange, Gloss. in voce; and Cave, De Lib. Ecc. Græcorum.

ϒ.

Ὑπακοῆς[1] περὶ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρετῶν.

X.

Χρυσοστομικά. τόμοι 42.
Chrysostom. 8 vols.

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(1) Perhaps from Theodore of Studium. See Yriarte, Cat. Bib. Mat. p. 18.

Remains of a Church with pointed Arches at ACRE.

CHAP. I.

VOYAGE FROM SYRIA TO EGYPT.

The Romulus makes preparation for sailing—The Author takes leave of Djezzar—Further Account of Acre—Existence of the POINTED ARCH *in the Holy Land, and elsewhere in the East—Anecdote of Deare, an English Sculptor—Voyage to Egypt—Accident which befel the Romulus—Arrival at Aboukir—The Braakel receives Orders to convoy a Squadron to Marseilles—French Prisoners—Author narrowly escapes being conveyed to France—Discovery of the Worship of Astaroth upon Mount Libanus—Dangerous Passage of the Bar at the Mouth of the Nile—Fort St. Julian—State of Affairs in Rosetta—Price of Provisions—Manufacture of Coffee—Curious Remains of Pointed Arches—Probable Consequence of the Interruption of Mecca Pilgrimage—Exhibition of the* PSYLLI, *or Serpent-Eaters.*

THE most active preparation for sailing was made upon our return to the Romulus frigate. Upwards of sixty CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

The Romulus makes preparation for sailing.

bullocks were on board, and forty more were afterwards added to the number. Every exertion was then made to get in the necessary supply of fresh water. We bought great part of the freight of melons from the Jaffa boat, to carry to the fleet off Aboukir; and a more acceptable donation can hardly be imagined, for almost all its supplies came from England: fruit and vegetables were particularly scarce.

The Author takes leave of Djezzar.

In our last visit to old Djezzar, we found his health visibly on the decline; but there was nothing he seemed more anxious to conceal from the knowledge of his subjects. The well-known fable of the dying lion was constantly present to his imagination; and no one better understood its moral application. Like the generality of antient fables, it is, in fact, strikingly applicable to the policy and manners of Eastern nations[1]. Although the repose and stillness of his charem were better suited to the preservation of his life than the public duties of his palace, he knew too well the consequences of a rumour purporting his inability to transact the affairs of his government, and therefore more readily granted audience to persons requesting admission to his presence; continuing his usual practice of cutting watch-papers, but being less ostentatious of his bodily vigour, and the exhibition of his

(1) In the time of Aristophanes there were three kinds of fables; the Lybian, which were the most antient, the Sybaritic, and the Æsopian.

his Herculean strength[2]. We found him, as before, with his feet bare, and a bottle of water by his side, but a more than ordinary covering of turbans appeared about his head and neck. Having thanked him for the many obligations he had conferred upon us, he inquired concerning our late journey, and seemed to possess great knowledge of the country, as well as some degree of information respecting its antient history. Adverting to the dispute which took place between the Author and one of the escort in the Plain of Esdraelon, (of which he had been informed,) he cautioned us against the imprudence of striking an Arab, unless with power to put him instantly to death; adding, "if you had been any where but in Djezzar's dominions, and under his protection, you would not have lived to tell the story. I know the inhabitants of this country better than any man, and have long found that they are not to be governed by halves. I have been deemed severe; but I trust you have found my name respected, and even beloved, notwithstanding my severity." This last observation was strictly true; for, in spite of all his cruelty, such was the veneration in which they held the name of Djezzar in many parts of the Holy Land, that many of the Arabs would have sacrificed their lives for him. As we were about to take leave, he acknowledged, for the first time, that he did not feel himself well, and complained of want of sleep; asking us if we perceived any change in his health.

(2) See p. 361 of the last Volume.

CHAP. I.

health. His Interpreter told us that he had never before known an instance of a similar confession; and augured, from this circumstance, that he would not long survive; which proved true, although his death did not immediately follow. His last moments were characteristic of his former life. The person whom he fixed upon for his successor, was among the number of his prisoners. Having sent for this man, he made known his intentions to him; telling him, at the same time, that he would never enjoy peaceful dominion while certain of the princes of the country existed. These men were then living as hostages in Djezzar's power. "You will not like to begin your reign," said he, "by slaughtering them; I will do that business for you:" accordingly, ordering them to be brought before him, he had them all put to death in his presence. Soon afterwards he died; leaving, as he had predicted, the undisturbed possession of a very extensive territory to his successor, Ismael Pasha; described by English travellers, who have since visited Acre, as a very amiable man, and in every thing the very reverse of this Herod of his time.

Further Account of Acre.

After our last interview with Djezzar, we made a final survey of the town of Acre, particularly of its market, which is well supplied with most of the Eastern commodities. Cotton is the principal export. Its tobacco is very highly esteemed; and coarse muslins, remarkable for the durability of their dye, are sold very cheap. The inhabitants make use of pipes garnished with a swathing of silk or linen, for the purpose of absorbing water. This, being kept moist, cools the smoke, as it rises through the wooden tube, by the constant

constant evaporation. It is a method of smoking less injurious than the Arab custom of using the *Hooka*, which generally consists of nothing more than a hollow gourd containing water, and two pieces of cane; but the whole of the smoke, instead of being drawn into the mouth, is thereby inhaled upon the lungs, and sometimes this practice causes asthma, where it has been long continued[1]. Mariti, in the account of his journey from Acre to Mount Carmel, mentions the exportation to Venice of the sand of the River Belus, for the glass-houses of that city. "It is," says he[2], "to this river, Belus, that we are indebted for those magnificent plates of glass which Venice manufactured, to embellish the apartments of Europe." The Arabs call this river *Kardané*. We saw in Acre several individuals engaged in manufacturing the kind of leather known in England under the vulgar appellation of *Red Morocco;* and as the whole process was publicly

(1) Shaw mentions this custom (*See Travels, p.* 234. *Lond.* 1757. *Note* 9.) He says the Arabs call it *Shrob el Douhhan,* that is to say, "*drinking of smoke.*" It is a universal practice, not only in the Levant, but over all the Mediterranean. Like other intoxicating habits, when once acquired, it is not readily abandoned. The effect produced resembles that of a dram; causing, at the moment, distention of the nerves and vessels of the head, particularly of the eyes. The Greek who travelled with us, after thus conveying all the smoke he could collect from a well-lighted pipe into his lungs, could retain it there for a few seconds, and sometimes drink a glass of water, before he rendered back the smoke, in curling volumes, through his lips and nostrils. The Mahometans are so delighted by the effect of inhaling smoke, that, when they have emptied their lungs of it, they exclaim, "ALHANDILLAH," *God be praised!*

(2) Mariti's Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palæstine, vol. II. p. 124. *Lond.* 1791.

CHAP. I.

publicly exhibited, it may be regretted we did not pay more attention to the articles made use of in preparing the dye, which afforded the most lively and brilliant scarlet we had ever beheld. The skins were constantly exposed, during the operation, to the hottest beams of the sun, in the most sultry season of the year.

Existence of the Pointed Arch in the Holy Land;

Before we quit this account of Acre, it will be proper to remark, that the two arches of a lofty building represented in the engraved view of the town, belong to the edifice noticed by Le Bruyn[1]. The pointed arches, so accurately delineated by that very able artist, have been a stumbling-block in the way of certain modern hypotheses concerning the origin of Gothic architecture[2]. But these are, by no means, the only examples of the pointed style in the Holy Land, erected anterior to the existence of such arches in England. The Author has already enumerated others, which may be referred to the age of Justinian[3], if not of Constantine. There are similar remains of equal antiquity in Cyprus and in Egypt. The ignorance which would ascribe such works to the labours of English workmen, in the time of the Crusades, when

and elsewhere in the East.

(1) See the engraving in Le Bruyn's Travels.

(2) And will continue to be so. Acre was taken by the Saracens, A. D. 1291; the Christians have never been permitted to gain a footing there since that event; therefore the pointed arches noticed by Le Bruyn belong to an edifice which has been a ruin during the last six hundred and twenty years.

(3) The author of "*Munimenta Antiqua*," notices *pointed arches* in an aqueduct of Justinian. *See vol.* IV. *p.* 75. *Note* 1. *Lond.* 1805. The pointed arch is also seen in aqueducts built by Trajan.

when foreigners, or the pupils of foreigners, were employed in England, for every undertaking of the kind, so late as the reign of Henry the Eighth, is really lamentable; nor is it possible to devise more fallible conjecture than that which attributes the origin of any style of architecture to the North of Europe; whence, as it is observed by a late entertaining writer[4], "Nothing ever came but the sword and desolation." The statement of a few facts are sufficient, in an instant, to overturn such visionary heresy. Not less than six Oriental cities may be enumerated, where this kind of architecture was formerly in use: these are, Nicotia in Cyprus; Ptolemaïs, Dio Cæsarea, and Jerusalem, in the Holy Land; Rosetta, and Caïro, in Egypt. In all of these there are remains of the pointed style, which relate to a much earlier period than its introduction in England. A further acquaintance with Oriental architecture will, assuredly, bring to light many other instances than those which have now been adduced. Not but that the pointed style may have possessed, in the north of our island, a degree of antiquity greater than even the advocates for its English origin have ever dreamed of assigning to it. Masons were first brought into England by a Monk, the preceptor of the venerable Bede, about the middle of the seventh century, together with the arts of painting and glazing[5]. About this

(4) De Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. II. p. 124. *Lond.* 1811.

(5) "Benet the Monke, and maister of the reverend Beda, brought first the crafte of Painting, Glasing, and Masons, into this land." *Stow's Summary of the Chronicles of England, pp.* 27, 28. *Lond.* 1598.

CHAP. I.

this time the monastery of Ely was founded, and the abbeys of Abingdon, Chertsey, and Barking, were built[1]. The monastery of Gloucester was also established[2]. But before that time, Iona, upon the western coast of Scotland, was the seat of letters: the writings of Adamnanus, its abbot, have been often cited in these Travels. There can be no doubt, therefore, but that an abbey church existed in that island prior to the foundation of the monastery at Ely. Adamnanus was born in the beginning of the seventh century[3], at Rathboth, now called Raphoe, in the County of Donegal, in Ireland; which country he left when he became abbot of Iona[4]. As at that time the model of every Christian sanctuary was derived from the Holy Land, and generally from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[5], where the pointed style may yet be discerned in the original covering of the Sepulchre itself[6], it is surely probable that Iona, whose abbot drew up so accurate an account of all the holy places, would preserve something in imitation of its most sacred edifices. A short time previous to the journey which constitutes

(1) Stow's Summary of the Chronicles of England, pp. 27, 28. *Lond.* 1598.

(2) Ibid.

(3) A. D. 626.

(4) Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. IX. p. 303. *Edin.* 1799.

(5) Witness the interesting though almost unnoticed model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, called "*the Round Church,*" in Cambridge, built by the Knights of Jerusalem, and shewing precisely the form of the building as it was in the seventh century. *See the Plan given by Adamnanus, apud Mabillon. Acta Sanctor. Ordin. Benedicti, Sæc. 3. Par. 2. p. 505. L. Par. 1672.*

(6) See Pococke's Travels, and the Engravings already given in this work.

constitutes the subject of the present work, the author visited Iona; and in the numerous vestiges of ecclesiastical splendor which he then observed in the rude bas-reliefs belonging to the sepulchral monuments of that island, the granite coffins, but, above all, the remains of the pointed Gothic style[8], a traveller there might rather imagine himself viewing antiquities belonging to the Holy Land, and edifices erected by the mother of Constantine, than of an ecclesiastical establishment upon a small island in the Hebrides; upon an island, too, which was already thus distinguished, before the inhabitants of England could be said to be converted to Christianity; and at an æra when the king of the East Angles was actually sending into Burgundy for missionaries to preach the Christian faith[9]. The state of Iona indeed, at that period, can only be accounted for, from the intercourse which was then maintained with the Holy Land by all parts of the Christian world. As a seat of learning, Iona was so renowned, that its abbot was appointed to act as ambassador from Ireland to an English monarch[10]. It is well known that Bede borrowed

(8) See Pennant's Hebrides, Plates XXII and XXIII. p. 253. *Chester*, 1774.

(9) Stow's Summary, &c. p. 27. *Lond.* 1598.

(10) Bede, as cited by Mabillon, mentions the embassy of Adamnanus to Ealdfrith (called Alfrid by Bede) a king of the Northumbrians. This event took place a short time before the abbot's death, in 705. "*Adamnanum mortuum esse paullo post suam legationem ad Aldfridum, anno* DCCV. *defunctum, teste Beda in lib.* V. *cap.* 19. *anno regni sui vigesimo necdum impleto.*" (Vid. Mabillon. Acta Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. 3. Par. 2. p. 500. *L. Par.* 1672.)

CHAP. I.

borrowed his account of the Holy Land from Arculfe's testimony, as afforded by Adamnanus. We may therefore with justice ask, Has it been proved, that, prior to the introduction of the Saxon arch in the southern provinces of our island, no instance of the pointed style adorned those ecclesiastical establishments in the north, which, having no connexion with the Saxons, erected their edifices at an earlier period, and after a different model? It is conceived that this question cannot be answered, by urging that the pointed style originated from the intersection of circular arches. The plain fact of the existence of pointed arches before the period assigned for their invention in England, is an existing and stubborn document, which no conjecture can supersede[1]. How shall we otherwise explain the appearance of pointed arches in Egypt and in the Holy Land, presented by the examples already alluded to? Even with reference to buildings of the twelfth century, particularly the remarkable instance

(1) See the very recent but most satisfactory elucidation of this subject by the Rev. T. Kerrich, read before the Society of Antiquaries, May 11, 18, and June 1, 1809, and since published in the XVIth volume of their Archæologia. Speaking of the supposed *English* origin of Gothic architecture, Mr. Kerrich says, "The late Mr. Gilpin, I believe, first broached this notion, (*See Gilpin's Northern Tour, vol.* I.) at least he first delivered it to the world in print: he had never been out of England; he was therefore excusable: but how people who had travelled, and had visited the other countries of Europe, could patronize such a notion, is really surprising: they must know, unless they voluntarily shut their eyes, that throughout the Low Countries, from St. Omer's to Cologne, *the old churches are all Gothic;* and many of them immense structures, and wonderfully beautiful; such as the cathedrals of Antwerp and Mechlin, St. Gudule's at

instance afforded by the mosque and sepulchre of Sultan Zahir, near the eastern gate of Caïro[2], will the historian, who records *facts* only, rest satisfied with this puerile *conjecture*, as to their origin; that the Caliph, although an intolerant Mahometan, *perhaps employed* some Christian slaves for his workmen? Even supposing this were true, those men must have been supernaturally inspired with architectural knowledge for the undertaking.

Acre has been described as the scene of a very interesting story in English history, which is said however to have no foundation in truth. It is related by Speed[3], that Eleanor, wife of Edward the First, drew the poison from her husband's arm, when poignarded by an assassin; applying her lips to the wound. "Pitie it is," says Fuller[4], "so pretty a storie should not be true (with all the miracles in Love's legends)! and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of

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at Brussels, and St. Bavon's at Ghent, and numberless others. *The whole of France is covered with them,* from Calais to Lyons, and quite to the banks of the Rhine, where the cathedral of Strasburg is eminently light and beautiful. The cathedral and church of St. Nicaise at Rheims, the cathedrals of Amiens, Rouen, and Evreux, are also well known as buildings of extraordinary dimensions and elegance in this style of architecture. According to Ponz's *Voyage de España,* and the writings of other travellers, the case is the very same in every kingdom of Spain." Mr. Kerrich then proves its existence, and describes its remains, over all Germany and Italy. *See Observations on Gothic Buildings and Architecture, by the Rev. T. Kerrich, Principal Librarian of the University of Cambridge, M.A. F.S.A. Archæologia, vol.* XVI. *p.* 299, *et seq. Lond.* 1811.

(2) Vid. Museum Worsleyanum, p. 87. *Lond.* 1794. Caliph Zahir lived in the twelfth century.

(3) See Speed's Hist. of Edward the First.

(4) Fuller's Historie of the H ly Warre, book iv. chap. 29. p. 220. *Camb.* 1651.

CHAP. I.

of the sex: yet can it not stand with what others have written[1],—How the physician, who was to dresse his wounds, spake to the Lord Edmund and the Lord John Voysie, to take away Ladie Elenor out of the Prince's presence, lest her pitie should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out, and wrung her hands, 'Madame, said they, be contented: it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should lament a great season:' and so they conducted her out of the place." The tradition, however, which, after all, is not disproved by the evidence Fuller has adduced, has given rise to one of the finest specimens of modern sculpture existing in the world[2]: and as it affords, perhaps, the only existing proof of the surprising abilities of an English artist, snatched from the pursuit of fame in the very opening of a career which might have classed him with the best sculptors of antient Greece, the Author considers it a patriotic duty to pay some tribute to its merit, and thereby to the memory of its author.

Anecdote of Deare, an English Sculptor.

Our voyage from Acre was as prosperous as the former one had been from Egypt. The serenity of the Mediterranean, at

Voyage to Egypt.

(1) See Fox, Martyrolog. pag. 337.

(2) The work of George Deare, who, at a very early period of life, attained to a surprising degree of perfection in sculpture and design. He died a few years ago, at Rome, at the very time when the first proofs of his genius began to obtain the patronage necessary for its full development: The particular work alluded to, is a bas-relief, executed in the marble of Carrara. It was purchased by Sir Corbet Corbet, an English baronet, and belongs now to his collection. This brief allusion to a young artist, who would have been an honour to his country, is perhaps the only biographical document concerning him likely to be made public.

at this season of the year, is surprisingly contrasted with the tremendous storms which accompany the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. We steered for Egypt with every sail extended, but were driven by such gentle breezes, that the motion of the frigate was scarcely perceptible. On the twenty-first of July, at seven o'clock P. M. we were under weigh, and about ten came to anchor off Cape Carmel. The next morning, at four A. M. we made sail again, and continued our progress all that day and following night, without any occurrence worth notice. On the morning of July the twenty-fourth, at seven A. M. the Island of Cyprus was visible, bearing N. N. W. distant ten or eleven leagues. At five A. M. of the following morning, the same island was still in view, and nearly at the same distance, bearing N. and by E.

Accident which befel the Romulus.

July the twenty-sixth, at seven P. M. we hailed the *Thisbe* frigate. This day, being Sunday, we accompanied Captain Culverhouse to the gun-room, to dine there with his officers, according to his weekly custom. As we were sitting down to dinner, the voice of a sailor employed in heaving the lead was suddenly heard calling "*half four!*" The Captain, starting up, reached the deck in an instant; and almost as quickly putting the ship in stays, she went about. Every seaman on board thought she would be stranded. As she came about, all the surface of the water exhibited a thick black mud: this extended so widely, that the appearance resembled an island. At the same time, no land was really visible, not even from the mast-head, nor was there any notice of such a shallow in any chart on board. The fact is, as we learned afterwards,

CHAP. I.

afterwards, that a stratum of mud, extending for many leagues off the mouths of the Nile, exists in a moveable deposit near the coast of Egypt, and, when recently shifted by currents, it sometimes reaches quite to the surface, so as to alarm mariners with sudden shallows; where the charts of the Mediterranean promise a considerable depth of water. These, however, are not in the slightest degree dangerous. Vessels no sooner touch them, than they become dispersed; and a frigate may ride secure, where the soundings would induce an inexperienced pilot to believe her nearly aground. In the evening of this day we made land, and saw the eastern fort at the entrance of the Damiata branch of the Nile, bearing N. W. distant seven or eight miles.

July the twenty-seventh, at ten A. M. we were employed answering signals from the *Heroine;* and it was very interesting to us landsmen, to observe the facility with which the commanders of frigates, separated from each other by such an immense distance that their vessels were scarcely visible to the naked eye, held a conversation with each other. We had calm weather with light breezes during this and the following day: no land visible. July the twenty-ninth, observed a strange cutter to leeward, and land, bearing s. w. and by s. supposed to be Cape Brule, distant six or seven miles. July the thirtieth, about three P. M. we made land from the mast head, which proved to be *Cape Berelos,* bearing s. s. w. distant about ten or twelve miles, the town of Rosetta being at the same time w. and by s. half s. distant ten or eleven miles.

July the thirty-first, a calm and a strong current compelled us to anchor east of Rosetta, in five fathoms and a half

a half water. On the following morning, being the first of August, at seven A. M. weighed, and made sail. At four P. M. saw the fleet off Aboukir, and plainly observed the Admiral's ship. The same evening, at eight o'clock, came to anchor nearly in the station held by the Romulus previous to her sailing for the coast of Syria. Here we received the joyful intelligence concerning the surrender of Caïro; of which reports had reached us in Syria. Presently after, Captain Clarke came alongside, in the Braakel's barge, when, taking leave of our kind friends, we sought once more, as it were, a comfortable home, within his cabin.

Arrival at Aboukir.

We had not been here many days, before the Braakel received orders from the Admiral, Lord Keith, to convoy the French prisoners captured at Rachmanie and the different forts upon the Nile, including the garrison of Caïro, to Marseilles; and, at the same time, to take in as many of those prisoners as possible, with their artillery, arms, baggage, &c. and sail with all possible expedition. So rapid were the measures adopted by Captain Clarke for this purpose, that he was ready before any of the other vessels appointed to convey the prisoners had obtained their cargo; and, making the signal for sailing to all the convoy, he was ordered to proceed on his voyage, without waiting for the other ships. The scene which ensued on board the Braakel, upon the arrival of the French prisoners, baffles every effort of description. No strolling players in a barn ever presented a more ludicrous exhibition, or a better burlesque of the military character.

The Braakel receives orders to convoy a Squadron to Marseilles.

French Prisoners.

Voltaire,

CHAP. I.

Voltaire, dressed in a pasteboard helmet, with a laced coat and long dirty ruffles, to represent, in one of his own plays, the person of Alexander the Great, was a hero, compared with some of the figures from the French army. There were many who made their appearance upon the quarter-deck with the most ghastly visages, beneath helmets, of all colours, covered with horses' tails hanging about their wrinkled cheeks and shrugged-up shoulders. Every one imagined he should testify a proper degree of spirit, and perhaps ingratiate himself with a British crew, by the ejaculation of some English oath, as soon as he set his foot upon the deck. When they were all drawn up, in three lines, to be reviewed, and assigned to their respective births, some of them were found to be abandoned women, wretchedly dressed in tattered habits of French soldiers. Other females, more pitiable, came also in men's clothes; but these were Georgian and Circassian girls, once the unfortunate tenants of Turkish charems, and since the more lamentable slaves of the lowest rabble of the French army. They were desirous to go any where, rather than remain in Egypt. In that country they were sure of being put to death, by the first Moslem they might encounter.

As soon as matters were a little adjusted, and the wounded men taken care of, among whom there were some in such terrible condition that they died upon the following day, a deputation from the prisoners waited upon the Captain, to offer him the use of a band of music every day during dinner, and requesting permission to exhibit a *club-d'armes*, for fencing every morning, and a *comédie* every

every evening. Never was there any thing to equal the gaiety and good-humour of these Frenchmen. All animosity was laid aside; singing, dancing, and acting, became the order of the day; even the wounded, when able to come upon deck, shewed some signs of the joy which animated their comrades in the thoughts of returning to France. They would do any thing to gratify the English officers and men. Sometimes, when their band played "*God save the King*," the members of the theatrical party, in the forecastle, sang out, in broken English, "*Send him victorious!*"

The moment came, however, which was to create a pause in all this mirth. The Braakel got under weigh; and a stiff gale causing more motion than suited either the *club-d'armes* or the *comédie*, every Frenchman was indisposed. Nothing then was heard but groans and curses. All the instruments were out of tune, and the deck was soon destitute of every other symptom of activity, except that which was manifested by the ship's crew. It had been Captain Clarke's intention, in tacking out of Aboukir Roads, to put us on board the Sultan Selim, the famous three-decker, belonging to the Capudan Pasha, with whom we were acquainted; but this proved impracticable. To our very great consternation, we found ourselves, on the morning of the seventh of August, so far advanced in the voyage to France, that we were already out of sight of the fleet. The Captain told us there was only this alternative, to go with him to Marseilles, or to accept of a small boat, which he would willingly give us, and run before the wind to the Mouth of the Nile. The turbulent appearance of the sea

Author narrowly escapes being conveyed to France.

CHAP. I.

did not at all tempt us to try so hazardous an experiment as the last; for if we had done this, and had escaped the consequences of our own ignorance among mountainous waves, we should inevitably have perished in the surf upon the coast. We therefore could only lament the loss of our intended journey in Egypt, and retire into the cabin with General La Grange, to whom we made known our very embarrassing situation. While we were thus ruminating upon the unexpected change in all our plans, a cry upon deck announced that a sail was in sight, standing towards Aboukir. This proved to be the Diadem, a 64-gun ship, Captain Larmour, from Cyprus, with wood and water, which presently drew near to us, and was hailed from the Braakel. We requested a passage to the fleet: this was granted, and with some difficulty we got on board. Here we found Colonel Capper, the bearer of overland despatches from India to the British army in Egypt. He gave us an account of his very arduous expedition; and communicated some interesting particulars, concerning the existence of antient Pagan superstitions in Mount Libanus, particularly those of Venus. These were alluded to in the preceding Volume[1]; and as a renewal of the subject here might be deemed irrelevant, the Author has reserved his observations upon Colonel Capper's discovery for the Appendix[2]: it relates to a very interesting relique of the antient mythology of Syria.

Discovery of the Worship of Venus upon Mount Libanus.

Upon

(1) See Vol. II. p. 404. Note 1.

(2) See the Appendix to this Volume, No. II.

Upon our return to the fleet, Captain Larmour accompanied Colonel Capper to the Admiral's ship; and we revisited the Ceres, where we found our valuable friend Captain Russel, to the great grief of his officers and crew, and all who had the happiness of knowing him, in such a state of indisposition as put an end to every hope of his recovery. We had much difficulty in obtaining a passage to Rosetta on board one of the *djerms*, or boats belonging to the Nile; but, at length, permission was granted us to sail in one of these vessels, from the Eurus, Captain Guion, who treated us with that politeness we had so often experienced from the officers of the British Navy. We left the Bay of Aboukir, August the eighth, about ten o'clock A. M. As we drew near to the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, we observed that the signal-boat was not out[3]. So many lives had been lost upon the bar by not attending to this circumstance[4], and such positive injunctions issued by the Commander-in-chief against attempting to pass when the signal was removed, that we supposed the Arabs belonging to the djerm would take us back to the fleet. The wind was however against our return; and the crew of the boat persisted in saying that a passage was practicable. It was accordingly attempted; but the surf soon drove us back, and we narrowly escaped being overwhelmed

Dangerous Passage of the Bar at the Mouth of the Nile.

(3) During the Egyptian expedition, a boat with a signal-flag was always anchored on the outside of the mouth of the Nile, when the surf upon the bar was passable.

(4) Scarcely a day elapsed, during our first visit to Rosetta, in which some lives were not sacrificed, owing to the inattention paid to the signal. It was even asserted, that the loss of men at the mouth of the Nile, including those both of the army and navy, who were here sacrificed, was greater than the total of our loss in all the engagements that took place with the French troops in Egypt.

CHAP. I.

overwhelmed by it. A second attempt was then made, nearer to the eastern side of the river's mouth. We prevailed upon some English sailors, who were on board, to let the Arabs have their own way, and not interfere with the management of the djerm, however contrary it might seem to their usual maxims. Never was there a more fearful sight, nor a scene of greater confusion, than ensued when we reached the middle of the tremendous surf a second time. The yells of the Arabs, the oaths of the sailors, the roaring of the waters, the yawning gulphs occasionally disclosing to us the bare sand upon the bar, while we were tossed upon the boiling surf, and, to complete the whole, the spectacle afforded by another djerm swamped and wrecked before our eyes, as we passed with the velocity of lightning, unable to render the least assistance, can never be forgotten. We had often read accounts of dangerous surf, in books of voyages, but entertained no notion in any degree adequate to the horrors which mariners encounter in such a situation; nor is there any instance known of a more frightful surf than this river sometimes exhibits, by its junction with the Mediterranean. No sooner had we gained a certain point, or tongue of land, advancing from the eastern shore of the river towards the north-west, than a general shout from the Arabs announced that every danger was over:—presently we sailed as serenely along as upon the calmest surface of any lake. The distance of the mouth of the Nile from the station of the British armament is considerable; but while we remained at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir, we could perceive the ships stationed near the

Boccaz;

Boccaz; and in like manner we here observed the masts of the fleet in the bay.

As we entered the Nile, we were amused by seeing an Arab fishing with the sort of net called in England a *casting-net:* this, without any difference either in shape, size, or materials, he was throwing exactly after our manner, which affords reasonable evidence of the antiquity of the custom. Pelicans appeared in great number at the mouth of the river; also that kind of porpoise which is called dolphin in the Levant; this may be seen sporting in the Nile, as high up as the town of Rosetta. The first object, after entering the Rosetta branch, is the Castle, or Fort of St. Julian. In digging for the fortifications of this place, the French discovered the famous Triple Inscription, now in the British Museum[1]: this will be ever valuable, even if the only information obtained from it were confined to a solitary fact,—that the hieroglyphic characters do exhibit *the writing of the priests* of Egypt[2]. This truth will no longer be disputed; therefore the proper appellation for inscriptions in such characters ought to be *Hierograms,* rather than *Hieroglyphs.* A surprising number of Turkish gun-boats were stationed opposite to this fort, at the time we passed; and when the beautiful prospect of Rosetta opened to our view, the whole surface of the river, in front of the town, appeared also covered with gun-boats and with djerms.

Fort St. Julian.

Upon

(1) See p. 304. Chap. X. of the last Volume.

(2) See the words of the Greek inscription upon that stone, ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ.

CHAP. I.

State of Affairs in Rosetta.

Upon our arrival, at five o'clock P. M. we found an amusing proof of the effect of war annihilating all civil distinctions. The house we had formerly occupied was full of sailors, soldiers, and other tenants; our apartments had been converted into *Charems*, and were filled with Georgian, Circassian, and Egyptian girls; these we found sitting unveiled upon the floor; some working embroidery, others chattering and laughing. One of them, a beautiful female, taken from a tribe of Bedouin Arabs, exhibited a fine countenance disfigured with those blue scars which were described in the account of Bethlehem. They were marks, as she pretended, which entitled her to very high consideration among the Arabs of the Desert. These women had been presents from the French prisoners to the officers and men of our army and navy. They appeared to be as much at home, and as tranquil, in the protection of their new masters, as if they had been thus settled for life. The most lamentable part of the story is, that when our people were compelled to abandon them, they were certain of being murdered by the Mahometans. A woman who has admitted the embraces of a Christian is never afterwards pardoned. It is lawful, and deemed laudable, for the first Turk or Arab who meets with her, to put her instantly to death. In this scene of confusion we were constrained to take up our abode; there being no alternative, until we could complete our preparations for a voyage up the Nile to Grand Caïro. Indeed, we had reason to be thankful for such accommodations, considering the disordered state of affairs at that time in Rosetta. We hired a djerm the evening of

of our arrival; and made application the next day, August 9th, to the Commissary of the army, for his permission to purchase provisions, in the market. This we had great difficulty in obtaining. The Commissary seemed to consider, and with reason at that critical juncture, every application which did not relate to the business of the army as an unwarrantable intrusion. Some degree of rudeness, however, in the manner of his refusal, struck us the more forcibly, as we had experienced the greatest civilities from his worthy predecessor, who had recently fallen a victim to the effects of the climate. Having urgent letters of recommendation from the Commanders-in-chief, both of the army and of the navy, we made our situation known to Mr. Wills, purser of Captain Russel's ship the Ceres, then acting as Commissary for the fleet, who interested himself warmly in our behalf. To his kindness we were indebted for being able to prosecute our intended voyage with expedition as well as with comfort; and, indeed, without his aid we should not have been allowed the use even of the djerm which we had engaged for the undertaking.

We employed the remainder of this day in fitting up a kind of tent, or cabin, by means of mats and the branches of palm-trees, upon the stern of our vessel, lining it with our mosquitoe-nets, to protect us from the swarm of those insects upon the river. The inundation had begun, and the rapidity of the current was thereby exceedingly increased. The price of every article of provision had become very high, since our last visit to Rosetta. For half a pound of tea we were obliged to pay near two pounds sterling. The difference between

Price of Provisions.

CHAP. I.

between the markets of this place and Damiata was astonishing, considering the short distance that separated the two towns. This will appear in stating the value of a dollar; which, in Rosetta, was equivalent, either to half a sheep, or to three geese, or four fowls, or an hundred eggs. In Damiata, for the same sum, might be purchased, either two sheep, six geese, twelve fowls, or eight hundred eggs. The coffee of Mocha, when Rosetta was first captured, might be obtained almost for nothing; but it had been all sold, and a great quantity went in presents to England. One of the most curious sights in Rosetta was the manufacture of this article. After roasting the coffee, it is pounded in immense iron mortars; three Arabs working at a time, with enormous pestles, each as large as a man can raise. The capacity of the bottom of the mortar being only equal to the reception of one of these at a time, the pestles are raised according to the measure of an air sung by an attendant Arab, who sits near the mortar. The main purport of this curious accompaniment to their labour is, to prevent the hand and arm of a boy, kneeling by the mortar, from being crushed to atoms. The boy's arm is always within the receiver, which, being hollowed in the shape of a cone, allows room for each pestle to pass in turn without bruising him, if he place it in time against the side of the mortar; but, as after every stroke he must stir up the powder at the bottom with his fingers, if the precise period of each blow were not marked by the measure of the song, his arm would be struck off. Intoxication happily is a vice with which the Arabs are unacquainted; or, as the constant attention of a whole

Manufacture of Coffee.

a whole party, thus employed, is necessary to the safety of the poor child, so stationed, it may be conceived what the consequences of drunkenness would be, in a manufactory where many of these mortars are used. A sight of this process is sufficient to explain the cause of the very impalpable nature of the powder used by the Turks in their coffee: the infusion more resembles the appearance of chocolate, than of coffee as we prepare it in England.

Curious Remains of Pointed Arches.

After visiting this manufactory, we went to see a building of very great, although of unknown, antiquity, used as a warehouse for keeping stores. It has a vaulted stone roof, with the remarkable appearance of pointed arches, resulting from the intersection of palm-branches: the trunks of the trees, whence these ramifications proceed, beautifully sculptured, are represented as stationed in the four corners and by the sides of the vaulted chamber. This curious relique has never been noticed nor described by any author; therefore it is impossible to conjecture either the age of the building, or any thing concerning its history. Quaresmius is altogether silent upon the subject. He says only of antient Rosetta, that it was called SCHEIDA; and its present appellation, *Raschid,* is familiar to every school-boy acquainted with the entertaining tales of its Caliph, Aaron: possibly, therefore, the vaulted edifice may be referred to this famous Sultan *Haroun al Raschid,* in the eighth century.

Probable Consequence of the Interruption of Mecca Pilgrimage.

Rosetta may soon become a place of much more importance than it is at present, in consequence of the total cessation of pilgrimages to Mecca. The Wahabee Arabs have destroyed all the wells which formerly supplied the caravans with

 water;

CHAP. I.

water; and nothing less than an army is necessary for their restoration[1]. Quaresmius, in mentioning the estimation wherein Rosetta, as the birth-place of Mahomet, is held by the Moslems, long ago predicted, that whenever the journeys to Mecca were interrupted, it would become the resort of Mahometan pilgrims[2]. For the reception of such a multitude, Rosetta is much better provided than Mecca; for it is attested by all travellers[3], and among these by our countryman Sandys[4], that "no place under heaven is better furnished with graine, flesh, fish, sugar, fruits, roots," together with all other necessaries and luxuries of life.

Exhibition of the *Psylli*, or Serpent-Eaters.

During our former visit to Rosetta, we neglected to notice the particular day of the year[5] on which a most singular exhibition of the *Serpent-eaters*, or *Psylli*, as mentioned

(1) "It is now five years since the Wahabees have prevented the pilgrims from performing their journey to Mecca. They have destroyed the cisterns in the Desert; and it is impossible to have these repaired without sending an army to protect the workmen. This condition will hardly ever be fulfilled, as there are not more than 10,000 soldiers in all Syria; and the Wahabee Chief has, at any time, more than 100,000 men mounted on camels, at his disposal. The interruption of this pilgrimage is considered by the Turks as a sign of the approaching desolation of the Turkish empire." *MS. Letter from Burckhardt, the African traveller, dated Aleppo, May* 3, 1811.

(2) "Fertur in partibus illis, ex ea civitate originem traxisse Mahometem, pseudo-prophetam Turcarum et aliorum Infidelium caput; ac ideò illam magni æstimant. Quare, si Mecha, ubi sepulchrum dicitur esse Mahometis, à Christianis caperetur, et ad illud interdicta esset ipsorum peregrinatio, Rosetum peregrinarentur." *Quaresm. Eluc. T. S. tom.* II. *p.* 1008. *Antv.* 1639.

(3) "In optima uberique regione sita, omni bonorum genere ad opulente vivendum affluente, carnibus, piscibus, fructibus, &c." *Ibid.*

(4) Sandys' Travels, p. 166. *Lond.* 1637.

(5) Denon says this exhibition takes place during the annual procession of the Feast of Ibrahim, at Rosetta. He regretted not having been there at the time. *See Denon's Travels, Eng. Edit. vol.* I. *p.* 123. *Lond.* 1803.

mentioned by Herodotus[6] and by many antient authors[7], took place. A tumultuous throng, passing beneath the windows of our house, attracted our attention towards the quay: here we saw a concourse of people following men apparently frantic, who, with every appearance of convulsive agony, were brandishing live serpents, and then tearing them with their teeth; snatching them from each other's mouths, with loud cries and distorted features, and afterwards falling into the arms of the spectators, as if swooning; the women all the while rending the air with their lamentations. Pliny often mentions these jugglers[8]; and as their tricks have been noticed by other travellers, it is only now necessary to attest the existence of this extraordinary remnant of a very antient custom.

(6) Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 173.

(7) Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. Lucan. ix. vv. 894, 937. Pausan. lib. ix. c. 14. Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 14. Aul. Gell. lib. xvi. c. 11. &c. &c.

(8) Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. c. 2. lib. viii. c. 25. lib. xxv. c. 10. lib. xxviii. c. 3.

ARABS raising Water from the Nile
into their Plantations.

CHAP. II.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE TO GRAND CAIRO.

Example afforded by a Naval Officer—Inaccuracy in the Maps of Egypt —Triple Harvest of the Delta—Mode of raising Water from the Nile —Summer Habits of the Egyptian Arabs—FICUS SYCAMORUS—*Etesian Winds*—MOTUBIS—*Dancing Women*—DEBE—SINDION *and* DERRÛL—*Turkish Cavalry—Arab Customs*—FOUA—RACHMANIE —*Description of the Country*—*Diseases—Facility of visiting Upper Egypt*—KOUM SCHERIFF—AMRUS—*Birds*—*Singular Animal Appearance—Plants*—EL BUREDGIAT—*Remarkable Phænomenon— Tumblers*—*Abundance of Corn*—*Southern Point of the Delta— Arrival at* BULAC—*View of the Pyramids—Visit to the Reis Effendi —House of the French Institute—Jewel Market—Interior of Caïro— Jugglers*—*Trees*—*Incense*—*Gum Arabic*—*Plagues of Egypt— Statistics of Caïro—British Army from India—Dinner given by the Commander-in-chief—Discovery made by Brahmins in Upper Egypt* —*Examination of an Abyssinian concerning Bruce's Travels— Fidelity of that Traveller's Observations confirmed.*

CHAP. II.

WE left Rosetta on Monday, August the tenth, at seven A. M. and called upon Captain Hillyar, who had the command

command of some gun-boats to the south of the town, and whom we found stationed upon the river, on board one of those vessels. His late arduous services, in several engagements with the enemy, were then the subject of very general conversation. The Capudan Pasha, in testimony of the gratitude of the Turkish Government, had conferred upon him some trifling presents. But that which particularly excited the wonder of all his contemporaries, and which will convey the name of Hillyar to posterity, with honours more lasting than even those obtained by his valour and his victories, was the example offered by this distinguished officer to the navies of the world, in proving the possibility of fighting the battles of his country, and maintaining unrivalled discipline among his crew, without the utterance of an oath by any man on board the ship he commanded.

Example afforded by a Naval Officer.

We had convincing evidence of inaccuracy in our best maps of the Delta, and of the course of the Nile, from the earliest comparisons we made in the country. That of Kauffer, published at Constantinople in 1799, is extremely incorrect; but it is less so than preceding documents. Soon after leaving Rosetta, we passed some extensive canals, conveying water to lands above the level of the river: these are supplied by wheels, sometimes turned by oxen, but more generally by buffaloes. They are banked by very lofty walls, constructed of mud, hardened by the sun. One of them, upon the western side of the river, extended to the Lake Maadie. The land, thus watered, produces three crops in each year; the first of clover, the second of corn, and the third of rice. The rice-grounds are inundated from the time

Inaccuracy in the Maps of Egypt.

Triple Harvest of the Delta.

CHAP. II.

time of sowing nearly to harvest: the seed is commonly cast upon the water, a practice twice alluded to in Sacred Scripture. Balaam prophesied of Israel[1], that "his seed should be in many waters." In the directions given for charity by the son of David, it is written[2], "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days." When the rice-plants are about two feet high, they are transplanted.

Method of raising Water from the Nile.

Besides the method of raising water into the high grounds near the river, by means of buckets fastened to a wheel, where the land is not much elevated above the surface of the Nile, they use a simple, and probably a very antient contrivance[3], of lifting it in a basket lined perhaps with close matting or with leather. Two men, holding the basket between them, by a cord in each hand fastened to the edge of it, lower it into the Nile, and then swing it between them until it acquires a velocity sufficient to enable them to throw the water, over a bank, into a canal near the river. The regular continuance of their motion gives them, at a distance, the appearance of automaton figures, rather than of living beings. They work stark naked, exposed to the sun's most powerful rays, during the whole day; repeating one of their Arabian songs; for they seem to have a peculiar air adapted to every labour. As to their summer clothing, when they

(1) Numbers xxiv. 7. (2) Ecclesiastes xi. 1.

(3) *See the Vignette to this Chapter.* Those who are interested in tracing resemblances between the customs of the Chinese and Egyptians, may be informed that this manner of irrigating land, which certainly possesses something of singularity, is practised upon the rivers in China, without the smallest difference. An engraved representation of it is given in the account of Lord Macartney's Embassy. *See vol.* II. *p.* 359. *Lond.* 1797.

they wear any, it consists only of a blue cotton shirt, girded by a belt round the waist. The Arabs whom we saw occasionally near the river, whether alone, or in company, made their appearance without any kind of covering. Sometimes they were seen in parties of ten or twelve at a time, walking together, young and old, as naked as they were born, without seeming sensible of any indecency in their appearance.

Fahrenheit's thermometer, observed in the shade, this day at noon, indicated a temperature of ninety degrees. Our course, by a very good boat-compass, given to us by Captain Clarke of the Braakel, was at that time south, half east. In half an hour we found it to be east and by north. We observed several trees of a very singular form: they resembled, by the spreading of their boughs, the shape of a fan, and looked at a distance like enormous peacocks with their tails expanded. As we drew near and examined them, they proved to be, every one of them, the *Ficus Sycamorus*, or *Sycamore Fig;* and of this species, although so common in Egypt, there was scarcely a single specimen in any British herbary, until our return to England. It attains an enormous size near Caïro; particularly in the Isle of Rhouda, where some of those trees appear larger than the stateliest oaks of our forests. The fruit resembles the common fig in shape; but it is smaller, very dry, insipid, and rarely eaten. The peculiar form of the trees in this part of Egypt is owing entirely to the north and north-west, or *Etesian* winds, which prevail with much violence, and for a considerable length of time, during the months of July and

Ficus Sycamorus.

Etesian Winds.

CHAP. II.

and August. As this monsoon happens annually, at the period of the Nile's inundation, the wonderful advantages it offers for the commerce of the country exceed any thing perhaps known upon earth. A vessel, leaving Rosetta, is driven by it with extraordinary velocity against the whole force of the torrent to Caïro, or into any part of Upper Egypt. For the purpose of her return, with even greater rapidity, it is only necessary to take down mast and sails, and leave her to be carried against the wind by the powerful current of the river. It is thus possible to perform the whole voyage, from Rosetta, to Bulâc the quay of Caïro, and back again, with certainty, in about seventy hours; a distance equal to four hundred miles[1].

Motubis.

At half past one P. M. we came in view of *Motubis*, sometimes written *Metubis*, or *Metabis*[2], famous or infamous for those dancing women called *Almehs*, which however are common in most parts of Egypt. When the French army marched to Caïro, General Menou halted here, in the true spirit of French licentiousness, pretending business with the Sheiks, but in reality to gratify himself and his soldiers by the disgusting exhibition of these prostitutes. The Sheiks of the place wished to be spared, even in Motubis, the degradation attending a public display of these dances, and raised difficulties against their attendance; but, says Denon[3], "the presence of the generals, and especially

Dancing Women.

(1) Shaw makes the distance from Rosetta to Caïro equal to 200 miles. See *Shaw's Travels*, p. 294. *Lond.* 1757.

(2) See Denon's Travels, vol. I. p. 77. *Lond.* 1803. (3) Ibid. p. 78.

especially of two hundred soldiers, removed the obstacles." In order to heighten the dissoluteness of this Canopic festival, brandy was administered to the women in large glasses, which, says the same writer, they drank like lemonade. If, therefore, in the scene that followed, something revolting, even to the feelings of a French army, ensued, it should have been deemed rather characteristic of the Parisian rabblement who were present, than of the natural habits of the people of the country. As we approached Motubis, our course altered from south-east to south-west. According to Kauffer's map, the course is south-east towards this place from Rosetta. We arrived at two o'clock P. M. and observed here some troops of English cavalry; but continued our voyage without landing. Opposite to the town of Motubis, but farther towards the south, stands *Débé*. The generality of these towns upon the banks of the Nile are small, but there is a pleasing variety in their appearance; for they have no resemblance to each other, although all of them are shaded by groves of date and sycamore. We passed *Sindion* and *Derrûl*, two towns opposite to each other, on different sides of the river. At Sindion we had the pleasing sight of a party of Turkish cavalry upon their march; and were awhile amused by considering the gratification their appearance would afford, if we could have removed them, in their full costume, to one of the London theatres. They had their colours flying; yellow and green. Passing through the villages, they continued to beat small kettle-drums; proceeding always by a sluggish pace, with their knees up to their chins, evidently annoyed by a

Débé.

Sindion and Derrûl.

Turkish Cavalry.

 situation

CHAP. II.

situation so hostile to their natural indolence as that in which a certain degree of active exertion was unavoidable. Their ludicrous appearance was a source of mirth to the cavalry of the French army, even in the heat of battle; among whom the order of a charge was frequently expressed, with their natural levity, by the words "*Bas les Pastèques!*" *Down with the Water-melons!* alluding to the appearance presented by the bulky swathing of their large turbans, which give to their heads something of a similitude to that enormous kind of fruit; and it was a sound of which the Moslems rarely awaited the result, but fled as soon as they heard it, in the utmost disorder.

Arab Customs.

The Arab crew of our boat washed their hands, faces, and teeth, before and after eating; cleaning their teeth with wood ashes, which they collected for that purpose from the fire for boiling our kettles. The common fuel used by the inhabitants of the country is prepared from a mixture of camel's dung, mud, and straw: these ingredients, being mixed as a paste, they collect into balls, which are flattened upon the walls of their huts for drying in the sun, and made into circular cakes. From the ashes of those cakes the Muriat of Ammonia is obtained, which is afterwards sent to Europe. The process is briefly and perspicuously described by Shaw, in the Appendix to his Travels[1]. About four miles to the south of Sindion, the Nile

(1) Collectanea, No. X. p. 480. Shaw's Travels. *Lond.* 1757.

Nile had overflowed its banks, and was making rapid progress over the adjoining fields. It began to rise upon the seventeenth day of June. The canal of Caïro was cut upon the eighth of August, the day of our arrival at Rosetta from the Holy Land, with the usual observance of public festivity; the Nile having then attained its proper height. After this, all the banks were cut, and dykes opened, to receive the inundation, from Caïro to the sea[2]. Our course here was E. N. E. towards the village of Foua, falsely marked as a town in all the maps. Soon afterwards we steered south-east, and passed that village. It is opposite to Rachmanie, now celebrated as the scene of action between our troops and those of the enemy under General Le Grange. This officer was raised by Buonaparté from the ranks: high respect is due to him for his conduct upon many occasions; but, in particular, for his subsequent humane and exemplary treatment of the wife of one of our commanders in the West Indies, who became his prisoner while her husband was engaged with him in the warmest hostilities. If it be a Christian duty to love our enemies, it is doubly incumbent upon every Englishman to cherish the memory of actions which thus exalt the character

(2) The Reader may perhaps be curious to know what the symptoms are in the Nile (when at the lowest ebb) denoting the incipient flood. We were in Rosetta at the precise period for making the observation. This happened upon the sixteenth of May. For several days before, the water in the river was very shallow, and seemed to stagnate. The smell of it was like that of an unwholesome pool, and its surface became partly covered with a green slime. By attentively observing it about this time, a number of little whirlpools, not more than an inch in diameter, might be occasionally noticed, suddenly becoming visible, and as suddenly disappearing. The Arabs pointed to these as the earliest indications of the coming flood.

CHAP. II.

Rachmanie.

character of a soldier to that of a hero. The English flag was flying upon the castle of the fortress of Rachmanie; and a party of our troops was stationed there, to guard the town. We spoke to some Irish soldiers, asking them the hour; and were much amused by the reply: "To be sure, at sunset is it not half past four?" Opposite to Rachmanie there is a small island, in the middle of the river. A large vessel with three masts was stationed near the town. The Nile is here very broad, and the current was at this time prodigiously rapid; yet the force of the Etesian wind enabled us to stem it, and to proceed with very great velocity. Villages, in an almost uninterrupted succession, denoted a much greater population than we had imagined the country contained. Upon each side of the river, as far as the eye could survey, were rich fields of corn and rice, with such beautiful groves, seeming to rise out of the watery plains, and to shade innumerable settlements in the Delta, amidst never-ending plantations of melons and all kinds of garden vegetables, that, from the abundance of its produce, Egypt may be deemed the richest country in the world. Such is the picture exhibited to the native inhabitants, who are seasoned to withstand the disorders of the country, and can bear with indifference the attacks of myriads of all sorts of noxious animals; to whom mud and mosquitoes, or dust and vermin, are alike indifferent; who, having never experienced one comfortable feeling in the midst of their highest enjoyments, nor a single antidote to sorrow in the depths of wretchedness, vegetate, like the bananas and sycamores around them. But to strangers, and particularly

Description of the Country.

to

to inhabitants of Northern countries, where wholesome air and cleanliness are among the necessaries of life, Egypt is the most detestable region upon earth. Upon the retiring of the Nile, the country is one vast swamp. An atmosphere, impregnated with every putrid and offensive exhalation, stagnates, like the filthy pools over which it broods. Then the plague regularly begins, nor ceases until the waters return again[1]. Throughout the spring, intermitting fevers universally prevail. About the beginning of May certain winds cover even the sands of the desert with the most disgusting vermin[2]. The latest descendants of Pharaoh are not yet delivered from the evils which fell upon the land, when it was smitten by the hands of Moses and Aaron: the "plague of frogs," the "plague of lice," "the plague of flies," the "murrain, boils, and blains," prevail, so that the whole country is "corrupted," and "THE DUST OF THE EARTH BECOMES LICE, UPON MAN AND UPON BEAST, THROUGHOUT THE LAND OF EGYPT." This application of the words of Scripture affords a literal exposition of existing facts; such an one as the statistics of the country do now warrant[2]. In justification of this statement, it is only necessary to appeal to the testimony of all those who have resided in the country

Diseases.

(1) General Le Grange assured us, when on board the Braakel, that the ravages in the French army, caused by the plague during the month of April, at one time amounted to an hundred men in a single day.

(2) Sir Sidney Smith informed the Author, that one night, preferring a bed upon the sand of the desert to a night's lodging in the village of Etko, as thinking to be secure from vermin, he found himself, in the morning, entirely covered by them. Lice and scorpions abound in all the sandy desert near Alexandria.

CHAP. II.

country during the very opposite seasons of its prosperity and privation; during the inundation, and when the flood has retired; or before it takes place, in the beginning of the year. At the period of the overflow, persons who drink the water become subject to the disorder called "prickly heat:" this often terminates in those dreadful wounds alluded to in Scripture, by the words "boils and blains." During the months of June, July, and August, many individuals are deprived of sight, by a disease of the eyes peculiar to this country, and which, having no other name for, Europeans have called *Ophthalmia*, from the organs it afflicts. There was hardly an individual who did not suffer, more or less, the consequences of this painful malady. It commences with a sensation as if grains of sand had been blown into the eyes, which no care can remove[1]. At this season, also, the dysentery begins to number its victims; and although some are fortunate enough to escape the worst effects of this disorder, it proves fatal in many instances[2].

Facility of visiting Upper Egypt.

A traveller may escape most of these evils by proper attention: and if he visit the country so as to profit by the Etesian winds at the time of the inundation, and hires a djerm for his constant residence upon the river, he may venture

(1) It is said even yet to exist in this country, as a contagious disorder brought by our army from Egypt.

(2) The best remedies for this terrible complaint are, first a swathing of flannel, in many folds, about the abdomen; and, secondly, a drink of water, in which rice has been boiled, carefully strained from the grains of rice, which should not be eaten. The very worst effects may be apprehended from brandy, or any of those heating cordials usually administered, by ignorant people, upon these occasions. Rice-water and abstemious diet is the cure resorted to by the Arabs themselves.

venture into Upper Egypt, and visit Thebes with greater ease and comfort than he ever performed any other expedition. The never-failing monsoon will carry him along, sitting in a cool and comfortable cabin, with every convenience for reading or writing, for food, or rest; and the current of the river alone will operate as favourably for his return. We considered the time we passed upon the Nile as the most pleasing part of all our travels;—that which was required by our residence on shore the most disagreeable; notwithstanding the very commodious lodgings we had, whether in the cities of Rosetta, Caïro, or Alexandria.

After passing Rachmanie, darkness compelled us to take leave of the very interesting landscape which had continually gratified us during the day. We continued sailing almost the whole night, under the care and guidance of our steady pilot at the helm, who, as captain of the djerm, remained at his post until morning dawned. Four men besides himself constituted the whole crew; these were all Arabs. During the time they remained in our service, we found them diligent, industrious, faithful, always sober, obliging, and skilful in the management of their vessel. When daylight appeared, upon Saturday, August the eleventh, they told us they had anchored for some time at a village, fearful of being boarded by pirates during the extreme darkness that prevailed, especially as the light burning in our cabin rendered the djerm visible from the sides of the river. About eight o'clock A. M. we reached a miserable town, called *Koum* or *Komme Scheriff*, built entirely with mud. Soon afterwards we passed the town of *Amrus*, also constructed of

Koum Scheriff.

Amrus.

CHAP. II.

of mud, and containing a number of tall and large cones, built in the same manner, and serving as pigeon-houses: these have a singular appearance in the approach to the place. Pigeon's dung, everywhere valuable as manure, is here an important acquisition; for by mixing it with the sand upon the little islands left by the torrent in the midst of the river, a soil is formed, capable of producing water-melons[1].

Birds.

The birds which frequent the Nile, if we except the account given by Hasselquist[2], are but little known, and our observations will add nothing to this deficiency in ornithology. A most superb collection was, however, forwarded to England under the patronage and by the immediate orders of Lord Hutchinson. It had been formed, with consummate skill and labour, by a person of the name of Savigny. We principally noticed pelicans, from the mouth of the Nile, as far as Rachmanie. The *Sterna Nilotica*, or Egyptian sea-swallow, appeared, in immense flocks, near the sides of the river. Afterwards we saw many beautiful birds, of which we were entirely ignorant; particularly one of the plover kind, whose plumage exhibited the most lively and variegated colours[3]. The pigeon-cones increased very much after passing Amrus, almost every village being furnished with them. The buffaloes, swimming about in the Nile, afford a singular sight, with their black muzzles sticking

(1) See also Baron de Tott's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 248. *Lond.* 1785.

(2) See Travels, p. 193. *Lond.* 1766.

(3) Probably the "*Tringa Ægyptiaca*" of Linnæus, "*longirostris, fusco albidoque variegata.*" See Hasselq. Trav. p. 199.

sticking out of the water, and snorting as they cross from side to side; all the rest of their bodies being concealed. But the most remarkable animal appearance may be noticed by merely dipping a ladle or bucket into the midst of the torrent, which is everywhere dark with mud, and observing the swarms of animalculæ it contains. Among these, tadpoles and young frogs are so numerous, that, rapid as the current flows, there is no part of the Nile where the water does not contain them. The additions to our herbary were not of any importance; for the season was too far advanced (4). The rice-plants, however, may be excepted; these had

Singular Animal Appearance.

Plants.

(4) In the account of our journey from Aboukir to Rosetta, (*See Chap. IX. Vol. II.*) five new species were omitted, which may be noticed here, although perhaps not found so high up the Nile. The first genus is not mentioned in Professor Martyn's edition of Miller's Dictionary.

I. A non-descript grass, being a new species of POLYPOGON; growing in little tufts, about two inches high. We have called it POLYPOGON PUMILUM. (See the character of this genus in the Flora Atlantica of M. Desfontaines, Professor of Botany in the Museum of Natural History at Paris.) This was found near Rosetta. *Polypogon pumilum, paniculâ ovatâ coarctatâ, aristis calyce hirsuto ferè duplò longioribus. Radix annua fibrosa. Culmi numerosi geniculati, ferè ad apices foliosi. Folia glabriuscula striata, longè vaginantia, supra plana, patentia. Stipulæ laceratæ, nitidæ. Paniculæ inæquales, superiores lineas sex ad novem longæ; inferiores dimidio minores.*

II. A non-descript species of LOTUS, with shining silky leaves, very closely crowded together towards the tops of the branches. We have called it LOTUS POLYPHYLLUS. This was found between Aboukir and Rosetta, in the month of April. *Lotus caule suffrutescente ramoso, foliis lineari-parabolicis obliquis, imbricatis, sericeis, nitidis internodiis longioribus; floribus subternis; leguminibus glabris calyce hirsutissimo paulo longioribus. Rami adscendentes flexuosi, deorsum e casu foliorum cicatricibus notati nudi; supradense foliosi, hirsuti. Foliola lineas tres longa, utrinque sericea. Stipulæ foliolis simillimæ. Flores foliis parum longiores, interdum solitarii. Legumina turgida stylo persistente coronata.*

III. A magnificent non-descript species of OROBANCHE, with a furrowed scaly stem, and a close spike of flowers about three inches broad, and above a foot in height.

CHAP. II.

had not attained maturity, being now about two feet in height. They resembled a species of *Typha*, common in large ponds in the south of England, vulgarly called *flags*, as these appear, when young, rising from the water. We made the usual observation upon Fahrenheit's thermometer, at noon, just before arriving at *El Buredgiat*, and found the temperature equal to that of the former day; ninety degrees. This village is placed accurately in Kauffer's map. We steered south-east and by south. Proceeding towards *Nadir*, the course altered, and we steered due east. The river here appeared

El Buredgiat.

We have called it OROBANCHE INSIGNIS. This was also found between Aboukir and Rosetta, at the same time. *Orobanche caule simplici, corollis inflatis, recurvis, quinquefidis, laciniis integerrimis, calycibus quinquepartitis, bracteis ternis quaternisve, spicâ imbricatâ, oblongâ, crassissima; antheris hirsutis.*

IV. A non-descript shrubby species of SALSOLA, belonging to that division of the genus called *Sueda* by Forskahl and Pallas, and distinguished principally by the want of the membranaceous wing to the calyx. The species is very much branched, with the bark of an ash colour; the smaller branches very leafy; the leaves two to three lines long, a little convex below; the flowers are attended by three small bracts, and generally ternate, but are found also solitary; the seeds black and shining, very small. We have called it SALSOLA NITIDA. This was found in the neighbourhood of Rosetta. *Salsola fruticosa, foliis ovatis supra planiusculis, glabris, obtusis; floribus axillaribus subternis; calycibus fructiferis inappendiculatis, conniventibus; seminibus reniformibus turgidis.*

V. A non-descript species of Wall-flower, (CHEIRANTHUS *Linn.*) the short stems of which spread upon the ground, and seldom extend beyond the radical leaves; these measure two and a half or three inches in length; the flowers in loose racemes, with purple petals, broad and notched at the end, and interwoven with dark veins; the pods compressed, an inch to an inch and a half in length, with a large three-cornered head, and thinly covered (like every part of the plant, the petals, stamens, and roots excepted) with white forky hairs. We have called it CHEIRANTHUS HUMILIS. This grew in the neighbourhood of Rosetta. *Cheiranthus pubescens, humilis; pilis dichotomis; foliis angustis elongatis omnibus pinnatifidis; siliquis compressis, linearibus, tricuspidatis calycibusque pubescentibus.*

appeared like an immense lake. A singular phænomenon engrossed all our attention. One of those immense columns of sand, mentioned by Bruce, came rapidly towards us, turning upon its base as upon a pivot: it crossed the Nile so near us, that the whirlwind by which it was carried placed our vessel upon its beam-ends, bearing its large sail quite into the water, and nearly upsetting the boat. As we were engaged in righting the vessel, the column disappeared. It is not probable that those columns fall suddenly upon any particular spot, so as to be capable of overwhelming an army or a caravan; but that, as the sand, thus driven, is gradually accumulated, it becomes gradually dispersed, and, the column diminishing in its progress, at length disappears. A great quantity of sand is no doubt precipitated as the effect which gathers it becomes weaker; but, from witnessing such phænomena upon a smaller scale, it does not seem likely that the whole body of the sand is at once abandoned.

Remarkable Phænomenon.

Parties of young Arabs continually accompanied our *djerm* this day, running along the banks of the river, and tumbling, to obtain a few parâs, as we see children in many parts of England; sometimes walking upon their hands, with their heels in the air; at others, whirling upon their hands and feet, to imitate the motion of a wheel. Judging from the appearance these presented, the Arab complexion, at a very early age, is tawny, and almost black. They swim and dive remarkably well; but these are arts in which all Oriental nations excel those of the Western world. About three leagues before our arrival at *Kafrakadia*, there was such an amazing

Tumblers.

CHAP. II.

Abundance of Corn.

amazing quantity of corn formed into heaps near the river, that it extended nearly to the length of a mile. At this last-mentioned place there was a manufactory for extracting a dark blue dye from the indigo plant. Here girls of fourteen or fifteen years of age walked the streets, with jars of water upon their heads, perfectly naked. Our course latterly had varied occasionally from S. E. to S. W. At half past six P. M. we reached that part of the Nile where the river divides, so as to inclose the Delta by the Rosetta and Damiata branches. Its appearance above the point of separation was truly noble, being at this time three miles wide. The village or town of *Beersamps* stands upon the southern point of the Delta. *Koutomey* is upon the western side of the main river, and *Kafranamook* upon the eastern. After we had passed the point of Beersamps, our course along the undivided bed of the Nile was S. E. We arrived at Bulac at midnight; having thus performed a voyage from Rosetta to the quay of Caïro in thirty-six hours, against the utmost force and rapidity of the torrent.

Southern Point of the Delta.

Arrival at Bulac.

View of the Pyramids.

On Wednesday, the twelfth of August, we were roused, as soon as the sun dawned, by Antony, our faithful Greek servant and interpreter, with the intelligence that the Pyramids were in view. We hastened from the cabin;—and never will the impression made by their appearance be obliterated. By reflecting the sun's rays, they appeared as white as snow, and of such surprising magnitude, that nothing we had previously conceived in our imagination had prepared us for the spectacle we beheld.

The

The sight instantly convinced us that no power of description, no delineation, can convey ideas adequate to the effect produced in viewing these stupendous monuments. The formality of their structure is lost in their prodigious magnitude: the mind, elevated by wonder, feels at once the force of an axiom, which, however disputed, experience confirms,—that in vastness, whatsoever be its nature, there dwells sublimity[1]. Another proof of their indescribable power is, that no one ever approached them under other emotions than those of terror; which is another principal source of the sublime[2]. In certain instances of irritable feeling, this impression of awe and fear has been so great, as to cause pain rather than pleasure[3]; of which we shall have to record a very striking instance in the sequel. Hence, perhaps, have originated descriptions of the Pyramids which represent them as deformed and gloomy masses, without taste or beauty. Persons who have derived no satisfaction from

(1) "Sublime objects are vast in their dimensions." *Burke on the Sublime, &c. Sect.* 27. *Part* 3. *p.* 237. *Lond.* 1782.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Confirming, in a striking manner, these words of Burke, concerning the distinctions of greatness and beauty: "*They are indeed ideas of a very different nature; one being founded on pain, the other on pleasure.*" (Ibid.) Having referred to the opinions of this truly great philosopher, upon a subject so interesting to every reflecting mind, it may not be unseasonable to insert here a brief comparison between the theories of Longinus and Burke. There appears to be as much difference in them as between mechanism and intellect; between the operations of a piece of clock-work and those of human reason. Longinus directs us to the *effects* of the sublime; Burke points out its *causes*. Longinus teaches us to seek for the sublime *without us;* Burke, to create it *within ourselves*. Longinus views it in *its broad and well-known channel;* Burke conducts us to *its source*.

CHAP. II.

from the contemplation of them, may not have been conscious that the uneasiness they experienced was a result of their own sensibility. Others have acknowledged ideas widely different, excited by every wonderful circumstance of character and of situation;—ideas of duration, almost endless; of power, inconceivable; of majesty, supreme; of solitude, most awful; of grandeur, of desolation, and of repose.

As soon as we landed, we met several officers from India, belonging to the sixty-first regiment, then stationed in the Isle of Rhouda, in the Nile; where the Indian army was encamped. They had been, upon asses, to Caïro. We profited by their return, to hire the same animals, with their drivers, in order to be conducted to the house of the Reis Effendi. The Reis understood something of the English language, and spoke French remarkably well. He had been in England; and had written a work upon the manufactures, manners, customs, and laws of Great Britain. Of this curious document we never could obtain a sight, although it is often sold, among the other manuscripts, by the booksellers in Caïro and Constantinople. Perhaps he did not choose to make our countrymen at that time acquainted with his sentiments upon these subjects. He told us, he found every thing very good in London, especially veal and cyder, but that nothing was cheap. We gave him a letter from the Capudan Pasha, and he promised to render us all the service in his power. His janissaries conducted us, at our request, to Colonel Holloway, who, with Major Hope, and other officers of the artillery, were quartered in a large building, where the French Members

Visit to the Reis Effendi.

House of the French Institute.

of

of the Institute held their sittings during the time they were in possession of Caïro. Having presented our letters to the Colonel, we were received by him with great politeness, and were afterwards indebted to him for every civility it was in his power to show us. He introduced us to Dr. Whitman, who has since published an account of his travels; and undertook to forward our letters to England, and to present us to the Grand Vizîr. In the court belonging to the house where these officers resided, were several interesting articles of antiquity, abandoned by the French upon the surrender of the city. Among these was the *stêlê* of porphyry which is now deposited in the Vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge. Colonel Holloway kindly permitted us to remove this to England. We placed it in the prow of our djerm; thereby giving it the appearance of a gun-boat, to awe the pirates upon the river, during our subsequent voyage, in returning to Rosetta. There were also in this court certain fragments of Egyptian statues, formed of the substance commonly called Antient basalt, which is a variety of *trap*, exceedingly compact, and susceptible of a very high polish. But the most remarkable relique of the whole collection, since unaccountably neglected, (for it is, in all probability, still lying where we left it,) was a very large slab, covered with an inscription, in Hieroglyphic, Egyptian, and Greek characters, exactly similar to the famous trilinguar stone now in the British Museum[1].

Upon

(1) Its being left in Egypt is a circumstance wholly unaccountable. It was once Colonel Holloway's intention to have allowed us also the privilege of conveying this interesting

CHAP. II.

Upon the following day, Thursday, August the thirteenth, we again visited the Reis Effendi; who promised us an escort to the Pyramids, and said that a day should be appointed for our presentation to the Vizîr, at that time in Caïro. Afterward we visited the *bazars*, expecting to obtain from the jewellers' shops of this city some of the precious minerals of the East, at a reasonable rate. Not a single specimen worth notice could be procured. The French had bought up almost every thing; and perhaps the frequent disturbances which had happened in the city had caused the concealment of every valuable commodity. Among the goldsmiths we found only two antique intaglio gems, and a few medals of very little value, such as large copper coins of the Ptolemies. The cotton shawls manufactured in England would find a ready sale in this place. They asked two hundred piastres even for old turbans which had been mended. In the fruit-market we saw fresh dates, exceeding fine grapes, and peaches. Sausages were dressed, and sold hot in the streets, as in London: but whether the ingredients

Jewel Market.

interesting piece of antiquity to our own country. We did not afterwards discover the reason which prevented the fulfilment of this liberal design; and we were too much indebted to his politeness and hospitality to attribute it to any other cause than a desire to ensure its safe transportation, by entrusting it to men better provided with means for its removal. But, as it still remains in Caïro, some notice should be taken of it, that measures may be adopted to prevent its being finally lost. It should also be added, that the inscriptions upon this stone are much effaced. The Greek characters are so little legible, that the Author could not succeed in copying them. But there is a wide difference between the opportunity offered for that purpose, when exposed to the heat of an open court at Caïro in the middle of August, and a leisurely examination of the surface of the stone, with precisely the degree of light proper for the undertaking.

Interior of Cairo.

ingredients were pork, or any other meat, we did not inquire. To describe the interior of the city would be only to repeat what has been often said of all Turkish towns; with this difference, that there is not perhaps upon earth a more dirty metropolis. Every place is covered with dust; and its particles are so minute, that it rises into all the courts and chambers of the city. The streets are destitute of any kind of pavement: they exhibit, therefore, a series of narrow dusty lanes, between gloomy walls. It is well known that Europeans were formerly compelled to walk, or to ride upon asses, through these streets; nor had the practice been wholly abandoned when we arrived; for, although some of our officers appeared occasionally on horseback, many of them ambled about, in their uniforms, upon the jack-asses let for hire by the Arabs. Horses were not easily procured. To ride these, it was necessary first to buy them. And even when riding upon asses, if a favourable opportunity offered, when our military were not in sight, the attendants of the rich Turks, running on foot before their horses to clear the way, made every Christian descend and walk, until the bearded grandee had passed.

Jugglers.

We noticed several jugglers exhibiting their craft in the streets of Caïro; bearing in their hands a kind of toy, common in England, consisting of a number of pieces of wood, in the shape of playing-cards, strung together, and revolving from top to bottom; such as are called by children *trick-track*, and are often painted to display the Cries of London. These toys seemed to delight the Arabs, who considered them as put together by magic. For the

CHAP. II.

rest of the exhibition, it much resembled the shows of our mountebanks; each party having its Merry Andrew, who endured hard kicks and cuffs for the amusement of the populace.

By means of the canal which intersects the city, now filled with its muddy water, we visited great part of Caïro in a boat. The prodigious number of gardens give it so pleasing an appearance, and the trees growing in those gardens are so new to the eyes of a European, that, for a moment, he forgets the innumerable abominations of the dirtiest metropolis in the world. Many of the most conspicuous of these

Trees.

trees have been often described, but not all of them. The most beautiful among them, the *Mimosa Lebbeck*, has not even been mentioned in any account yet published of the city. This is the more extraordinary, as it grows upon the banks of the canal; and its long weeping branches, pendent to the surface of the water, could not escape notice. We brought the seeds of it to the Garden of Natural History at Cambridge, where it has since flourished. This plant has been hitherto so little known in Europe, that although cultivated in some botanic gardens for more than half a century, it has never been properly recognized. About thirty years ago, Professor Jacquin, who received some seeds of it from the East Indies, described it as a new species, under the name of *Mimosa speciosa;* and by this name it is still distinguished in the English catalogues. It grows promiscuously with the Gum Arabic Acacia, or *Mimosa Nilotica:* both of these, and also the *Mimosa Senegal*, are seen adorning the sides of the canal. Hasselquist says, that he

he saw the two last growing wild in the sandy desert, near the antient sepulchres of the Egyptians[1]. The *Mimosa Nilotica*, or *Acacia vera*, produces the frankincense. It is gathered in vast quantities from trees growing near the most northern bay of the Red Sea, at the foot of Mount Sinaï; and called *Thus*, by the dealers in Egypt, from *Thur* and *Thor*, which is the name of a harbour in that bay; thereby being distinguished from the Gum Arabic which comes from Suez[2]. These gums, says Hasselquist, differ in other particulars besides their localities; the first being limpid and colourless; the latter less pellucid, and of a brown, or dirty yellow colour[3]. We purchased a considerable quantity of the white gum. The fragrant odour diffused in burning it is well known; but its operation, as an enlivener of the spirits, in persons of weak health, does not seem to have been much regarded. Perhaps the pleasing antidote it affords to the effects of foul air in crowded assembly-rooms, may possibly hereafter give it a place among the luxuries of London and Paris. Hitherto the sacred Sabæan odour has been exclusively reserved for the religious ceremonies of the Greek and Roman churches; and that which was once considered an offering worthy the altars of the Most High God, now scarcely obtains any notice. Fifteen hundred years before the Christian æra, the ordinances concerning incense[4] were delivered to the

Incense.

Gum Arabic.

(1) Travels to the East, p. 250. *Lond.* 1776.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) "And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon." *Exod.* xxx. 1

CHAP. II.

the leader of the Jewish nation; and the history of the most antient Pagan rites also bears testimony to a similar custom. It seems evident, from the words of Scripture, that the practice of burning incense, among the Jews, was introduced with reference to the supposed salutary nature of the exhalation. Immediately following the ordinance for its use, it is stated, that the time of burning it shall be at the dressing and lighting of the lamps[1]; when an offensive smell, thereby created, might probably have pervaded the temple. Whatever may have been the cause of its original introduction among the sacrifices, whether of the Jews or Heathens, its being appropriated to the service of the Temple long caused it to be held in superstitious veneration. Many medical properties, which it never possessed, have been attributed to it; and, down to the latest ages, considered as an offering acceptable unto Heaven, it has been celebrated as giving efficacy to prayer, or, in the language of poetry, as wafting to Paradise the orisons of men.

The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer seemed at this time fixed. It remained at 90° for several days, without the smallest perceptible change. Almost every European suffered an inflammation of the eyes. Many were troubled with cutaneous disorders. The prickly heat was very common. This was attributed to drinking the muddy water of the Nile, the inhabitants having no other. Their mode of purifying it,

Plagues of Egypt.

(1) "And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense every morning: *when he dresseth the lamps,* he shall burn incense upon it. And when Aaron *lighteth the lamps* at even, he shall burn incense upon it; a perpetual incense before the Lord, throughout your generations." *Exod.* xxx. 7, 8.

it, in a certain degree, is by rubbing the inside of the water-vessels with bruised almonds: this precipitates a portion of the mud, but it is never quite clear. Many persons were afflicted with sores upon the skin, which were called "*Boils of the Nile;*" and dysenterical complaints were universal. A singular species of lizard made its appearance in every chamber, having circular membranes at the extremity of its feet, which gave it such tenacity that it crawled upon panes of glass, or upon the surface of pendent mirrors. This revolting sight was common to every apartment, whether in the houses of the rich or of the poor. At the same time, such a plague of flies covered all things with their swarms, that it was impossible to eat without hiring persons to stand by every table with feathers, or flappers, to drive them away. Liquor could not be poured into a glass; the mode of drinking was, by keeping the mouth of every bottle covered until the moment it was applied to the lips; and instantly covering it with the palm of the hand, when removing it to offer to any one else. The utmost attention to cleanliness, by a frequent change of every article of wearing apparel, could not repel the attacks of the swarms of vermin which seemed to infest even the air of the place. A gentleman made his appearance, before a party he had invited to dinner, completely covered with lice. The only explanation he could give as to the cause was, that he had sat for a short time in one of the boats upon the canal. Perhaps objection may be made to a statement, even of facts, which refers to no pleasing theme; but the author does not conceive it possible to give Englishmen a correct notion

CHAP. II.

notion of the trials to which they will be exposed in visiting this country, without calling some things by their names. The insects of the Nile are many of them also common to the Don: other instances of similarity in the two rivers have been before noticed[1]. The gardens of Caïro are filled with turtle-doves, whose melancholy notes suit the solitary disposition of the Turks. Their music has the same plaintive character. The houses of the city are larger and better-built than those of Constantinople, the foundations being of stone, and the superstructure bricks and mortar; but they have the same gloomy appearance externally. The interior consists principally of timber. The French had pulled down many houses, in order to get fuel: owing to this, and to the commotions that had taken place, a considerable part of the city appeared in ruins. The inhabitants generally ride upon mules or asses: the latter are so active in this country, and possess such extraordinary strength, that for all purposes of labour, even for carrying heavy burthens across the sandy desert, they are next in utility to the camel, and will bear work better than horses. The horse in Egypt is used rather as an animal of parade, than for essential service. The vast army of the Wahabees in the desert were said to be mounted upon camels and upon asses. The population of Caïro consisted at this time of Arabs and Mamlukes, for the chief part; and, besides these, were Copts, Jews, and Greeks, together with the adventitious multitude caused by the

Statistics of Caïro.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 270. *Second edition.*

the events of war, which had filled the streets of the city with the Sepoys and various casts of India, with Turks, Italians, French and English soldiers, merchants, and adventurers of every description. The Indian army under General Baird was encamped in the Isle of Rhouda, and presented the finest military spectacle it is possible to conceive; offering a striking contrast to the appearance of the troops from England, which were encamped upon the Alexandrian Plain. The Indian army, in possession of abundant supplies, and having all the comforts which wealth and power could bestow, might be considered rather as an encampment of mightiest princes than of private men. The tents of its subalterns were superior to the marquees of general-officers in the English army, where the Commander-in-chief lived as the poorest soldier, and wretchedness and privation were the standing orders of the day[2]. Every morning, at sun-rise, as in Lord Hutchinson's army, a gun was fired, and the whole line of the troops from India were under arms, amounting to 3000 men. At this hour, we often resorted to the Isle of Rhouda, to view the magnificent parade. An immense grove

British Army from India.

(2) The luxury and pomp of the Indian army may be conceived, by simply stating the fact, that glass lustres, manufactured in London, exported to India, and thence conveyed, after a voyage up the Red Sea, upon the backs of camels across the desert from Cosseir to the Nile, were suspended in the audience-pavilion of the Commander-in-chief. Breakfasting with a lieutenant of the sixty-first regiment, we were regaled with white bread, and fresh butter, made upon the spot for the occasion, (which perhaps had never been seen before in Egypt,) fruit, cream, tea, coffee, and chocolate. The impression made by external splendor, upon men, characterized as are the inhabitants of the Turkish empire, is more effectual for the advancement of our political interests in the East, than the operations of war. An ignorant Moslem attaches higher ideas of power to the appearance of wealth, than to any effect of military strength.

CHAP. II.

grove of the most enormous sycamore fig-trees, larger than any of our forest trees[1], secured almost the whole army from the rays of the sun. Troops in such a state of military perfection, or better suited for active service, were never seen, not even in the famous parade of the chosen Ten-thousand belonging to Buonaparté's legions, which he was so vain of displaying, before the present war, in the front of the Thuilleries at Paris. Not an unhealthy soldier was to be seen. The English inured to the climate of India considered that of Egypt as temperate in its effects; and the sepoys seemed as fond of the Nile as of the Ganges. After General Baird had inspected the line, the sepoys were marched to Caïro, where, having piled their arms before one of the principal mosques, they all joined the Moslems in their devotions,—to the surprise and satisfaction of the Turks and Arabs, who speedily circulated a report over Caïro, that the English army was filled with soldiers belonging to the Faithful. These men were all volunteers; and no instance had ever occurred of their being conveyed so far from their native land at any former period.

Dinner given by the Commander-in-Chief.

A dinner given by General Baird to all the English officers, and others of our countrymen in Caïro, took place while the camp remained upon the Isle of Rhouda. We were invited: and the scene was so extraordinary, that it ought to

(1) The Editor of Hasselquist's Travels has mistaken his measure of *circumference* for *diameter*:—"*This is a huge tree, the stem being often fifty feet thick.*" See Hasselquist's Travels, p. 259. *Lond.* 1766. It cannot surely be intended that the sycamore-trees of Egypt were nearly nineteen yards in diameter.

to be noticed. The dinner was given in the pavilion before mentioned: this was lighted by glass lustres suspended from an enormous bamboo cané, sustaining the inner covering of the tent; and by wax candles in glass cylinders. English porter, roasted pigs, and other English fare, together with port, claret, and Madeira wines, appeared upon the table. The dinner was cooked by Indian servants, upon the sand near the tent; and a view of the extraordinary cleanliness observed by these cooks, as well as of their peculiar habits, were among the most curious parts of the exhibition. Having drawn a line around them, they suffered no person to pass this boundary. The rules of their cast enjoined that none of the cooking vessels should be touched, except by their own hands. After dinner the officers smoked the *hooka:* every pipe had its peculiar attendant upon the outside of the tent; the long flexible tubes alone being brought under the sides of the pavilion to those seated at table. The servants in waiting were principally negroes, dressed in white turbans with muslin jackets, but without stockings or shoes. The upper part of the pavilion was adorned with beautiful net-work, the hangings were of green silk, and the floor covered with Indian mats. The tables were of polished mahogany; and the company present in full uniform;—an association of things so incongruous with the natural horrors and barbarism of the country, upon the border of an interminable desert, and in the midst of such a river as the Nile, where persons from India and from England were met to banquet together, that perhaps no similar result of commerce and of conquest

CHAP. II.

Discovery made by Brahmins in Upper Egypt.

is ever likely to occur again, in any part of the habitable globe. Upon this occasion we heard the extraordinary fact, maintained and confirmed by indisputable testimony, that certain Brahmins who had accompanied the Indian army in its march from the Red Sea to the Nile, from *Cosseir* to *Kené*, saw at *Dendera* the representation of their God *Vishnû* among the antient sculpture of the place[1]; and were with difficulty restrained by their officers from assaulting the Arabs, on account of the neglected state in which *his* temple, as *they* supposed, was suffered to remain. The officers of General Baird's army spoke highly of the accuracy of Bruce's observations; and the General himself assured us, that he considered Great Britain as indebted to Bruce's valuable Chart of the Red Sea, for the safety of the transports employed in conveying the British forces.

Examination of an Abyssinian concerning Bruce's Travels.

At this time there happened to arrive in Caïro an Abyssinian Dean, a negro, who had undertaken his immense journey for religious purposes, and then resided in the monastery belonging to the *Propaganda* Friars[2]. The author had been often engaged in noting from this man's account of his country, some information respecting the state of Christianity in Abyssinia; and had purchased of him a written copy of the Gospel of St. John, together with certain prayers

(1) It were to be wished that some officer belonging to the Indian army, who was present upon that occasion, would specify what particular figure the Brahmins conceived to be a representation of *Vishnû*.

(2) There are two monasteries in Caïro; one called the *Terra Sancta*, and the other the *Propaganda*, Monastery.

prayers in the Abyssinian language: these manuscripts are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. As General Baird had a copy of Bruce's Travels then in his possession, and was kind enough to allow us the use of it, a better opportunity might rarely offer of submitting Bruce's narrative to the test of a comparison with the evidence afforded by a native of Abyssinia. We therefore appointed a day for this purpose; and sent an invitation to the Abyssinian Dean. In order to make the inquiry as public as possible, we also requested the attendance of Mr. Hamilton, secretary of the Earl of Elgin, of Dr. Whitman, and of Mr. Hammer, a celebrated Oriental scholar, during the investigation. One of the Propaganda Friars served us as our interpreter with the Abyssinian priest. It was at first disputed whether any mention should be made of Bruce, or not; but at length we resolved that a series of questions should be put from Bruce's work, without any mention being made of him, or any allusion to his travels in Abyssinia. The sight of his volumes on the table were not likely to offer any clue, respecting the purport of our inquiry, to an Æthiopian who had never seen a printed quarto before in his life, and to whom the language in which it was written was altogether unknown. His testimony, therefore, as a native of Abyssinia, to the accuracy of Bruce's description of the country, will not be disregarded; and the following result of our conversation with him may terminate this chapter[3].

Our

(3) There has not been an example, in the annals of literature, of more unfair and disgraceful hostility than that which an intolerant and invidious party too successfully levelled,

CHAP. II.

Our first questions related to the place of his birth; and of his usual residence before he left Abyssinia. In answer to these he stated, that he was born at *Gellebedda*[2], in the province of TIGRÈ, whose capital is *Adowa*[3], distant twenty-five or thirty days from the Nile, and sixteen or seventeen from *Massuah* upon the Red Sea; that his usual place of residence, and to which he should return, after

levelled, during a considerable period, against the writings of Bruce. Soon after the publication of his "*Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*," several copies of the work were sold in Dublin as waste paper, in consequence of the calumnies circulated against the author's veracity. This happened in the year 1791. In the year 1800, Mr. John Antes, of Fulnec in Yorkshire, published a small volume of "*Observations on Egypt*;" a work not less remarkable for its fidelity and genuine worth, than for the little notice it received. Speaking of Bruce, that author observes: "When Mr. Bruce returned from Abyssinia, I was at Grand Caïro. I had the pleasure of his company for three months, almost every day: and having, at that time, myself an idea of penetrating into Abyssinia, I was very inquisitive about that country, on hearing many things from him which seemed almost incredible to me. I used to ask his Greek servant Michael (*a simple fellow, incapable of any invention*) about the same circumstances, and MUST SAY THAT HE COMMONLY AGREED WITH HIS MASTER IN THE CHIEF POINTS." (*See Observat. on the Mann. and Cust. of the Egyptians, by John Antes, Esq. p.* 17. *Lond.* 1800.) Many stronger testimonies in favour of Bruce's accuracy have also at different times been adduced, particularly by Mr. Browne (*See Pref. to his Travels*); and the work has consequently risen very considerably in the public estimation. Some travellers, indeed, have attempted to invalidate certain of his assertions, which, after all, are not of much moment, whether they be true or false: such, for example, as the circumstance related by Bruce of the part he took in the wars of the country; and of the practice he witnessed of taking flesh from a living animal, as an article of food: this last has, however, now been fully confirmed by the statement of the native priest, as given above. It is probable that Bruce would never have encountered the opposition he met with, if his writings had not been characterized by offending *egotism*. Baron de Tott's work experienced a similar fate, from the same cause; and has similarly obtained, at last, the consideration to which, by its great merit, it is justly entitled.

(2) This place is mentioned in Mr. Salt's Narrative, as published by Lord Valentia, and written GULLYBUDDA. (*See vol.* III. *p.* 71. *Lond.* 1809.) He describes it as "a place of considerable extent and population."

(3) Bruce also describes *Adowa*, as being the capital of TIGRÈ. A view of the town accompanies Mr. Salt's Narrative, in Lord Valentia's Travels, vol. III. p. 76. *Lond.* 1809.

after leaving Caïro, was a village about fifteen days' journey from *Gondar*. We asked him what kind of coin was circulated in his native province: he said that fossil salt was used in *Tigrè* as a substitute for money[4].

Fidelity of Bruce's Observations confirmed.

Our next inquiry related to the long-disputed fact, of a practice among the Abyssinians of cutting from a live animal slices of its flesh, as an article of food, without putting it to death. This Bruce affirms that he witnessed in his journey from Massuah to Axum[5]. The Abyssinian, answering, informed us, that *the soldiers of the country, during their marauding excursions, sometimes maim cows after this manner, taking slices from their bodies, as a favourite article of food, without putting them to death at the time; and that during the banquets of the Abyssinians, raw meat, esteemed delicious throughout the country, is frequently taken from an ox or a cow, in such a state that the fibres are in motion; and that the attendants continue to cut slices until the animal dies.* This answer exactly corresponds with Bruce's Narrative: he expressly states that the persons whom he saw were *soldiers*[6], and the animal *a cow*[7]. Such a coincidence could

(4) Mr. Salt, speaking of a manufacture of cloth at *Adowa*, says, it circulates as money through the country; but he adds, "Each piece is about sixteen cubits long, and one and three quarters wide: its value is *thirty pieces of salt*, or one dollar." *Valentia's Travels, vol.* III. *p.* 78. *Lond.* 1809. Also in *vol.* III. *p.* 54, "The small currency (*at Antalow*) consisted of wedges of rock-salt, each weighing two or three pounds, and estimated at $\frac{1}{30}$ of a dollar."

(5) *Bruce's Travels, vol.* III. *p.* 142. *Edinb.* 1790. "When I first mentioned this in England, I was told by my friends it was not believed. I asked the reason of this disbelief, and was answered, that people who had never been out of their own country, and others well acquainted with the manners of the world, *for they had travelled as far as France*, had agreed the thing was *impossible*, and therefore it was so." *Ibid. p.* 144.

(6) Bruce's Travels, ibid. p. 142. (7) Ibid.

CHAP. II.

could hardly have happened, unless the practice really existed. We inquired if other animals were thus treated; and were answered in the negative. Mutton is always boiled; and veal is never eaten, in any way[1]. In times of famine alone the inhabitants eat boiled blood.

Among other absurd accusations brought against Bruce, a very popular charge at one time was, that some of the plants engraved in his work never existed in nature, but were the offspring of his own fertile imagination. We therefore resolved next to exhibit the engravings to our Abyssinian, and desire him to name the plants, and to describe their properties. It was impossible that this man should read, and much less comprehend, the Abyssinian names which Bruce's engraver had inscribed upon the bottom of those plates.

The first plates offered to his notice were those which represent the *Sassa*[2]. He recognised the plants, but knew nothing of the name Bruce had given them, and denied that any gum was produced by them. Matters went on more swimmingly when the next were shewn to him. He named the following instantly, and gave the same account of them that Bruce had done; namely, *Ergett Dimmo; Ergett el Krone; Ensete; Kol-Quall*; *Gir Gir*; *Kantuffa*; &c. all of whose Abyssinian appellations he pronounced exactly as Bruce had written them. The *Ergett el Krone*, he said, grew near the Lake TZANA, and in every part of Abyssinia; but

(1) This agrees with the account published by Lord Valentia, from Mr. Salt's Journal. *See Valentia's Travels, vol.* III. *p.* 159. *Lond.* 1809.

(2) Bruce's Travels, Appendix, p. 28.

but that it was of no use to the inhabitants. He described the leaves of the *Ensete* as resembling those of the *Banana;* but the plant as yielding no fruit. They boil the root of it, as a garden vegetable, with mutton. The *Kol-Quall* he named instantly; saying, that, on beating it, it yields a quantity of milk, which is poisonous, but may be used as a cement, capable of joining two pieces of stone. Its smaller branches, when dry, are used for candles; and its wood serves for timber, in building houses. It produces no gum[3]. Bruce relates all this; and adds, that upon cutting two branches of the *Kol-Quall* with his sabre, not less than four English gallons of the milk issued out; which was so caustic, that although he washed the sabre immediately, the stain never left it[4]. We were amused by the eager quickness with which our Abyssinian recognised and named the *Kantuffa;* telling us all that Bruce relates of its thorny nature, as if he had his work by heart. The *Balessan*, or Balsam-tree, was entirely unknown to him. He had seen the *Papyrus* in *Emhârâ*, in the province of Lebo, growing in marshy lands. Concerning the other plants engraved in Bruce's work, his observations agreed with those of Bruce, with very little exception. He denied that the mode of eating raw meat was by wrapping it up in cakes made of *Teff*. These cakes, he said, were used for plates, or as bread only for women and sick persons. The Abyssinians do not make beer from *Teff*, according to his account, but from a plant called *Selleh*.

(3) Therefore not the *Euphorbia officinarum* of Linnæus. *See Bruce's Trav. Append. p.* 44.

(4) Ibid. p. 43.

CHAP. II.

Selleh. Bruce mentions different sorts of *Teff*[1], of which, perhaps, Selleh may be one. The Abyssinian concurred with Bruce, in attributing the frequency of worm-disorders, in his country, to the practice of eating raw flesh[2]. This is considered always as a luxury, and therefore the priests abstain from it. In his own village, he said, the soldiers and principal people prefer raw meat to every other diet; that before he became a priest, he had himself eaten much of it; that he considered it as very savoury when the animal from which it is taken is fat and healthy. He professed himself to be ignorant of the virtue ascribed by Bruce to the *Wooginoos*[3], now called *Brucea antidysenterica;* although he knew the plant well, and said it cured all disorders caused by magic: but he verified all that Bruce had related of the *Cusso*[4], or *Banksia Abyssinica,* and added, that it was customary to drink an infusion made from it every two months, as a preventative against the disorder noticed by Bruce. When shewn the *Walkuffa,* he mentioned a curious circumstance, which Bruce has not related; namely, that the bark of this plant serves the Abyssinians as a substitute for soap. He knew nothing of the word *Carat,* as a name said by Bruce to be given, in the south of Abyssinia, to the bean of the *Kuara*-tree, and used in weighing gold.

Having thus discussed the plants, we directed his attention to the quadrupeds, birds, and other articles of natural history.

(1) See Bruce's Trav. vol. III. p. 280. *Edinb.* 1790.

(2) Bruce entertained the same opinion. *See Travels, Append. p.* 80. *Edinb.* 1790.

(3) Ibid. p. 69. (4) Ibid. p. 73.

history. His answers gave us as much reason to be convinced of Bruce's accuracy in this, as in the former part of his work. It would take up too much of the reader's attention to detail all the evidence we collected for this purpose. He added, that the rhinoceros was called *Chartiet* by the Abyssinians, and said that its horn, used for lining the interior of drinking-vessels, is considered as an antidote to poison. When the engraving representing the *Ashkoko* was placed before him, he recognised the animal, and related the circumstance mentioned by Bruce[5] of its being considered unclean, both by Christians and by Mahometans. Speaking of its name, he made a curious distinction; saying that it is called *Ashkoko* in the *Court language*, but *Gehre* in the *vulgar tongue*.

If there be a part of Bruce's work apparently fabulous, from its marvellous nature, it is the account he has given of that destructive fly, the *Zimb*, or *Tsaltsalya*[6]; yet, in the history of this insect, as in every other instance, the testimony of the Abyssinian Dean strictly confirmed all that Bruce had written upon the subject. He told us, that horses and cows were its principal victims; that there were not many of those insects in his native province; but that he had heard of armies being destroyed in consequence of this terrible scourge. We questioned him concerning the plant which is said to render persons invulnerable to serpents or scorpions, merely by chewing its leaves. He replied, that he knew the plant well, but had forgotten its name; that it resembled

(5) See *Bruce's Travels, Appendix*, p. 145.

(6) Ibid. p. 188. See also vol. I. p. 388.

CHAP. II.

resembled hemp, and that he had often made use of it to prove its virtues; but he added, that it must be chewed at the time of touching the serpent or the scorpion.

Previous to the introduction of any inquiry concerning the source of the Nile, we shewed to him Bruce's map of the Lake Tzana, and of the surrounding country. At this he was highly gratified. He knew all the places mentioned in the territories of *Belessen*, *Begemder*, *Gojam*, and *Agows*, and, attempting to shew to us the situation of GONDAR, actually pointed out the spot marked by Bruce for the locality of that city.

The Nile (which before its junction with the Lake Tzana he called *Aleaoui*) he described as having but *one source*[1], in a marshy spot, upon the top of a mountain, about five or six miles from the lake, and upon its south-eastern side. He had not been there himself, but had often visited that side of the lake. There are many villages in the neighbourhood of the place. The inhabitants are all Christians; but they entertain

(1) Bruce's account of the origin of this river will perhaps be found, after all, more correct than any we can obtain, even from the Abyssinians themselves, who do not reside near enough to the spot to have made personal observation. Mr. Salt mentions the little reliance he could place in the various accounts given to him upon this subject. "When I found," says he, "that I must give up all hopes of penetrating beyond the *Tacazza*, I took every occasion to make inquiries, of such persons as were likely to give me any intelligence respecting the Nile. Their accounts generally agreed with each other; but it appeared to me that they spoke from what they had heard, and not from personal knowledge. *Its situation near the village of Geesh; the marshiness of the plain; the elevation of the spot whence it flows above the surrounding country; its circuit from Gojam; were points familiar to them all: but they differed considerably as to the number of the fountains from which it springs; some speaking of three, others of four, and one person of five.*" *Lord Valentia's Trav. vol.* III. *p.* 160.

entertain no veneration for the spot, neither are any honours whatsoever paid to the source of the river. There are, indeed, many springs which are medicinal, and said to be the gift of certain saints, but he had never heard that the fountain of the Nile was one of these.

Here we terminated our investigation, as far as it related to Bruce's account of Abyssinia; and the result of it left a conviction upon our minds, not only of the general fidelity of that author, but that no other book of travels, published so long after the events took place which he has related, and exposed to a similar trial, would have met with equal testimony of its truth and accuracy.

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(2) In the interesting memoir of Mr. Salt's Journey in Abyssinia, as published by Lord Valentia, its author has assailed the veracity of Bruce, in a manner which may be lamented by those who hold Mr. Salt's Narrative in the highest estimation: and for this reason; that, with an evident disposition to dispute the correctness of Bruce's representation, no writer has contributed more effectually to the establishment of Bruce's credit. Mr. Salt speaks in the most positive terms of the *accuracy* with which Bruce has detailed his historical information. (*See Lord Valentia's Travels, vol.* III. *pp.* 163. 209. *&c. &c. Lond.* 1809.) He also mentions the astonishment of the natives at his own knowledge of their history: (*Ibid. p.* 227.) and, above all, that he was considered by them as a superior being, when he exhibited Bruce's drawings of Gondar. (*Ibid.*) In many other instances he bears ample testimony to Bruce's accuracy. (*See vol.* II. *p.* 460. 480. *&c.*; *vol.* III. *pp.* 163. 211. 217. *See also the instances adduced in the Edinb. Encyclop. vol.* V. *Part* I. *pp.* 9, 10.) When to all this is added the evidence afforded by the celebrated Browne (*See Preface to his Travels*), in support of the few facts which are questioned by Mr. Salt, and the opinion given of his work by the Commander-in-chief of the British army sent from India by the Red Sea, as before alluded to, we may surely consider the writings of this illustrious traveller to be placed beyond the reach of cavil: and we ought to agree with that profound scholar, (*See Vincent's Periplus of the Erythr. Sea, p* 93.) who, maintaining that Bruce's work "bears throughout internal marks of veracity," considered it to be a duty "NOT TO TREAT WITH INGRATITUDE THOSE WHO EXPLORE THE DESERT FOR OUR INFORMATION."

TOMBS of the SULTANS.
from Denon.

CHAP. III.

GRAND CAIRO.

Arabic Language, as spoken in Egypt—Dress of the Women in Caïro—State of Society—Houses—Gardens—Ceremony of Ululation in honour of the Dead—Exaggerated descriptions of the Country—Supposed Sacrifice of a Virgin to the Nile—Book Market—Antient Medals in circulation—Custom of the Arabs in passing a Bridge—Appearance of Women in the Streets—Enormities practised by the Turks—Extortions—Discovery of a curious Manuscript—Citadel—Pointed Arches—Interesting Inscription—Mosaic Painting—Present State of the Art—Joseph's Well—Origin of the Citadel—View from the Ramparts.

CHAP. III.

Arabic Language, as spoken in Egypt.

ANY Englishman hearing a party of Egyptian Arabs in conversation, and being ignorant of their language, would suppose they were quarrelling. The Arabic, as spoken by Arabs, is more guttural even than the Welsh; but the dialect

dialect of Egypt appeared to us to be particularly harsh. It is always spoken with a vehemence of gesticulation, and loudness of tone, which is quite a contrast to the stately sedate manner of speaking among the Turks: we were constantly impressed with a notion that the Arabs, in conversation, were quarrelling. More than once we ordered the interpreter to interfere, and to pacify them, when it appeared that we were mistaken, and that nothing was further from their feelings, at the time, than anger. The effect is not so unpleasing to the ear when Arab women converse; although the gesticulation is nearly the same. Signor *Rosetti*[1], whose hospitality to strangers has been celebrated by every traveller in Egypt during nearly half a century, introduced us to a Venetian family, of the name of *Pini*[2], in which there were many beautiful young women, and with whom we had frequent opportunity of hearing the Arabic as spoken by the most polished females of the city. The dress of those young ladies was much more elegant than any female costume we had before observed in the East, and it was entirely borrowed from the Antients. A zone placed immediately below the bosom served to confine a loose robe, open in front, so as to display a pair of rich pantaloons. The feet

Dress of the Women in Caïro.

(1) Mr. Bruce mentions him (*Trav. vol.* I. *p.* 30. *Edin.* 1790.) under the name of "*Carlo Rosetti, a Venetian merchant, a young man of capacity and intrigue.*" Bruce was in Caïro in the beginning of July 1768. Signor Rosetti told us he well remembered Bruce, and entertained no doubt as to the truth of the narrative which he published concerning his travels.

(2) "There is also at Caïro a Venetian Consul, and a house of that nation called *Pini*, all excellent people." *Bruce's Trav. vol.* I. *p.* 26.

CHAP. III.

feet were covered with embroidered slippers, but the ankle and instep were naked; and round the lower part of the leg, above the ankle, they wore large cinctures of massive gold; like that which was discovered in a tomb upon the Cimmerian Bosporus, and represented in a former part of this work[1].

Denon speaks of the pleasurable sensations daily excited by the delicious temperature of Caïro, causing Europeans, who arrive with the intention of spending a few months in the city, to remain during the rest of their lives, without ever persuading themselves to leave it. Few of those, however, with whom we associated, were disposed to acquiesce in the opinion of this very amiable writer. Persons studious of uninterrupted repose, or capable of tolerating the endless monotony which society exhibits in every family where strangers are received, may perhaps endure, without murmuring, a temporary residence in the midst of disease and dirt and torpid inactivity.

State of Society.

The effect, whether it be of climate, of education, or of government, is the same among all settlers in Egypt, except the Arabs; a disposition to exist without exertion of any kind; to pass whole days upon beds and cushions, smoking, and counting beads. This is what Maillet termed *Le vrai génie Egyptienne*[2]; and that it may be acquired by residing among the native inhabitants of Caïro, is evident from the appearance exhibited by Europeans who have passed some years in the city.

When

(1) See Part I. chap. xvii. p. 398. Second Edition.

(2) Déscription de l'Egypte, tom. II. p. 220. *à la Haye*, 1740.

When we first arrived, we had no other place of lodging than what our *djerm* afforded. This was stationed, during the day, at Bulac, and guarded by our faithful Arabs. Every night these men moved it over to the Isle of Rhouda, and anchored close to the camp of the Indian army, in order to avoid the mice, flies, vermin, and dust, which infested us from the quay, and prevented our rest. But, after a short time, we procured a large house, which had been inhabited by French officers, in a very populous part of the city, near the residence of Signor Rosetti. This greatly added to our facility of seeing the city, and observing the manners of its inhabitants.

Houses.

Their best houses answer to the description given in a former part of this work, of the palace of an Armenian merchant, at Nicotia in Cyprus[3]. The taste shewn in decorating their apartments is of the kind called *Arabesque*: this, although early introduced into England from the East, is not *Saracenical*, but *Egyptian*[4]. It is a style which the Greeks themselves adopted, and it was received amongst the Romans in the time of Augustus. Where the windows are glazed, which generally consist of open lattice-work, they are ornamented with stained glass, representing landscapes and animals, particularly the lion, which seemed to be a favourite subject in works of this sort. No one has paid any attention to the origin of the painted glass in Cairo. Do the glaziers of that city still preserve an art supposed to be imperfectly known in Europe? From the open

(3) See Part II. Sect. 1. Chap. xi. of these Travels.

(4) See the observations of Denon, *Trav. in Egypt*, vol. I. p. 211. *Lond.* 1803.

CHAP. III. Gardens.

open terraces which are found in many of the principal houses, and from the flat roofs common to all of them, a view is presented over the numerous gardens of the city. But every thing is disfigured, and rendered uncomfortable, by dust; all the foliage of the trees is covered with it; and the boasted vegetation of Caïro, (instead of displaying that pleasing verdure which Europeans, and particularly Englishmen, picture to their imagination, in reading descriptions of a city filled with groves and gardens,) rather exhibits the dull and uniform colour of the desert.

Ceremony of *Ululation* in honour of the Dead.

Upon the first evening after our removal to our new habitation, we were serenaded by a species of vocal melody, which we had never heard before. It began about sun-set, and continued, with little intermission, not only all the night, but during many succeeding nights and days. We were at first doubtful whether the sounds we heard were expressions of joy or of lamentation. A sort of chorus mixed with screams, yet regulated by the beating of tambourines, now swelling upon the ear, now expiring in cadences, was repeated continually; and as often as it seemed to cease, we heard it renewed with increased vehemence. Having inquired the cause, we were told that it was nothing more than the usual ceremony of bewailing a deceased person, by means of female mourners hired for the occasion. This very curious relique of the *Ululation* of the Antients, it may be supposed, was not suffered to pass without further notice. We sent our interpreter to the house whence the sounds proceeded, desiring him to pay particular attention to the words used by the choristers in their

their lamentation. He told us, upon his return, that we might, if we thought proper, have the same ceremony performed in our apartments: that the singers were women, hired to sing and lament in this manner; the wealthier the family, the more numerous were the persons hired, and, of course, the louder the lamentations: that those female singers exhibited the most frightful distortions, having their hair dishevelled, their clothes torn, and their countenances daubed with paint and dirt; that they were relieved at intervals by other women similarly employed; and thus the ceremony may be continued for any length of time. A principal part of their art consists in mingling with their *Ululation* such plaintive expressions of praise and pity, such affecting narrative of the employments, possessions, and characteristics of the deceased, and such inquiry as to his reasons for leaving those whom he professed to love during life, as may excite the tears and sighs of the relations and friends collected about the corpse. From all this, and the information we afterwards obtained, it is evident that this practice, together with the CAOINAN of the Irish[1], and the funeral cry of other nations[2], are remains of ceremonies practised

(1) See an account of the Ceremony of *Ululation* among the Irish, as taken from the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, in *Dr. Adam Clarke's Edition of "Harmer's Observations," vol.* III. *p.* 40. *Lond.* 1808. Among other expressions used by the Irish mourners, they continually repeat the words "ULLALOO! ULLALOO! WHY DIDST THOU DIE?" "The *Ullaloo* of the Irish," says the learned Editor of Harmer's work, "is the same, both in *sense* and *sound*, with the ولولة *oolooleh* of the Arabians, the *ululo* of the Romans, the ὀλολύζω of the Greeks, and the יללי *yalal* of the Hebrews."

(2) The custom seems to have been universal; for it has been observed among the descendants of the *three* great families; the *Arab*, the *Tartar*, and the *Goth*.

CHAP. III.

practised in honour of the dead in almost every country of the earth; they are the same that Homer describes at the death of Hector[1]; and they are frequently alluded to in sacred record[2]:—"CALL FOR THE MOURNING WOMEN, THAT THEY MAY COME; AND SEND FOR CUNNING WOMEN, THAT THEY MAY COME: AND LET THEM MAKE HASTE, AND TAKE UP A WAILING FOR US, THAT OUR EYES MAY RUN DOWN WITH TEARS, AND OUR EYELIDS GUSH OUT WITH WATERS."

Exaggerated Descriptions of the Country.

As one writer of travels has copied another, the same absurd descriptions are continually given of the luxuries of Egypt, during the inundation of the Nile. That its gardens, from the novelty of the plants found in them, are sometimes pleasing to the eye of a European, may be admitted; and it has been before acknowledged, that the plantations adorning the sides of the canal may for a short time render a stranger unmindful

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Goth. The *Arab*, as here related. The *Tartar*, as in Russia. (*See Olearius, lib.* iii. *p.* 143. *Lond.* 1662.) The *Goth, Getæ*, or *Greeks*, as we learn from Homer. It is found even among the Greenlanders. "The women continue their weeping and lamentation. Their *howl* is all in one tone; as if an instrument were to play a tremulous fifth downwards, through all the semitones. Now and then they pause a little." *See Crantz's History of Greenland, vol.* I. *p.* 239. *Lond.* 1767. See also *Part* I. *of these Travels, p.* 192, *Second Edit.* for an account of the same custom in Russia.

(1) ——— Παρὰ δ' εἶσαν ἀοιδοὺς,
Θρήνων ἐξάρχους, οἵτε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν
Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες.
———"Juxtaque collocârunt cantores
Luctûs principes: hi flebile carmen,
Hi quidem lamentabantur: insuperque gemebant mulieres."
Homeri Iliados, lib. xxiv. *p.* 425. Ed. Spond. *Basil.* 1606.

(2) Jer. ix. 17, 18. See also 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. Judges xi. 39, 40. Amos v. 16. also Mark v. 38. &c. &c.

unmindful of the filth and wretchedness of the city. As for the boasted lakes, or rather mud-pools, into which the waters of the river are then received, particularly the famous *Esbequir Birket*[3], these would certainly be considered nuisances in any part of the civilized world. The canal had been cut about three days when we arrived; and every one was still telling of the rejoicings and ceremonies which that event had occasioned. These have been all described, until it were tedious to renew the subject. Some of our officers saw the pillar, or statue, of mud, which is raised every year between the dyke of the canal and the Nile, called *Anes*, or *The Bride*[4], and afterwards carried away by the current, when the water from the river is suffered to fall into the canal. This curious custom is said to have given rise to the fabulous story of an annual sacrifice of a virgin to the Nile[5]. Niebuhr says, however,

Supposed Sacrifice of a Virgin to the Nile.

(3) It is quite amusing to read some of the accounts published of this place, and to contrast them with the real appearance. "*Rien n'est plus agréable que de voir un terrein, qui pendant huit mois de l'année est un prodigieux bassin rempli d'eau, devenu pendant les quatre autres un jardin riant et perpétuel.*" Déscript. de l'Egypte par Maillet, tom. I. p. 263. *à la Haye*, 1740. The same author speaks of the houses *ornamenting* the sides of this lake; whereas Denon observes, "*the less the houses were visible, the more they would please.*" Trav. in Egypt, vol. I. p. 105. *Lond.* 1803. In fact, nothing can be more wretched than either the one or the other; the filthy pool called *a lake*; or the *hovels*, described by many authors as *stately and elegant buildings.*

(4) See Niebuhr's Travels, vol. I. p. 69. *Edin.* 1792.

(5) Ibid. See also *De Tott, vol.* II. *p.* 243. *Lond.* 1785. De Tott says, the antient Egyptians called the sacrifice *Arroussee*, The new Bride. This name, he observes, is still preserved in the more humanized ceremony. Moreri (*Dict. Hist. tom.* VII. *p.* 1041. *Paris*, 1759,) thus speaks of the sacrifice, as having really existed: "*Les Egyptiens idolâtres s'imaginoient que leur dieu Serapis étoit l'auteur de ce débordement merveilleux du Nil: ainsi lorsqu'il retardoit, ils lui sacrifioient une fille, &c. Cette barbare*

CHAP. III.

however, that the pillar of earth serves as a sort of Nilometer, for the use of the common people[1]; and this is probably the only use for which it was ever intended. We entered the canal, in our *djerm*, about noon, on the fifteenth of August; and after making the tour of nearly the whole city, by means of the canal, and a series of dykes filled with the muddy water of the river, we at last entered the *Esbequir* Lake, or *Birket il Ezbequie*, at six o'clock P. M. Having crossed this piece of water, we landed, and went to the house we had taken; observing everywhere the same uniform appearance of dirt and degradation. The inhabitants, rejoicing in the expulsion of the French, and enjoying the festivity of the season, were carousing by the sides of the numerous channels then filled with the foul and stagnant water of the Nile. Some degree of danger too might be apprehended from the turbulent mirth of Turkish soldiers, who were firing off their carabines in all directions; or

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barbare dévotion fût abolie, disent les historiens Arabes, par le Calife Omar." Neither Moreri, however, nor any other author by whom this circumstance is related, mentions his authority for the fact. Mentelle (*Geogr. Anc. tom.* II. *p.* 441. *Paris*, 1789) alludes to the same custom. The whole story seems to be founded upon a passage in the writings of *Murtadi*, an Arabian, who gave a legendary account of the "*Wonders of Egypt*," which is nevertheless mentioned in terms of commendation by Gibbon, (*Chap.* li. *Note* 128. *Hist.* &c.) This work was composed in the 13th century, and was afterwards translated by *Vatier* at Paris, 1666.—*Murtadi* affirms that the annual sacrifice of a virgin was abolished by the Caliph Omar. But human sacrifices were never tolerated by the antient Egyptians. Herodotus reproaches the Greeks with having entertained a contrary opinion (*Euterpe, c.* 45. *p.* 106. *ed. Gronov. L. Bat.* 1715); and it is less probable that such sacrifices were suffered to take place at the time of Omar's conquest, when the Christians were in possession of Egypt.

(1) Niebuhr, vol. I. p. 69.

or else the sight of so many cheerful groupes afforded of itself a much more pleasing spectacle, than either the buildings of the city or its boasted canal. But how Europeans, in speaking of Caïro, can call any thing *magnificent* which is surpassed even by the poorest parts of Venice, is truly surprising. To read some of the descriptions which have been given of this city[2], one would fancy them derived from the inflated accounts of Arabian writers, who, having never seen any thing finer than Caïro, speak of it as the "*Wonder of the world,*" the "*Delight of the imagination,*" "the *Great among the great,*" the *Holy City*[3]. In fact, it may be said of Caïro, as of Egypt in general, that it has always been the subject of exaggeration, from the earliest periods of its history[4].

Book Market.

We often visited the book-market, and found no sight more interesting than the prodigious number of beautiful manuscripts offered there for sale. A Catalogue, published in the Appendix to the First Section of this Part of our Travels, will serve to render the great variety of works in Oriental literature, which are upon daily sale in the cities of the East, more known than it has hitherto been[5]. We purchased many of these manuscripts. Writings of

(2) "CETTE GRANDE ET ILLUSTRE VILLE," says Vansleb, (*p.* 117. *Nouvelle Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte,* Paris, 1677.) "ELLE EST SITUÉE DANS UNE PLAINE LA PLUS DELICIEUSE DU MONDE." (*Ibid. p.* 120.)

(3) See Denon's Trav. vol. I. p. 103. *Lond.* 1803.

(4) "I never saw a place I liked worse, nor which afforded less pleasure or instruction, than Caïro, nor antiquities which less answered their descriptions." *Bruce's Travels, vol.* I. *p.* 33. *Edinb.* 1790.

(5) See Part the Second, Section the First. Appendix, No. II.

CHAP. III.

of any celebrity bear very high prices, especially famous works in History, Astronomy, Geography, and Natural History. The Mamalukes are more fond of reading than the Turks; and some of their libraries, in Caïro, contained volumes of immense price. The French had been guilty of so much plunder, that the booksellers, as well as other tradesmen, had for some time concealed their most valuable property. The best manuscripts were, therefore, only beginning to be exposed for sale. During our inquiry after a complete copy of the "*Arabian Nights*," a bookseller said he knew where to find a copy of this work; but that its owner had carefully concealed it, through fear of the French. The title of this compilation, in Arabic, "*Alif Lila va Lilin*," is vulgarly pronounced, by the dealers in Caïro, *Alf Leela o Lila*. To our very great joy, this manuscript, or rather collection of manuscripts, was brought to us, in four quarto cases, containing One hundred and seventy-two Tales, separated into *One thousand and one* portions, for recital during the same number of *Nights*. Each case contained about fifty numbers, sewed up like so many loose manuscript sermons. The whole was fairly written; and the price set upon it amounted only to the moderate sum of one hundred piastres, (about seven pounds English,) according to the state of exchange at that time. We bought it; and its lamentable fate has been before related[1]. This is to be the more regretted, because

(1) See Note (1), p. 51 of the former volume.

because many of the tales[2] related to Syrian and Egyptian customs and traditions, and have not been found in any other copy of the same work.

A few cursory observations may now be introduced, as they were made, and as the author finds them occurring in his journal. Who could have believed that antient Roman coins were still in circulation in any part of the world? yet this is strictly true. We noticed Roman copper medals in Caïro, as given in exchange in the markets among the coins of the country, and valued at something less than our halfpenny. What is more remarkable, we obtained some of the large bronze medals of the Ptolemies, circulating at higher value, but in the same manner. The manufacture of silk and cotton handkerchiefs had been taught to the inhabitants by the French. Such handkerchiefs were then selling for seven shillings English each; and it was in buying these that we first noticed the circulation of the antient among the modern money of Egypt. The Arabs, who generally sing during labour, use the antient Hebrew invocation of the Deity while they are passing, in their boats, beneath a bridge; calling out ELOHE! ELOHE! in a plaintive singing tone of voice[3]. The females of Caïro are often seen, in the public streets, riding upon asses and upon mules: they sit in the masculine attitude, like the women of Naples and other parts of Italy. Their

Antient Medals in circulation.

Custom of the Arabs in passing a Bridge.

Appearance of Women in the Streets.

(2) See the List given in No. III. of the Appendix to the preceding section of *Part the Second* of these Travels.

(3) See Genesis xxxiii. 20. also Mark xv. 34.

CHAP. III.

Their dress consists of a hood, and cloak, extending to the feet, with a stripe of white calico in front, concealing the face and breast, but having two small holes for the eyes. In this disguise, if any man should meet his own wife, or his sister, he would not be able to recognise her, unless she were to speak to him; and this is seldom done, because the suspicious Moslems, observing such an intercourse, might suppose an intrigue to be going on; in which case they would put one, if not both of them, to death. The Turks had committed great enormities in Caïro, from the first moment of their arrival after the capture of the city. Wherever they found an unfortunate female, of whatsoever rank, who had admitted the embraces of a Frenchman, or of any other Christian, they put her to death, without the smallest compunction. We assisted three ladies in their escape; and had the good fortune to provide them with the means of concealment, until they reached the house of a relation in Alexandria. A young man who lived in the same house with us, in a set of apartments under our's, was wounded by a musquet-ball on the day of our arrival. He had been looking from the terrace at some Turks below, when one of them fired off his piece, and shot him. The only excuse made was, that they mistook him for a Frenchman. In like manner they strangled a Christian in one of the public baths; offering the same apology for the act they had committed. Notwithstanding the circumstance of the city's being at that time garrisoned by our troops, it was not safe to venture alone in public. We were riding one day with a priest of the *Propaganda* monastery, mounted upon

Enormities practised by the Turks.

upon asses; when suddenly a party of Bostanghies, belonging to a Turk of distinction, running before his horse, ordered us to descend until the grandee had passed. This we positively refused to do; upon which, not daring to meddle with us, they vented all their rage upon the poor priest, whom they dragged from his ass, and chastised with their white wands in our presence. Complaint was accordingly made to the officers of the garrison, and to the Vizier; and a promise obtained from the Turks of better behaviour in future; upon which, however, little reliance could be placed. The English had a very small force, at that time, in Caïro; and it was deemed prudent not to exasperate a fanatical mob, by any violation of their pride or their prejudices, when it could be avoided. The events that took place afterwards, in Egypt, fully justified this precaution. Nevertheless, orders had been issued, that no Englishman should be compelled to descend and humble himself before a Moslem, which caused us to offer the resistance we had made.

Soon after this adventure, descending from our house to a part of the canal where our *djerm* was stationed, with a view to make an excursion upon the water, we found it completely filled by a party of dastardly Turks; who had expelled the worthy *Reis*, to whom the boat belonged, together with his crew, and had taken full possession of it, for their own use. These grave personages were seated, quite at their ease, with their pipes lighted; and were moving off in great state, as we arrived. There was not much time to be lost in idle parley; so we all leaped, from

CHAP. III.

the side of the canal, into the midst of the self-constituted *divân*, whose members instantly surrendered, with great seeming humility, and, being landed, scampered off with more speed and less composure than usually characterizes the Turkish deportment. The matter, however, did not end here. Watching the opportunity when our good Reis was again left to the guardianship of his *djerm*, they bound him hand and foot, and carried him to a house in the neighbourhood, where they bastinadoed him most unmercifully, by way of wreaking their vengeance upon us, for the indignity they had experienced; nor could we ever bring the offenders to justice, or obtain, for the person they had thus injured, the slightest redress. Such was the state of affairs in Grand Caïro, at the time the English were in possession of the city. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what the situation of its Christian inhabitants must be, when all things are left to the discretion of its Mahometan masters.

Extortions.

The extortions practised upon the inhabitants exceed all credibility. The French, at one time, levied a contribution of ten millions of piastres; and of this sum a single merchant paid fifty thousand dollars. The same person, upon the subsequent arrival of the Grand Vizier with his army, was compelled to pay the enormous sum of three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Neither Buonaparté nor Kleber distressed the people of Caïro, by their extortions, so much as did Menou, who, in the latter part of his tyrannical government, omitted no measures whereby he might plunder the inhabitants of their property. Nothing was too mean for his avarice; nothing large enough for his rapacity.

rapacity. In addition to all the privations and horrors the citizens had endured, the plague spread its ravages to every corner of the city, and thirty-two thousand persons, in one year, became its victims. A disorder, not less fatal than the plague, (the dysentery,) begins to prevail when the plague retires; but this principally attacks strangers. Colonel Stewart's regiment, quartered at Djïza, near the Pyramids, was reduced, by this complaint, in one month, from three hundred men to seventy. The Colonel was lodged in the palace of Murad Bey. Of this edifice it is difficult to give an idea by description: it contained barracks capable of quartering sixty thousand men, including a very great proportion of cavalry; together with a cannon-foundry, and every thing necessary for the immense system of warfare carried on by that prince, who rivalled in wealth and power the antient sovereigns of Egypt.

Discovery of a curious Manuscript.

Upon the nineteenth of August, our friend Mr. Hammer breakfasted with us, and brought with him a valuable Arabic manuscript, presented to him by the Consul Rosetti, of very diminutive size, but most exquisitely written. The translation of it, by Mr. Hammer, has since been published in England; and this work, although hitherto little regarded by the public, merits particular notice. It professes to explain the hieroglyphics, and many antient alphabets; giving, moreover, an account of the Egyptian priests, their classes, initiation, and sacrifices[1]. It illustrates the origin of

(1) For this publication the world is indebted to the munificent patronage of Earl Spenser and of Sir Joseph Banks, at whose expense, principally, the undertaking took place;

CHAP. III.

of placing embalmed birds in the catacombs of Saccára; a circumstance that will be again alluded to, in describing those subterraneous repositories.

Citadel.

We then set out for the Citadel. After the numerous accounts published of this place, it were useless to write a particular description of it[2]. The most interesting parts of it to an English traveller, as connected with the history of the architecture of his country, are the splendid remains of buildings erected by the antient Caliphs of Egypt, particularly the edifice vulgarly called "*Joseph's Palace,*" built by Sultan *Salah ed din,* or *Saladine,* whose name was Joseph[3]. Here we beheld those pointed arches, which, although constructed soon after the middle of the twelfth century, by a fanatic Moslem[4], (now ranked among the Mahometan Saints, for his rigid adherence to all the prejudices of

Pointed Arches.

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place; also to the literary care of Dr. C. Wilkins, Librarian to the East-India Company. (*See the account given of it in the Naval Chronicle, vol.* XXII. *p.* 392.) The title is as follows: "*Antient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters explained; with an Account of the Egyptian Priests, their Classes, Initiation, and Sacrifices, in the Arabic Language, by* AHMAD BIN ABUBEKR BIN WAHSHI; *and in English, by* JOSEPH HAMMER, *Secretary to the Imperial (Austrian) Legation at Constantinople. London. Nicoll, Pall-Mall,* 1806."

(2) "Aloft, and neere the top of the mountaine, against the south end of the citie, stands the Castle, (once the stately mansion of the Mamaluck Sultans, and destroyed by Selymus) ascended unto by one way onely, and that hewne out of the rocke, which rising leisurely with easie steps, and spacious distances, (though of a great height) may be on horsebacke without difficultie mounted." *Sandys' Travels, p.* 122. *Lond.* 1637. The reader may be referred to *Lord Valentia's Travels* for the best account of the place; and, above all, for the accurate and beautiful views of the buildings in it, which his lordship published, after *Mr. Salt's* designs made upon the spot. *See vol.* III. *p.* 372, *&c. Lond.* 1809. *See also Niebuhr, vol.* I. *p.* 59. *Edin.* 1792.

(3) Niebuhr, *ibid.*

(4) "In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic." *Gibbon, vol.* XI. *p.* 119. *Lond.* 1807.

of Islam[5],) certain English antiquaries would fancifully attribute to the labours of English workmen[6].

To increase the interest exited by the examination of Sultan Saladine's magnificent palace, Mr. Hammer had the satisfaction to discover, among many Arabic inscriptions yet remaining in the great hall of the building, one in excellent preservation, and in large characters, which he copied, with this legend;

Interesting Inscription.

SALAHEDDIN, DESTROYER OF INFIDELS AND HEATHENS;

so that the origin of the building and its date, which before rested, in great measure, on tradition, is thereby established. Had

(5) "All profane science was the object of his aversion." *Ibid. p.* 118.

(6) See Milner on the *Eccles. Architect. of England.* Not that, by the removal of this solitary objection to the *English origin* of the *pointed* arch, any satisfactory conclusion could be drawn, as to the want of its existence elsewhere in the East. This kind of arch, according to its very best proportions, as defined by the advocates for its English origin, (See Milner, as above, p. 104, Note [a],) and as it become fashionable in England between the end of the thirteenth and the latter part of the fifteenth century, is a peculiar characteristic of the architecture of the Saracens in Egypt, in all their oldest buildings. (*See the designs of Luigi Mayer, as published by Sir R. Ainslie.)* It moreover exists in some of the sepulchres in Upper Egypt, and among the ruins of Tartar edifices, in the remote district of Madsbary, between the Kuma and Byvalla rivers. *See Pallas's Travels in the South of Russia, vol.* I. *Plates* xii, *and* xiii, *and Vignette* 6. *See also the remains of the same style of architecture, Fragmens des Voyages, Pl.* xx. *p.* 430. *Berne,* 1792. In the "*Voyages de Chardin,*" *tome troisième,* are several views of the interior of different Persian palaces, of caravanserais, bridges, &c. Each of these plates affords specimens of the pointed arch. There is a remarkable curve in all these arches. At about two-thirds of the distance from the spring of the arch to its summit, the curvature becomes convex to the interior of the arch. The same remark is applicable to some pointed arches in the elevation and section of a sepulchral monument at *Mosslof-Kuut,* on the river *Podkuma,* at the foot of Caucasus, as given in *Pallas's Travels, Plate* xiv. This curious circumstance of the convex curvature, between the spring of the arch and its vertex, is not, however, peculiar to the pointed arch in the East: it is found in buildings erected in the beginning of the fifteenth century in England. An instance occurs in the arched niches, for the reception of images, above the altar of an old church of the Holy Trinity, now the Rectory church, at Harlton in Cambridgeshire.

CHAP. III.

Had it not been for these inscriptions, it might have been considered as of higher antiquity than the age of *Saladine;* for, in many respects, it resembles edifices erected in the age of Justinian; and particularly in the profusion of Mosaic painting, whereby its stately ceilings and walls are ornamented. We collected specimens of this Mosaic. The French, who made use of the building as an hospital, had torn it down, in many places, during their residence here, and scattered it among the rubbish. It corresponded, in a remarkable manner, both by the nature of its composition, and by the style of the workmanship, with the mosaic ornaments of St. Sophia at Constantinople; containing the same gilded and coloured *fritta,* imbedded in fine mortar, as white as snow. The principal remains of Mosaic painting were in a room opposite to the great hall; and the subjects so represented, exhibited castles, houses, trees, gardens, fruit, flowers, and animals. Among the substances used for this kind of work, we observed pieces of the shell called *Mother of Pearl:* this may be considered, perhaps, peculiar to the Mosaic of the age of Saladine; as it does not appear among the tesselated pavements of the Antients, nor in the Mosaic of St. Sophia. The materials of antient Mosaic generally consisted of small pieces of variously coloured glass; although, in some parts of St. Sophia, the *tesseræ* are of marble of different hues. The curious art of painting in Mosaic existed in a very remote period. Several writers maintain that it was derived originally from Persia[1]; in proof of this, they cite the first chapter of the book of Esther, where

Mosaic Painting.

(1) See Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art,* tom. II. p. 157. *Paris, An* 2 de la République.

where it is said of the palace of Ahasuerus[2] that "the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble." Pliny however attributes the invention to the Greeks[3]. Works in Mosaic were by the Greeks appropriated to the pavement of their temples and dwellings. Many of the floors in the houses at Pompeii have this kind of covering. It was in a later age that the same sort of ornament was used for lining walls, and for coating the interior of domes and vaulted buildings[4]. In process of time, tables were thus constructed, which, being fixed in marble frames, might be moved without loosening the *tesseræ*. Celebrated pictures in Mosaic, the work of Grecian artists, existed among the Romans[5]. This admirable invention, capable of giving perpetuity to works in painting, has survived the downfall of letters; but it has never penetrated beyond the Alps: it still exists in Italy, where it has been carried to a degree of perfection unknown in any former age. The finest works of Raphael, and of other great masters, have been thus copied; and these copies may defy the attacks to which the originals were liable, while they preserve all their perfections. Miniature painting of the most exquisite colouring

Present state of the Art.

(2) C. I. v. 6.

(3) "Pavimenta originem apud Græcos habent elaborata arte, picturæ ratione, donec lithostrota expulêre eam." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. c. 25. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(4) "Pulsa deinde ex humo pavimenta; in cameras transiêre, è vitro: novitium et hoc inventum." (*Ibid.*) "Ensuite elle a servi à revêtir les voûtes des bâtimens." *Winkelmann, Hist. de l'Art, ubi supra, p.* 158.

(5) Witness the celebrated work of *Sosus* of *Pergamus*, mentioned by Pliny, (*lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 25.) of The Dove drinking out of a Vase of Water, found in Adrian's Villa

CHAP. III.

colouring has also been executed in the same manner; the artist using vitrified *tesseræ* of different hues, instead of liquid colours. The gilded *tesseræ* which we procured from the Mosaic of Saladine's palace, resemble, in size and appearance, those of the Mosaics which line the domes of buildings in Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Venice, and Constantinople; all of these were the works of Grecian artists, as the inscriptions yet remaining imply. Each *tessera* is a cube of glass, of the size of our common playing dice, traversed by a thin film of gold, in such a manner that the gold leaf does not lie coating the exterior surface, but appears through a vitrified superficies.

Joseph's Well.

One of the marvels of Egypt, in former times, was the fountain belonging to the Citadel, called "*Joseph's Well;*" but since the country has been accessible to enlightened travellers, it is no longer considered as any thing extraordinary[1]. A regular descent, by steps, has been cut to it, through the soft calcareous rock on which the Citadel stands, to the depth of two hundred and seventy-six feet. The mouth of the well is twenty-four feet in length, and eighteen in breadth[2]. As an example of human labour, Niebuhr

Villa at Tivoli, and lately preserved in the Capitol at Rome; the celebrated works of Dioscorides of Samos, found in Herculaneum; and the famous Mosaic of Palestrina. *See Winkelmann, lib.* iv. *c.* 8. *sect.* 47. *also lib.* vi. *c.* 7. *sect.* 18, *&c.*

(1) It is not, in fact, the only work of the kind in the neighbourhood of Caïro. The Consul Maillet found five other wells, of the same nature, in the ruins of old Caïro. "J'en ai découvert cinq à-peu-près semblables dans les ruines du vieux Caïro, au pied des montagnes vers lesquelles la ville s'élevoit depuis les bords du Nil, par un espéce d'environ trois-quarts de lieuë. Ils sont de même creusés dans le roc, et d'une profondeur étonnante." *Déscript. de l'Egypte,* tom. I. p. 269. *à La Haye,* 1740.

(2) Norden's Travels, vol. I. p. 65. *Lond.* 1757.

Niebuhr considers it to be not at all comparable to the works of the antient Indians, who have cut whole pagodas in the very hardest rocks[3]. Yet it must be confessed that few similar designs have ever been attempted; and if the skill which has been shewn in conducting the excavation be taken into consideration, the perforations for admitting light all the way down, and the general perfection of the work itself, it may be compared rather to the labours of the antient Egyptians, than to any modern undertaking.

Other parts of this Citadel afford reason to believe that an establishment was made here long before the time of the Saracen Caliphs. Not to insist upon the appearance of hieroglyphic inscriptions mentioned by Paul Lucas[4], and which perhaps belonged to the remains of edifices brought here as building materials, yet, from the size of some of the stones upon which a modern superstructure has been raised, as well as from the conformity of its general appearance, as an Acropolis, to the plans of the most antient cities, it may be inferred that a citadel existed here before any Saracen settlement had taken place in this part of Egypt.

The subject seems to merit more attention than it has yet received.

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(3) Niebuhr's Travels, vol. I. p. 59. *Edinb.* 1792.

(4) " J'apperçûs même, sur quelques-uns de ces pierres, *plusieurs caractères hiéroglyphiques* qui sont de la premiere antiquité." *Voyage du Paul Lucas, tom.* II. *p.* 126. *Amst.* 1714.

CHAP. III.

received. *Abdol Caliph*, in his History of Egypt[1], ascribes both the Well and the Castle to *Saladine*[2]; but Shaw, who mentions this circumstance, says, it was the restoration of the Citadel, rather than its construction, which should be ascribed to *Saladine*. Savary, upon the authority of an Arabian writer, maintains that the origin of the city and castle of Caïro must be ascribed to the Saracens[3]. Yet, notwithstanding Savary's Oriental researches, the Citadel of Caïro may stand upon the spot once occupied by the Acropolis of the Egyptian Babylon: this opinion, maintained by Shaw in opposition to Pococke, who assigned a different position for the Babylonian fortress[4], is further confirmed by the style of the work used in the structure; by the skill manifested in hewing the rock upon which it stands, for the way up to it; for the well; and for other purposes. Pococke affirmed that the hill itself seemed to have been separated, by art[5], from the eastern extremity of Mount *Mokatam;* and this name, according to Shaw[6], signifies "*a mountain hewn, or cut through.*" Such immense labour is more characteristic of an Assyrian colony,

(1) P. 85. See Shaw's Travels, vol. II. p. 265. *Lond.* 1757.

(2) *Salah Oddin Joseph Ebn Job*, as written by Shaw.

(3) Lettres sur l'Egypte, tom. I. p. 84. *Paris*, 1786.

(4) "Old Caïro seems to have succeeded to the town and fortress of Babylon, which I imagine to have been on Mount *Jehusi*, at the south end of Old Caïro." *Pococke's Description of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 25. *Lond.* 1743.

(5) Ibid. p. 32.

(6) Shaw's Travels, *ubi supra.*

colony, than of the Arabians, in any period of their history: and that such a settlement was actually made many ages before the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, is clear from the evidence of Diodorus Siculus[7], of Strabo[8], and of Josephus[9]. But long before the foundation, even of the Egyptian Babylon, an establishment had taken place upon the same spot. The situation of the Citadel of Caïro corresponds with the locality of a city almost as old as Memphis. The district in which it stands was the Land of *Goshen*, or *Rameses* of Scripture, assigned by Joseph unto his father and his brethren, that they might be *near* to the seat of the Egyptian kings[10]. Their first settlement was in the same territory, at On [11], the Bethshemesh of the Prophet Jeremiah[12], both of which names are rendered, in the Septuagint, Heliopolis[13]; but in their departure, according to Josephus, they passed by the ruins of a city called *Letopolis*[14], upon the site of which Cambyses afterwards erected the Egyptian *Babylon*[15].

Among

(7) Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 52. *Hanov.* 1604.

(8) Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1143. Ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

(9) Josephus de Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. c. 15. *Colon.* 1691.

(10) "And thou shalt be *near unto me*, thou and thy children." Gen. xiv. 10.

(11) Josephus uses the words ἐν ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ. *Antiq. lib.* ii. *cap.* 4.

(12) Jerem. xliii. 13.

(13) Ἡλιούπολις.

(14) So called from Λητοῦς, *Latona Dea.* It has been confounded with *Latopolis.* See the Notes to the Oxford edition of Strabo, vol. II. p. 1143. Might not the annual sacrifice of a *Virgin* to the Nile, which is said by some authors to have happened here, at the period of its inundation, have some reference to the mythological history of the persecution of *Latona* by the Serpent *Python?*

(15) Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 15. *Colon.*

CHAP. III.

View from the Ramparts.

Among all the sights which this extraordinary country presents to the eyes of an European traveller, there is nothing more novel than the view of objects beheld from the Citadel[1]. A very considerable district, whether the spectator regard the East or the South, is distinguished by one uniform buff colour. Towards the North, this colour is opposed by the most vivid green that imagination can conceive; covering all the Delta. Upon the West are seen the Pyramids, reflecting the sun's beams, and as white as snow. In order that the reader may comprehend the exact situation of all that is seen from hence, this Chapter may conclude by a detail of the relative position of the different objects, as they were observed by a mariner's compass. This mode of description was frequently used by the celebrated Wheler, in the account he published of his Travels in Greece[2]; and it will be occasionally adopted in the remaining Chapters of this Section.

VIEW

(1) After the author's return to England, he often endeavoured to direct the attention of some *Panorama* painter of London to this curious spot; being convinced that a more surprising subject for that kind of painting could not be found in any other part of the world. Some years afterwards, a View of Caïro, painted by Mr. Barker, after designs by Mr. Salt, was exhibited in Leicester Fields. The effect, however, was deficient. The objects represented, and especially the Pyramids, were too diminutive; the remarkable contrast of colour, and the peculiar hues displayed by the original scene, were not preserved; and the general cast of the scenery had too much the air of an European landscape. As a picture, considering the difficulty encountered by an artist in the representation of a scene he had never beheld, it was a work of great merit; but to delineate with fidelity that which is like *nothing else*, the artist must himself visit Egypt.

(2) See Wheler's Travels, pp. 410, 442, 449, &c. *Lond.* 1682.

VIEW *from the* CITADEL *of* CAIRO.

East.

A very unusual and striking spectacle; all the landscape being of a buff, or bright stone-colour; and the numerous buildings in view having the hue of the plains on which they stand. In the distance is an arid desert, without a single mark of vegetation. Nearer to the eye appear immense heaps of sand, the Obelisk of Heliopolis, and the stately mosques, minarets, and sepulchres, belonging to a Cœmetery of the Caliphs in a suburb of Caïro, called *Beladeensan;* a place crowded with buildings of a singular form[3].

South East.

Hills and broken mounds, disposed, in vast masses, with very great grandeur.

South.

A grand scene of desolation; the same buff colour prevailing over every object. In the fore-ground are the lofty quarries of Mount Mokatam, with ruined castles, mouldering domes, and the remains of other edifices, above, below, and stretching beneath the heights, far into the plain. More distant, appear the mountains of Upper Egypt, flanking the eastern bank of the Nile, and a wide misty view of the *Saïd.*

South West, and West.

Immediately beneath the eye is seen the Aqueduct, supported by arches, and extending two miles in length, from

(3) See Plate 24. in the large Paris Edition of Denon's Travels.

CHAP. III.

from the Nile to the Citadel; together with mosques, minarets, and immense heaps of sand. But the grand object, viewed in this direction, is the Nile itself. At this time, having attained its greatest elevation, extending over a wide surface, and flowing with great rapidity, it appeared covered with barges belonging to the army, and the various vessels of the country, spreading their enormous sails on every part of it. The Ruins of Old Caïro, the Island and groves of Rhouda, enrich this fine prospect. Beyond the river appears the town of Djiza, amidst the most beautiful groves of sycamore, fig, and palm trees; still more remote, the Pyramids of Djiza and Saccara; and, beyond these, the great Libyan Desert, extending to the utmost verge of the visible horizon; a vast ocean of sand.

North West, and North.

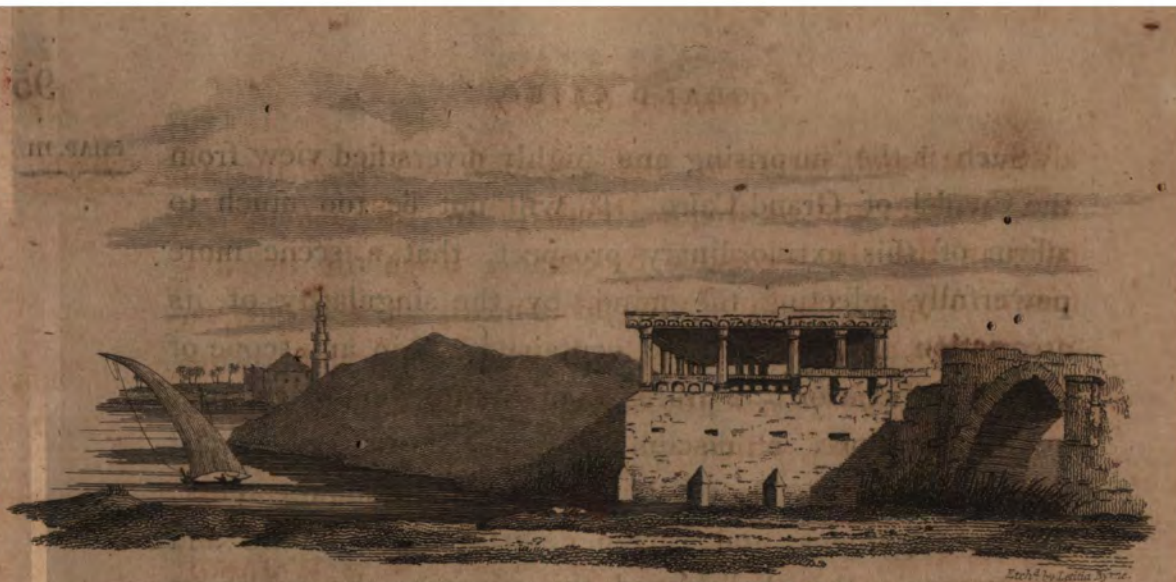
The green plains of the Delta occupy all the distant perspective in this direction, like so many islands, covered with groves and gardens, and adorned with white edifices; among these the *djerms*, the *canjas*, and other beautiful boats of the Nile, are seen sailing.

North East.

The whole City of Caïro, extending from the North towards the North East, and surrounded, in the latter direction, by heaps of sand. Immediately beneath the spectator is seen a grand and gloomy structure, called *The Mosque of Sultan Hassan*, standing close to one of two lakes, which appear among the crowded buildings of the city.

Such

Such is the surprising and highly diversified view from the Citadel of Grand Cairo. It will not be too much to affirm of this extraordinary prospect, that a scene more powerfully affecting the mind, by the singularity of its association, is not elsewhere contained within any scope of human observation;—a profusion of Nature, amidst her most awful privation; a disciplined army, encamped amidst lawless banditti; British pavilions, and Bedouin tents; luxurious gardens, and barren deserts; the pyramid and the mosque; the obelisk and the minaret; the sublimest monuments of human industry, amidst mouldering reliques of Saracenic power.



Entrance to the Amnis Trajanus from the Nile.

CHAP. IV.

HELIOPOLIS, AND THE PYRAMIDS OF DJIZA.

Passage along the Canal—Visit to Heliopolis *—Mataréa—Pillar of* On *—Style of the Hieroglyphics—Intelligence concerning them—their Archetypes—*Crux ansata*—its meaning explained—Of the* Hieralpha *and the* Testudo*—Other Symbols—Kircher—History of the Obelisk —Minerals of the Arabian Desert—Doubtful Origin of Egyptian Jasper—Petrifactions—Dates and Corn—*Almehs*—Of the Alleluïa, and cry of lamentation—Voyage to the* Pyramids*—Appearance presented by the principal Pyramid—Objects seen from the summit—Nature of the Limestone used in its construction—Extraneous Fossil described by Strabo—Mortar—Labours of the French Army—Theft committed by an Arab—Visit to the interior of the larger Pyramid—Notions entertained of its violation—Its passages—Observation at the* Well*—Examination of some inferior Channels—Chamber of the Sepulchre—*The Soros*—its demolition attempted—*The Sphinx*—its surface found to be painted—Discovery of an antient Inscription—Custom of painting antient Statues—Extract from* Pauw.

Our house in Grand Caïro stood in a principal street, near the northern bank of the Canal; so that our *djerm*, being always

always at hand, served us, like a gondola at Venice, instead of a carriage; and we frequently used it to visit the different parts of the city accessible by canals. Upon the twenty-first of August, the inundation being nearly at its height, we attempted a passage by water to the utmost extremity of the the *Amnis Trajanus*[1], in the direction of the *Birk el Hadjee*, or *Pilgrim's Lake*, which was the first station of the great Caravan,

(1) The *Khalig*, or principal Canal of Caïro, believed to be the ΤΡΑΪΑΝΟΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ of Ptolemy, (*Vid. Geog. lib.* iv. *c.* 5.) and called also, by some writers, Fossa Traiana. Savary, upon the authority of *Elmacin*, an Arabic historian, attributes this work entirely to *Omar*, and says it was Adrian, rather than Trajan, who caused a canal to be dug near Caïro. (*Lettres sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 94. *Paris*, 1785.) There is, however, reason to believe that Omar's work was merely a restoration of the antient dyke. It extends eastward of the Nile, to the distance of twelve miles, and is terminated by *the Pilgrim's Lake*. Formerly it was continued to *Heroopolis*, upon the banks of the Red Sea. This undertaking was begun by *Sesostris*, carried on by *Darius*, and finished by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Its last restoration took place in the year 644, under Caliph Omar. (*Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *tom.* II. *p.* 1140. *Edit. Oxon. See also the Notes in the Oxford edition of Strabo.*) The history of this great undertaking, in its origin, is thus related by Pliny, who says the design was abandoned through fear of inundating Egypt with the waters of the Red Sea. "*Daneon portus, ex quo navigabilem alveum perducere in Nilum (quâ parte ad Delta dictum decurrit* LXII *mill. pass. intervallo, quod inter flumen et Rubrum mare interest) primus omnium Sesostris Ægypti rex cogitavit: mox Darius Persarum: deinde Ptolemæus sequens: qui et duxit fossam latitudine pedum centum, altitudine triginta, in longitudinem* XXXVII *mill.* D *pass. usque ad fontes amaros: ultra deterruit inundationis metus, excelsiore tribus cubitis Rubro mari comperto, quam terra Ægypti.*" (*Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 29. *tom.* I. *p.* 331. *L. Bat.* 1635.) According to the passage which Savary has translated from *Elmacin*, Omar's lieutenant, Amrou, opened the communication between the Red Sea and the Nile by means of this canal; and a navigation, bearing the produce of Egypt, actually commenced. "*Les bateaux partant de Fostat, portérent dans la Mer de Colzoum les denrées de l'Egypte.*" (*Voy. Lett. sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 96. *Paris*, 1785.) "Such," says Savary, "is the origin of that famous canal, which travellers, copying each other, have called *Amnis Trajanus*." Be it remembered, however, that in this number are *Pococke* and *Shaw*; and with all deference to Savary's great abilities, and to his predilection for Arabic histories, it may be presumed that neither of these writers was unacquainted with the sources whence the French author derived his information.

CHAP. IV.

Caravan, in its journey to Mecca. We soon found our progress obstructed by the arch of a bridge, which was so low, that our *djerm* could not pass beneath it, and we were compelled to return.

Visit to Heliopolis.

The next day, having obtained horses and a Janissary, we set out again, in the same direction, by land, desirous of seeing the remains of HELIOPOLIS, one of the most antient cities of the world whereof a vestige can now be traced. More than eighteen hundred years ago its ruins attracted the regard of the most enlightened travellers of Greece and Rome. Nearly thirty years before the Christian æra they were visited by Strabo; and the interesting description which he has given of them, proves the condition of that once famous seat of science to have been then almost as desolate as at the present period. If, as Shaw has ingeniously attempted to prove[1], the accretion of soil, from the annual inundation of the Nile, "*has been in a proportion of somewhat more than a foot in a hundred years,*" we might search for some of the antiquities mentioned by Strabo, at the depth of six yards below the present surface. But when Pococke visited the place, he observed the fragments of Sphinxes yet remaining, in the antient way leading to the eminence on which the Temple of the Sun stood, between the principal entrance to its area, and the southern side of the obelisk standing before it[2]. The Sphinxes which Pococke saw, were, in fact, a part of the identical antiquities that were noticed by Strabo so many centuries

(1) Travels, Second Edition, p. 388. Ch. II. sect. 3.

(2) Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 23. *Lond.* 1743.

centuries before[3]; whence it is reasonable to conclude, that very little labour would be necessary to excavate even the pavement of the temple[4]. From the observations made by Pococke, he deduces an inference, that the utmost height to which the soil has accumulated does not exceed seven feet and a half[5]. At the time of our visit to Heliopolis, all the area of the antient temple was under water; so that any search of this kind was thereby prevented.

Our road to this place from Caïro was along the southern side of the canal, through the most fertile gardens, and amidst thick groves of olive and orange trees. In our way, we halted at *Matarĕa*, a village which is generally believed to occupy a part of the site of the antient city[6]. Here travellers are entertained with a number of absurd superstitions, similar to those already described in the account of the Holy Land. The principal number of Christians who visit *Matarĕa* are pilgrims, attracted by the supposed sanctity of the spot, as connected with the history of

Matarĕa.

(3) Διὰ δὲ τοῦ μήκους παντὸς ἐξῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πλάτους σφίγγες ἵδρυνται λίθιναι, πήχεις εἴκοσιν, ἢ μικρῷ πλείους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχουσαι, ὥσθ' ἕνα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν εἶναι στίκον (στοῖχον) τῶν σφιγγῶν, ἕνα δ' ἐξ εὐωνύμων. "Per totam vero longitudinem deinceps ex utraque latitudinis parte sunt positæ lapideæ sphinges, vicenis cubitis, vel paulo pluribus inter se distantes: ut altera sphingum series sit a dextra, altera a sinistra." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *tom.* II. *p.* 1142. *Edit. Oxon.*

(4) Ibid.

(5) Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 23.

(6) This place is said by *Quaresmius* to be ten geographical miles from Caïro, (*Vid. Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom.* II. *p.* 948. *Antv.* 1639) meaning, probably, from Old Caïro; as it is only five from Grand Caïro, according to Bernardino.

CHAP. IV.

of our Saviour. The celebrated *Fountain of the Sun*[1]; whence the city itself seems to have been originally named, and whose delicious water attracted the earliest settlers to the eastern side of the Nile, was, according to Monkish legends, only known from the time that the *Holy Family* came into Egypt. It burst forth, they say, when the Virgin with

(1) Called *Ain Schemps* by the Arabs, which agrees with the name of *Heliopolis*, as found in Abulfeda, and cited by the learned Kircher; *Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* III. *p.* 331. *Rom.* 1655. "Ain Schemps, *sive Heliopolis, quam et Oculum seu fontem Solis appellant*, temporibus nostris desolata est, neque sunt in ea habitationes ullæ; et dicitur, quòd fuerit civitas Pharaonis: sunt in ea insignia antiquitatis monumenta, constructa ex lapidibus et saxis maximis; inter cætera verò columna quadrata, quæ vocatur Acus Pharaonis (*id est Obeliscus*), longitudo ejus 30 cubitorum, estque à Cayro ferè media mergala; est etiam ibidem villa dicta Mataréa, sita ad latus sinistrum Orientalis Nili."

It may be proper to notice here a very extraordinary doubt of the learned Larcher concerning this city, as it is expressed in the *Table Géographique*, published in the Appendix to his Translation of Herodotus. M. Larcher asserts, in opposition to every preceding writer, that Heliopolis was situated in the Delta, and that *Mataréa* stands on the site of an *insignificant* town of the same name, which has been confounded with the more renowned city. For this assertion M. Larcher offers no proof whatsoever; but refers his reader to a separate dissertation, which he intends to publish upon this subject. With the utmost deference to that profound scholar, it may be surely urged, that what Kircher, Pococke, and Shaw, considered to be established, will not be hastily abandoned. In addition to this it may be asked, do not the remains of Sphinxes, noticed by Pococke, confirm the description given by Strabo of the ruins of Heliopolis? Do not the stupendous Obelisks, one of which is now standing, (*two others were taken to Rome, Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1142. *Ed. Oxon.*) indicate, beyond a possibility of contradiction, the vestiges of no *inconsiderable* city? The observations of Strabo concerning the situation of the Ἡλιοπολίτης νομὸς, and the τοῦ Ἡλίου πόλις, are given with remarkable precision; and when these are compared with the observations made by modern travellers, the evidence for the position of the city is complete; and nothing seems likely to supersede it. He is describing the country along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile; and coming to the Canal between that river and the Red Sea, he deduces its origin from a period anterior to the Trojan War. The subject leads him to Arsinoë, near which city this canal joined the *Sinus Heroopolites*. Thence returning to the Nile, he speaks of places on its eastern side, which are near to the southern point or vertex

with Joseph and the infant Jesus reposed themselves, in their flight from the fury of Herod. We breakfasted beneath the shade of a sycamore fig-tree, which is said to have opened and to have received the fugitives, when closely pursued[2]; and here we listened to many other stories of the same nature, the relation of which even old Sandys considered to be "an abuse of time, and a provocation of his reader[3]." However, by imitating the conduct of the pilgrims, in breaking off and bearing away with us a few scions of this venerable tree, (as Sandys says[4], "*all to be hackt for the wood thereof, reputed*

vertex of the Delta; mentioning first *Bubastus*, then *Heliopolis, Letopolis*, &c. and their respective *nomes*; enumerating these as they occurred from the North towards the South, until he reaches the Nile beyond the Delta; and speaks of Libya as being on the right, and Arabia upon the left: "*Wherefore*," says he, "*the Heliopolitan district is in Arabia.*" Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡλιοπολίτις ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ἐστίν. After this observation, can it be affirmed that Heliopolis was in the Delta? Another very remarkable observation of Strabo may be cited, with reference to antiquities observed by Maillet, which seem to prove, not only that *Mataréa* denotes the site of *Heliopolis*, but also that *Old Caïro* stands within the Letopolitan district: it is, the mention he makes of certain *Caves*, or pits, for astronomical observations, lying in the *Letopolitan præfecture*, beyond Heliopolis. Maillet discovered, among the ruins of Old Caïro, several pits excavated to a very great depth in the rock, after the manner of *Joseph's Well*. (*See the Note to p. 88. of this volume.*) These correspond with the notions at present entertained of the astronomical wells of the Antients; and perhaps they are the *Astronomical Caves* alluded to by Strabo.—*For other particulars concerning Heliopolis, see Herodot. Euterpe; Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. c. 57; Ptolemæus; Stephanus*, &c. &c.

(2) See an Engraving of the Well; the edifice erected over it; and of this tree; in Bernardino's *Trattato delle Piante et Immagini de sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa*, &c. *Firenza*, 1620. The representation includes the famous Balsam Garden of Cleopatra, which no longer exists. Bernardino was in Egypt in 1597.

(3) Sandys' Travels, p. 127. *Lond.* 1637. The reader, who is curious to be amused with a complete detail of all the Christian superstitions concerning Caïro and its neighbourhood, may consult Quaresmius, *Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom.* II. *Antv.* 1639. His account of the *Sanctities* of Mataréa is given in p. 948 of that volume.

(4) Ibid.

85383

CHAP. IV. *reputed of soveraigne vertue,*") we were enabled to gratify our botanical friends in England with very rare specimens for their herbaries[1]. The well of *Matarĕa* is supposed to be pictured in the famous Mosaic pavement of Prænestè[2], where a representation is also preserved of the Temple of the Sun, or *Bethshemesh* of sacred scripture[3], with the obelisks as they stood before the vestibule of the building.

Pillar of On. We then went to visit the renowned pillar of On[4], or Obelisk of Heliopolis, (the only great work of antiquity now remaining in all the *Land of Goshen*[5],) standing on the spot where the Hebrews had their first settlement[6]. All the surrounding plain was at this time inundated, so that it seemed as rising from a lake. The water was, however, shallow, and we rode upon our horses towards the obelisk. The ground being rather elevated towards its base, the author was here enabled to gain a precarious footing in the midst of the pool, where he might remain and leisurely delineate the hieroglyphics which are rudely sculptured upon this superb

(1) See Chap. II. p. 31.

(2) Shaw's Travels, sect. 7. ch. 2. p. 424. *Lond.* 1757. See also the history of this pavement in Montfaucon's Antiquities, vol. xiv.

(3) "He shall break also the Images of Beth-shemesh (i. e. *the house, or City of the Sun*) that is in the land of Egypt." Jer. xliii. 13.

(4) "And Pharaoh called Joseph's name *Zaphnath-paaneah*: and he gave him to wife *Asenath* the daughter of *Poti-pherah* priest of On." *Gen.* xli. 45. This name of the city is rendered Ἡλιουπόλεως by the LXXII, as is also the Hebrew word *Beth-shemesh*, mentioned in the preceding Note.

(5) See Shaw's Travels, tom. II. chap. 5.

(6) Συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ ζῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει. "Concessit ei cum liberis suis Heliopolin habitare." *Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib.* ii. *cap.* 7. *tom.* I. *p.* 95. *Amst. &c.* 1726.

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Etch.d by Letitia Byr

superb monument. These have been already engraved, both by Norden and by Shaw; but in neither instance with accuracy[7]. From the coarseness of the sculpture, as well as the history of the city to which this obelisk belonged, there is reason to believe it the oldest monument of the kind in Egypt[8]. Its height is between sixty and seventy feet[9]; its breadth, at the base, six feet: the whole being one entire mass of *reddish granite*, the *Granites durus rubescens* of Linnæus. Each of its four sides exhibits the same *characters*, and in the same order. Those which face the south have been the least affected by the decomposition of the substance in which they are hewn; and it is from the southern side that the author's design is taken. He has endeavoured to imitate the rude style of the antient sculpture, and to present, as nearly as possible, a faithful representation of the original. After the remark made by Strabo, concerning the hieroglyphics of Heliopolis, that they much resembled the works left by the Etrurians, and by the antient Grecians[10], a curiosity to see these, in particular, is naturally excited.

(7) The same may be said of the engraving of this obelisk in Kircher's *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, where the *scarabæus pilularius* is introduced, instead of the rude symbol which appears upon the original, and which was probably intended to represent that insect.

(8) "Antiquissima fuit, ut origo etiam ad fabulas referatur." *Cellar. Geog. tom.* II. *Pars* 3. *p.* 42. *Lips.* 1706.

(9) Shaw makes its height equal only to sixty-four feet; (*Trav. p.* 366. *Lond.* 1757.) although he says "*other travellers have described it to be upwards of seventy.*" Pococke ascertained its height, by the quadrant, and found it to be sixty-seven feet and a half. *Descript. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 23. *Lond.* 1743.

(10) Ἀναγλυφὰς δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι οὗτοι μεγάλων εἰδώλων, ὁμοίων τοῖς Τυρρηνικοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις σφόδρα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δημιουργημάτων. "Hi parietes ingentium simulacrorum sculpturas habent, Etruscis et antiquis Græciæ operibus per similium." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1142. *Ed. Oxon.* 1807.

CHAP. IV.

Style of the Hieroglyphics.

excited. They are remarkably characterized by the rudeness of their style of sculpture; but in the representations given of them in books of Travels, the simplicity of the original work has been sacrificed, in attempting to express, from more perfect models, the intended delineation of the antient sculptor. Thus, in the view of this obelisk, published by Shaw, and also by Norden, many of the hieroglyphic figures are fancifully restored, under a notion of improving their appearance; and some are altogether omitted. In the first oval inclosure, from the top of the obelisk, there is a rude figure, something like what is vulgarly called a *bird-bolt*, with a circle above it. Shaw believed this to be intended for the *scarabæus pilularius*, which is so frequently seen upon Egyptian monuments: accordingly, he completely restored the figure of the beetle, making it appear as a more perfect representation of what he had seen elsewhere[1]. Norden also did the same[2]. Possibly they were right in their conjectures as to the figure intended by the antient artist; but one proof of the great antiquity of this monument rests upon the style of the workmanship; and to misrepresent this, in copying the hieroglyphics, by any aim at superior delineation, is as barbarous as to exhibit an antient inscription in modern characters[3].

The

(1) See the Plate facing p. 365, in Shaw's Travels. *Lond.* 1757.

(2) Norden's Travels, Plate facing p. 14. *Lond.* 1757.

(3) If the reader believe Hasselquist, he was able to distinguish every species of bird upon this pillar, which he calls *the handsomest obelisk in Egypt.* "I could know," says he, "a *strix* (owl) which stood uppermost on the top of the obelisk." *See Trav. to the East, p. 99. Lond.* 1766.—All other authors, and among these Kircher, have made the *strix* of Hasselquist *a vulture.*

The reader's curiosity to become acquainted with the hidden meaning of the symbols upon this obelisk is perhaps quite equal to that of the author; and if all that Kircher has written for its illustration be adequate to this effect, nothing is easier than to transcribe his observations[4]. But Isis long ago declared, that no mortal had ever removed her veil[5]; and the impenetrable secret seems not likely to be divulged. One solitary fact has been vouchsafed to ages of restless inquiry upon this subject; namely, that the hieroglyphic characters constituted a *written language*[6], the signs of an antient alphabet, expressed according to the most antient mode of writing, in *capital letters*[7]: and it is probable that the more compound forms were a series of *monograms*, like the inscriptions upon the precious stones worn by the High Priest of the Hebrews, which were ordered to be made after the manner of "*the engravings of a signet*[8]," and thus to contain within a very small compass, "*as stones of memorial*[9]," even upon "*two onyx-stones, the names of the children of Israel*[10]. Strabo's observation

(4) Œdipus Ægyptiacus, p. 330. *Romæ*, 1654.

(5) ΤΟΝ ΕΜΟΝ ΠΕΠΛΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΠΩ ΘΝΗΤΟΣ ΑΠΕΚΑΛΥΨΕΝ. *Plutarch. de Iside et Osir. cap.* 9.

(6) See the words of the Greek Inscription upon the Ptolemaic tablet found near Rosetta.

(7) The letters of the most antient written language of Egypt, according to Diodorus, were derived from the Ethiopians; and represented all sorts of beasts, the parts of the human body, and divers instruments. The capital letters of the Armenian alphabet (as published in the grammar printed by the *Propaganda Fidei*) are represented by animals: and it is observed by Pococke, who mentions this circumstance, (*Description of the East*, vol. I. p. 228. *London*, 1743,) that "*the names of some antient letters are the names of beasts.*"

(8) Exodus xxviii. 11. (9) Ibid. ver. 12. (10) Ibid. ver. 9.

CHAP. IV.

observation upon the Heliopolitan sculpture is here of importance: he says, it resembled the workmanship of *Etruscans:* and by the similarity already noticed[1], between the letters of the Etruscan alphabet and the characters observed upon *Phœnician signets,* as well as the evident agreement of the signs upon Phœnician coins[2] with the *Egyptian hieroglyphics,* it may be inferred that the mode of writing used by the priests of Egypt corresponded with that which Moses caused to be engraven upon the stones for the ephod, and for the breast-plate of judgment, which are expressly and repeatedly described[3] as "*the works of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet.*"

But with reference to the inscription upon the obelisk at Heliopolis, and to the numerous examples of the same kind which have been noticed among the antiquities of Egypt, although we are unable to explain any thing of their original import, there is one mode of considering them, in which a careful examination of the signs thus represented may be attended with amusement, if not with instruction. This

Archetypes of the Hieroglyphics.

consists, first, in ascertaining what the archetypes were of the several figures used to denote letters: these are sometimes clearly exhibited, but often confusedly sketched, as if with a view to abbreviation; and, secondly, in using these documents, not only to illustrate the manners of the most antient

(1) See Part II. Sect. I. Chap. X. of these Travels, p. 327. *Broxbourne,* 1812.

(2) Witness the appearance of the *Crux ansata* upon a Phœnician medal found in Cyprus. *See Vignette to Chap.* XI. *Part* II. *Sect.* I. *of these Travels.*

(3) Exodus, xxviii. 11, 21.

antient nations, but also to prove the existence of many antient customs from their existing reliques. In this point of view, the discoveries made by Denon[4] among the hieroglyphics of Upper Egypt are valuable. The light thrown upon the history of Architecture, of the Arts, and certain even of the Sciences, by the pictured representation of things as they existed in the earliest periods, must gratify a laudable curiosity, and may answer the more important purpose of conveying historical information. The hieroglyphics of Heliopolis will perhaps afford less illustration of this nature than any other characters of the same kind; because the style of sculpture is here so rude, that many of the archetypes, whence the types of the inscription were derived, cannot now be ascertained; but, on account of their great antiquity, the few that may be discerned are worth notice. In the very summit of the obelisk, beneath the figure of a vulture, may be observed the *Crux ansata*[5]. The original of this curious

Crux ansata.

(4) See Denon's account of the hieroglyphics in the Sepulchres of the antient Kings of Thebes. *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, vol.* II. *p.* 173. *London,* 1803.—Also of the hieroglyphics of "*Tentyra,*" where he discovered the first models of the style of decoration improperly termed *Arabesque,* such as were executed in painting at the Baths of Titus, and copied by Raphael. *See vol.* I. *p.* 211.

(5) "Sed non erat ullum templum, in quo non ſigura *crucis ansatæ,* ut eam eruditi vocant, sæpius visenda occurreret, hodieque in ruderibus ac ruinis etiamnum occurrat. Ejus hæc est species ☥ - - - - Crucem vero istam ansatam, quæ in omnibus Ægyptiorum templis sæpius ficta et picta extabat, quam signa Deorum Ægyptiorum manu tenere solent, quæ partem facit ornatus sacerdotalis, nihil aliud esse quam phallum," &c. (*Vide Jablonski Panth. Ægypt.* I. 282.) Jamblichus thinks the *Crux ansata* was the name of the Divine Being. Sozomen, and other Christian writers, (*Vide Sozomen. Eccl. Hist. lib.* vii. *c.* 15. *Ruffin. Eccl. Hist. lib.* ii. *c.* 29.) conceive the whole figure, or at least the cross, to be expressive of the "*life to come;*" deriving this opinion

CHAP. IV.

curious type was the sort of *key* in use among the Antients, which generally appears fastened to a ring. Sometimes it is seen annexed to a rosary of beads, as in the remarkable instance where the same symbol appears upon a Phœnician medal[1] found at Citium in the Isle of Cyprus, of which an engraving was given in the preceding Section[2]. This kind of key is not entirely banished from modern use; and such instruments have been discovered in the ruins of antient cities. They are often seen in the hands of Egyptian statues. Two were represented, as pendent from hooks, upon a hieroglyphical tablet found near the Pyramids by Paul Lucas[3]. The archetype of this symbol may possibly therefore have been *a key*. It is not the less likely to answer to Jablonski's

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opinion from the explanation given of it by those of the Heathens who understood the hieroglyphics, and were converted to Christianity. Sometimes it is represented by a *cross* fastened to a *circle*, as above; in other instances, with the *letter* ☥ only, fixed in this manner ⚲ to *a circle*. By the *circle*, says Kircher (*Prod. Copt. p.* 169), is to be understood the Creator and Preserver of the world; as the wisdom derived from him, which directs and governs it, is signified by the ☥, ☥, the *monogram*, as he further conjectures, of *Mercury*, *Thoth*, *Taaut*, or ΦΤ *Ptha*. "It is certainly very extraordinary," (says Shaw, who has collected almost every information upon this subject,) "and worthy of our notice, that this *crux ansata* should be so often in their symbolical writings; either alone, or held in the hands, or suspended over the necks, of their deities. Beetles, and such other sacred animals and symbols, as were bored through, and intended for, amulets, had this figure frequently impressed upon them." (*See Shaw's Trav. p.* 360. *Lond.* 1757.) The same author considers it to be the same with *the ineffable image of Eternity*, noticed by Suidas. *Vide Euseb. Præf. Evan. p.* 69.

(1) It seems to have as much reference to Phœnicia, as to Egypt. Upon a medal of Sidon the cross appears carried by Minerva in a boat.

(2) See Part II. Sect. I. p. 328. Vignette to Chap. XI.

(3) See the Engraving of this in the Second Volume of his Travels, as published at Amsterdam in 1744, tom. II. p. 130.

Meaning of the *Crux ansata.*

Jablonski's explanation of it on this account[4]. We have historical information relative to the meaning of the *Crux ansata.* Indeed, it may be considered as the only hieroglyphical type concerning whose import we have any certain intelligence. The singular appearance of *a Cross* so frequently recurring among the hieroglyphics of Egypt, had excited the curiosity of the Christians in a very early period of ecclesiastical history[5]; and as some of the priests[6], who were acquainted with the meaning of the hieroglyphics, became converted to Christianity, the secret transpired. "The converted Heathens," says Socrates Scholasticus[7], "explained the symbol; and declared that it signified 'LIFE TO COME.'" Ruffinus mentions the same fact[8]. Kircher's ingenuity had guided him to an explanation of the *Crux ansata,* as a *monogram,* which does not

(4) See Note 5, p. 107, containing an extract from Jablonski, upon the meaning of the *Crux ansata.* The women of Naples wear it as a pendant for the ear; annexing to this ornament the signification which Jablonski has given of the *Crux ansata*; but the use of the metaphorical verb *Chiavare,* in their language, proves that the same interpretation is applicable to *a key.* An observation occurs in Athenæus where the *letter* T is deemed *obscene.*

(5) The *Serapéum* at Alexandria was destroyed about the year 389. It was at the destruction of this building that the Christians first became acquainted with the meaning of the *Cross* among the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

(6) No liberty is here taken, either with the text of *Ruffinus* or of *Socrates,* in saying *the priests*; because no others possessed a knowledge of the sacred writing.

(7) Τούτων δὲ ἀμφισβητουμένων, τινὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῷ Χριστιανισμῷ προσελθόντες, τὰ ἱερογλυφικὰ τὲ γράμματα ἐπιστάμενοι, διερμηνεύοντες τὸν σταυροειδῆ χαρακτῆρα, ἔλεγον σημαίνειν ΖΩΗΝ ΕΠΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΗΝ. "Dum hæc inter illos agitatur controversia, quidam ex Gentilium errore ad Christi fidem conversi, qui hujusmodi literarum notitiam habebant, notam hanc crucis forma depictam interpretantes, *venturam vitam* significare docuerunt." *Socrat. Scholast. Histor. Ecclesiast. lib.* v. *c.* 17. *p.* 276. *Paris,* 1668.—The reader will do well to consult the whole chapter, which contains very curious information.

(8) Ruffin. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 29. See also Heliod. Æthiop. lib. iii. p. 148.

CHAP. IV.

not militate against the signification thus obtained. He says, it consisted of the letters ΦΤ, denoting *Ptha*, a name of *Mercury*[1]; and the name of this deity, as *a conductor of the souls of the dead*, might well be used with reference to a state of *existence after death*. But as every Egyptian *monogram* had its archetype in some animal, or instrument of common use, and the original of the *Crux ansata* seems to have been *a key*, we may perhaps, by attending to this curious circumstance, arrive at the origin of those allegorical allusions to a *key*, which, with reference to *a future state of existence*, are introduced into the Holy Scriptures. Such an allusion is made in the prophecies of Isaiah, concerning the kingdom of Christ[2]. Our Saviour says unto Peter[3], "I WILL GIVE UNTO THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN:" and the author of the book of Revelations, as if the sacred symbols of antient Egypt had suggested the image to his mind, describes the Angel of *the Resurrection*[4] as having in his hand *a key*. Also, in the sublime prophecy concerning the second advent of the Messiah, a similar allusion may be noticed[5]: "I AM HE THAT LIVETH AND WAS DEAD; AND, BEHOLD, I AM ALIVE FOR EVERMORE, AMEN; AND HAVE THE KEYS OF HELL AND OF DEATH."

Among the other signs used to express words upon this monument, there is one, respecting which our information is not

(1) Kircher. Prod. Copt. p. 169. See also a former Note upon the *Crux ansata*.

(2) "The *key* of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder." *Isaiah* xxii. 22.

(3) Matthew xvi. 19.

(4) "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the *key* of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand." *Revel.* xx. 1.

(5) Revel. i. 18.

not attended with the same certainty as in the preceding instance, although its meaning be not entirely unknown. This is the curious *monogram*, called *Hieralpha* by Kircher[6], composed of the Greek letters A and Δ, which he explains, from Plutarch, to signify *Agatho Dæmon*, and to have had for its archetype an Ibis, in a particular attitude[7]. It may be observed near the centre of the obelisk, immediately above another figure of the *Crux ansata*, similar to that which has been already described. Pauw ridicules Kircher's notion; admitting, at the same time, a resemblance between the first letter of the Greek alphabet and the *Theban plough*[8]. Now the *plough* was, in fact, an archetype of the symbol which Kircher calls *Hieralpha:* and although Pauw has proved this point, perhaps beyond dispute, yet something may still be added in its confirmation. The sort of *hand-plough*, represented as a sceptre in the hands of

Hieralpha.

(6) "Hic character idem significat, quod Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, id est, *Bonus Genius*; et componitur ex initialibus literis A et Δ. Si enim producitur Δ litera, fiat A, quod in se monogrammaticè continet Δ et A; invenitur autem hæc litera hieroglyphica in omnibus ferè Ægyptiacis inscriptionibus, &c. quam et *Hieralpham* imposterum vocabimus." (*Kircher. Œdip. Ægypt. Theatrum Hieroglyphicum, tom.* III. *p.* 50. *Rom.* 1654.) Also (*in Prod. Copt. p.* 231.) the same author says, "Hoc μονόγραμμον A, ex Δ et A compositum, in nullo non obelisco frequentissimum, Ægyptiarum vocum ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲇⲉⲙⲙⲟⲛ, quibus bonum genium *Deltæ* Nili seu *Ægypti* signant, index; cum præter dictarum vocum capitales literas, ejus quoque *Ægypti* portionis figuram quam Δ passim vocant, clare dictum μονόγραμμον exprimat."

(7) Ἶβις τὲ ποιεῖ τῇ τῶν πόδων ἀποστάσει πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥίγκος ἰσόπλευρον τρίγωνον. "*Ibis pedum divaricatione eorum inter se, et cum rostro comparatione, triangulum refert æquilaterum.*" *Plutarch. Sympos.* 5. Also Ἑρμῆς λέγεται Θεῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γράμματα πρῶτος εὑρειν, διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν γραμμάτων Αἰγύπτιοι πρῶτον Ἶβιν γράφουσι, ὡς Ἑρμῇ (Ἀγαθοδαίμονι) προσήκουσαν. "Mercurius primus Deorum in Ægypto traditur invenisse literas, atque adeo Ibin Ægyptii primam literam faciunt Mercurio, videlicet Agathodæmoni, convenientem." *Id. in lib.* ix. *Sympos.* 2, 3. *See also Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. Theat. Hieroglyph. p.* 43. *Rom.* 1654.

(8) Philosoph. Diss. &c. vol. II. p. 121. *Lond.* 1795.

CHAP. IV. of the priests and kings of Egypt [1], is still used by many of the Celtic tribes. The author has also seen it in Lapland. It has this form, ⅄ which precisely corresponds (although in an inverted position) with the sort of sceptre mentioned by Diodorus, and denominated *Hieralpha* by Kircher. There are also a few symbols rendered interesting in the representations they offer of instruments still used by modern nations, without any deviation from their most antient form: such, for example, as the *Testudo*, or *Cithara*, of the Antients, a two-stringed lyre, constructed of the shell of a land-tortoise, common to all the shores of the Mediterranean. It corresponds with the *Balalaika* of the Russians, and is in use among the Calmucks [2]. This instrument is believed to be the ΦΟΡΜΙΓΞ of Homer [3]. It may be observed about half way up the face of the obelisk, upon the left hand, placed by the side of an axe or hatchet. The sort of staff, capped with the representation of an animal's head, which is seen in the hands of Egyptian deities among their hieroglyphic figures, and frequently delineated upon Greek vases, as a badge of distinction worn by Grecian Hierarchs, is yet in use among the Patriarchs and

Testudo.

(1) *Philosoph. Diss. &c. ibid. Vid. Diod. Sic. lib.* iv. *Tibullus, lib.* i.

" Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,
Et teneram ferro solicitavit humum."

(2) See Part I. of these Travels, Chap. XII. p. 244. *Second Edit.*

(3) The author is indebted for this observation to a letter he received from R. P. Knight, Esq. soon after the publication of the First Part of these Travels. Alluding to the account given in p. 244 (*Second Edition*), of a two-stringed lyre represented in the Calmuck paintings, Mr. Knight said that he considered this instrument to be the same which Homer mentions, under the name of Φορμίγξ:

Τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι πάϊς φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ
Ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε. ——— *Iliad.* Σ. 569.

and Bishops of the Greek Church; and this may be observed in two instances upon the Heliopolitan pillar. For the rest, the reader, if he have patience for the inquiry, may be referred to Kircher[3]; who has written a particular dissertation upon this obelisk, and, in his endeavour to explain its symbols in detail, has brought together all that his vast erudition enabled him to communicate; although it must be evident, since the discovery of a Greek translation of hieroglyphics upon the *Rosetta Stone*, that the interpretation proposed by him, of these characters, cannot accord with their real signification.

With the description of this obelisk the author is compelled to terminate his very limited observations concerning Heliopolis: for such is the solitary remnant of a city and University where Herodotus was instructed in the wisdom of the Egyptians; and where, eighteen hundred years ago, the *schools*[4] of Plato, and of Eudoxus, were shewn to Roman travellers, as, in some future age, the places where a Locke and a Newton

(3) *Vid. Syntagma* VIII. *Theat. Hieroglyph. Œdipi Ægyptiaci, tom.* III. *p.* 330. *Rom.* 1654. Kircher's account of this obelisk is divided into four distinct chapters. 1. "*De origine Obelisci Heliopolitani.*" 2. "*De erectione et mensurâ Obelisci.*" 3. "*Argumentum hujus Obelisci.*" 4. "*Interpretatio Obelisci.*" Of these, the reader will in all probability rest satisfied with the two first: these, being historical, are valuable. An examination of Kircher's work will offer a striking example of the patient research and amazing erudition which characterized the learned labours of the Jesuits; but when he proceeds to the interpretation of the hieroglyphics in detail, his reveries may be compared to the feverish dreams of a scholar, who, from intense application to his studies, is visited, as by the night-mare, with a continual recurrence of *postulates* unattended by a single *conclusion.*

(4) ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΑΙ dicuntur *Philosophorum congressus* ac *disputationes,* quæ Plut. *διατριβαὶ περὶ λόγους.* Item locus, in quo *διατρίβουσι περὶ τὶ,* ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ dicitur. Sic leg. Strab. Ἐκεῖ οὖν ἐδείκνυντο οἵ τε τῶν ἱερέων οἶκοι, καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου *διατριβαί.* "Ostendebantur ergo ibi sacerdotum ædes, ac domicilia in quibus Eudoxus et Plato egerant." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* XVII. *tom.* II. *p.* 1143. *Ed. Oxon.*

CHAP. IV.

a Newton held their disputations may be pointed out among the mouldering edifices of Oxford and of Cambridge. That other monuments, equally entitled to consideration, may possibly exist around this pillar, concealed only by a thin covering of soil, can hardly be doubted; and these, succeeding travellers may bring to light. The antiquities observed by Pococke are probably among the number. Yet, if this alone continue to mark the situation of Heliopolis, the evidence it affords, when added to other proofs, will be sufficient to identify the locality of the city. Indeed, when it is considered that Heliopolis was altogether a deserted city so long ago as the time of Strabo[1], and that the Romans carried from Egypt so many of its antient monuments, it is surprising that this obelisk, stupendous as it is, remains in its original position. Among several trophies of this description, which were removed to Italy, Strabo mentions two obelisks that were carried to Rome from the ruins of Heliopolis[2]. According to Pliny, the first monuments of this kind that were raised in Egypt were placed within this city[3]; and the elevation assigned by him to each of the four obelisks erected here by *Sochis*, so nearly corresponds with the measure of the one which now remains, that, making allowance for its pedestal,

History of the Obelisk.

(1) Πανέρημος ἡ πόλις—"Omnino urbs deserta est." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *tom.* II. *p.* 1142. *Ed. Oxon.* 1807.

(2) Ὧν δύο καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθησαν, οἱ μὴ κεκακωμένοι τελέως. "Quorum duo Romam delati sunt, non omnino corrupti." *Ibid.*

(3) "Primus omnium id instituit *Mitres*, qui *in Solis urbe* regnabat, somnio jussus: *et hoc ipsum inscriptum est in eo:* etenim sculpturæ illæ effigiesque, quas videmus, EGYPTIÆ SUNT LITERÆ. Postea et alii regum in supra dicta urbe." *Plinii Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 8. *tom.* III. *p.* 481. *L. Bat.* 1635.

pedestal, its height would be the same[4]. On this account, Pococke[5], and Shaw[6], consider it to be one of the four thus mentioned by Pliny. Diodorus relates[7], that two other obelisks were erected at Heliopolis by Sesostris; but each of these was one hundred and twenty cubits in height, and eight in breadth; an elevation, therefore, much too considerable to correspond with the present appearance of this pillar.

After leaving this place, the author was so much exhausted by fatigue, that he returned to Caïro, across the sandy plain of the desert which lies east of the city and extends all the way from the Nile to the Red Sea. Mr. Cripps, accompanied by Mr. Hammer, and by Mr. Hamilton, then secretary of our Ambassador at Constantinople, continued their journey as far as the *Pilgrim's Lake*, whence the canal is supposed to have extended to the Red Sea; and returned afterwards by the route which the author had taken. They found, at the lake, the remains of a very large Caravanserai, and discerned the traces of a canal, bearing thence towards the south-east, in the direction of Suez. But the most curious objects noticed in this part of the day's journey were presented to our whole party where we least expected to find any thing remarkable; namely,

(4) That is to say, 48 cubits; and admitting the Roman cubit to equal 18 inches, the whole height of the obelisk would be 72 feet. Pococke found the height of that part of the obelisk which is above the surface of the soil to equal 67 feet, measuring it by a quadrant. Shaw took its elevation "*by the proportion of shadows*," and made it only sixty-four feet; thereby allowing *eight* feet for the pedestal. Pococke's mensuration allows only *five*.

(5) Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 23. *Lond.* 1743.

(6) Travels, p. 366. *Lond.* 1757.

(7) Diod. Sic. Biblioth. lib. i. p. 38. *Hanov.* 1604.

CHAP. IV.

Minerals of the Arabian Desert.

namely, in the mineral productions of the desert itself. A beautiful and well-known variety of jasper, commonly called *Egyptian Pebble*, is found in such abundance, among masses of the most curious mineralized wood, upon the surface of the sands, over all the district eastward of Grand Caïro, even to the borders of the Red Sea, that specimens might be obtained in sufficient abundance to serve as ballast for a vessel bound from Suez to England. The author had collected almost enough to load a camel before he arrived at the walls of the city; but when the rest of the party returned, they brought with them a more considerable burden. Among these were large blocks of petrified palm-tree, of which Mr. Cripps had collected a very great variety. They found these masses lying in detached fragments among the loose sand, wholly disengaged from any other *stratum*, and scattered over the surface of the desert. In the same manner, but more frequently, appeared the large pebbles of Egyptian jasper, being almost always of a flattened ovate shape. This mineral is too well known to require a more particular description; but who can explain its origin? The received opinion, and that which daily experience confirms, respecting siliceous concretions in general, is this, that they have been deposited, after a stalactical process, in the fissures and cavities left by air in substances of anterior formation. Admitting, therefore, that every one of these Egyptian pebbles once occupied such cavities, in strata now reduced to a pulverized state and become the sand of the desert, what idea can be formed of the antiquity of this kind of jasper? Unlike other flinty substances, it seems almost incapable of decomposition by exposure to the atmosphere; having, as an exterior crust,

Petrifactions.

Doubtful Origin of Egyptian Jasper.

crust, a thin investiture of a reddish colour, which differs in appearance only from the nature of the stone itself; the chemical analysis being precisely the same. Masses of pure silex, and some chalcedonies containing almost as much alumine as the Egyptian jasper, when thus exposed to the continued action of air and moisture, gradually decompose, and assume the white colour common to the matter of silex when in a state of extreme division. But these pebbles, although constantly exposed to the nightly dews of a country where water falls during the night as abundantly as heavy rain, and to the powerful rays of a burning sun during the day, have sustained little or no alteration. They have also another very remarkable character. Although they be destitute of that whitish surface which is common to every siliceous body long acted upon by the atmosphere, they are always characterized by a lighter colour towards the center of each pebble; and this is sometimes white. They vary in their size, from that of a hen's egg to the egg of an ostrich; but are rarely larger, and always appear more or less flattened, so as to exhibit a superior and an inferior elliptical surface upon each specimen. The masses of mineralized or petrified wood had no regularity of shape, except that parisitical form which the mineral, thus modified, had derived from the vegetable whose fibres it had penetrated when in a fluid state. It is evident, therefore, that these pebbles do not owe their spheroidal shape to the effect of any previous attrition in water; because the masses of mineralized wood, possessing a degree of hardness inferior to the jasper, and being associated with it, would also have undergone a similar

CHAP. IV.

similar change. Pococke, and, more recently, that intelligent traveller Browne, noticed these appearances in the deserts; the first on the Arabian, and the last on the Libyan side of the Nile[1]. Pococke seems to have observed the examples he alludes to, upon the same spot where we found them, or very near to it, for they occurred in the first part of his journey from Grand Caïro to Suez[2]. Shaw mentions, also, his having observed instances of the same kind, on the isthmus between Caïro and Suez; and the fabulous accounts of the famous *Ras Sem*, or petrified village in the Cyrenaïca, are supposed by him to have derived their origin from similar phænomena[3]. Shaw notices a method by which the petrified palm-tree may be distinguished from any other mineralized wood. He says[4], the fibres, as in the living plant, "do not run straight and parallel, as in other trees; but are for the most part oblique, or diverging from one another, in an angle of about ten degrees."

Dates and Corn.

In the gardens and cultivated grounds near the Nile, the inhabitants were now beginning (August 22) to collect their dates; but the corn was still out in some places. The mercury in the thermometer, at noon this day, when observed in the desert east of Heliopolis, did not stand higher than 87° of Fahrenheit. The heat in England has been

(1) Travels in Africa, from the year 1792 to 1798, by W. G. Browne.

(2) "I observed in the road many stones that looked like petrified wood ..... I saw one piece that seemed to have been a large body of a tree." *Descript. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 131. *Lond.* 1743.

(3) See Shaw's account of the *petrified village*, or *city*, at *Ras Sem*, in the province of *Dasha*, in the kingdom of TRIPOLY. *Travels, p.* 155. *Lond.* 1757.

(4) Ibid. p. 161.

been sometimes almost equal to this in the month of September.

The facility with which the Arabs run up and down the date-trees, at first sight surprises a stranger; but when the attempt is made, nothing can be easier. A series of cavities in the bark of those trees, as if purposely excavated to admit the hands and feet, render the ascent, and descent, as practicable as upon the steps of a ladder. We frequently climbed to the top of the tallest palm-trees by means of this natural staircase.

ALMEHS.

In the evening after our arrival, some of our party went to see an exhibition of the *Almehs*, or *Dancing* women, at the house of a lady of some distinction, and where it was believed this curious remnant of antient Egyptian ceremonies might be unattended with those violations of decorum by which they are generally characterized. This however was not the case. The dance was, as usual, destitute of grace, activity, or decency. It consists wholly of gestures, calculated to express, in the most gross and revolting manner, the intercourse of the sexes. In any part of Europe, even if it were tolerated, it would be thought a degrading and wretched performance; yet the ladies of Caïro, accustomed to the introduction of these women upon festival days, regard the exercise of the *Almehs* with amusement, and even with applause. If we may judge from the representations upon Grecian vases, the female Bacchanals of antient Greece exhibited in their dances a much more animated and more graceful appearance: yet the manner of dancing practised by the *Almehs*, however offensive in the eyes of civilized nations, is the most antient. Hence the observation of Cicero,

CHAP. IV.

Cicero[1], "NEMO SALTAT SOBRIUS, NISI FORTE INSANIT:" and if the history of this exercise be traced to its origin, it will be found to have nearly the same character all over the world. In the anger of Moses at the dancing of the Israelites[2]; in the reproach cast upon David, by Michal the daughter of Saul, for his conduct when dancing before the ark[3]; in the gratification afforded to Herod by the dance of Salome[4]; we may perceive what were the characteristics of primæval dances: and if curiosity should lead any one to inquire what sort of dancing is found among modern nations, where the exercise has not been refined by civilization, his attention may be directed to the *Tarantello* of Italy, the *Fandango* of Spain, the *Barina* of Russia, the *Calenda* of Africa, and the *Timorodee* of Otaheite. Egypt, where no lapse of time seems to have effected change, where the constancy of natural phænomena appears to have been always accompanied with the same uniformity of manners and customs, Egypt preserves its pristine attachment to a licentious dance; and exhibits that dance as it was beheld, above three thousand years ago, in the annual procession to Bubastus, when the female votaries of Diana distinguished themselves in the cities through which they passed by indecency and dancing[5]. Considered therefore with reference to the moral character and habits of the people, as well as to their antient history, this practice of the *Almehs* may be entitled to some notice.

(1) Orat. pro Murænâ.
(2) Exod. xxxii. 19.
(3) 2 Samuel vi. 20.
(4) Matth. xiv. Mark vi. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 2.
(5) Herodot. Euterpe, c. 60.

notice. Indeed, the part they sustain in the scale of society in Egypt is so considerable, and the partiality shewn to them so inveterate[5], that it is impossible to give a faithful account of the country without some allusion to these women. They wear upon their fingers little bells, like small cymbals, which they use as the Italians and Spaniards do their *castagnettes*. They have also tambours of different kinds. The form of one of these seems to have been derived from that of the common pumpkin, which is frequent among the vegetables of Egypt; for, although the tambour is made of wood, it has exactly the appearance of half a large pumpkin, scooped, with a skin bound over it. The Arabs use hollow pumpkins, when dried, as bottles to contain water: these becoming hard, are very durable, and may have preceded the use of a hollow hemisphere of wood, in the manufacture of a tambour. The dances of the Almehs are accompanied by vocal as well as by instrumental music; if that may be termed

(5) "*Il n'est point de fête sans elles; point de festin dont elles ne fassent l'ornément. . . . . Les* ALME *sont appellées dans tous les* HAREM . . . . *Les* ALME *assistent aux cérémonie de marriage, et marchent devant la mariée en jouant des instrumens. Elles figurent aussi dans les enterremens, et accompagnent le convoi en chantant des airs funèbres. Elles poussent des gémissemens,*" &c. *Savary, Lett. sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *pp.* 150, 152, 154. *Paris*, 1785. Strangers who reside for some time in Caïro, however disgusted by the exhibition of the *Almehs* at first, gradually adopt the taste of the native inhabitants. Of this we find an instance in Niebuhr's Travels. "However much disposed to receive entertainment, they did not please us at first; their vocal and instrumental music we thought horrible; and their persons appeared disgustingly ugly, with their yellow hands, spotted faces, absurd ornaments, and hair larded with stinking pomatum. But by degrees we learned to endure them, and, for want of better, began to fancy some of them pretty, to imagine their voices agreeable, their movements graceful, though indecent, and their music not absolutely intolerable." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 140. *Edinb.* 1792.

CHAP. IV.
Of the Alleluïa and Cry of Lamentation.

termed vocal, which consists of a continual recurrence of the same shrill sounds, caused by trilling the tongue against the roof of the mouth, without the utterance of any distinct words. Yet this singular mode of expressing joy is all that constitutes the *Alleluïa* of the Antients. When Lord Hutchinson first entered Caïro, after the capture of the city, he was met by a number of women who greeted him with *Alleluïas:* they accompanied him through the streets, clapping their hands, and making this extraordinary noise, in a loud and shrill tone. It seems to be a constant repetition of the same syllable, *al;* uttered in this manner, *Alalalalalalalalal,* with the utmost rapidity, and without interruption or pause of any kind. The person who is able to continue this kind of scream for the longest time, without drawing breath, is supposed to be the best performer. The same sort of singing is practised by the *Almehs* at funerals, with this difference: the *Alleluïa,* or cry of joy, consists in a repetition of the syllable *al;* and that which is used to denote grief, is formed by a similar repetition of the syllable *ûl,* or *el,* constituting the long protracted *elelelelelû,* or *ululation*[1]. The tone of voice continues the same through both of these; the *Alleluia,* and the *Ululation:* but there seemed to be this distinction in the manner of delivering the sounds; that in the former, it

(1) In the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Æschylus, Io utters this cry of lamentation Ἐλελελελελεῦ, which the Scholiast denominates Θρήνῳδες ἐπίφθεγμα. *See Pauw's Æschylus, tom.* I. *p.* 88, 877. *Hag. Com,* 1745. *Stanley, Blomfield, &c.*

it was a tremulous note ascending; in the latter, the same note descending in continual cadences. However, it is exceedingly difficult, as perhaps the reader has already perceived, to convey, or to obtain, ideas of musical sounds by means of a mere verbal description.

Voyage to the Pyramids.

Upon the twenty-third of August we set out for the Pyramids, the inundation enabling us to approach within less than a mile of the larger pyramid, in our *djerm*. Messrs. Hammer and Hamilton accompanied us. We arrived at Djiza by day-break, and called upon some English officers who wished to join our party upon this occasion. From Djiza, our approach to the Pyramids was through a swampy country, by means of a narrow canal, which however was deep enough; and we arrived without any obstacle, at nine o'clock, at the bottom of a sandy slope, leading up to the principal pyramid. Some Bedouin Arabs, who had assembled to receive us upon our landing, were much amused by the eagerness excited in our whole party, to prove who should first set his foot upon the summit of this artificial mountain. As we drew near its base, the effect of its prodigious magnitude, and the amazement caused in viewing the enormous masses used in its construction, affected every one of us; but it was an impression of awe and fear, rather than of pleasure. In the observations of travellers who had recently preceded us, we had heard the Pyramids described as huge objects which gave no satisfaction to the spectator, on account of their barbarous shape, and formal appearance: yet to us it appeared hardly possible, that persons susceptible of any feeling of sublimity could behold them unmoved.

Appearance presented by the principal Pyramid.

CHAP. IV.

unmoved. With what amazement did we survey the vast surface that was presented to us, when we arrived at this stupendous monument, which seemed to reach the clouds! Here and there appeared some Arab guides upon the immense masses above us, like so many pigmies, waiting to shew the way up to the summit. Now and then we thought we heard voices, and listened; but it was the wind, in powerful gusts, sweeping the immense ranges of stone. Already some of our party had begun the ascent, and were pausing at the tremendous depth which they saw below. One of our military companions, after having surmounted the most difficult part of the undertaking, became giddy in consequence of looking down from the elevation he had attained; and being compelled to abandon the project, he hired an Arab to assist him in effecting his descent. The rest of us, more accustomed to the business of climbing heights, with many a halt for respiration, and many an exclamation of wonder, pursued our way towards the summit. The mode of ascent has been frequently described; and yet, from the questions which are often proposed to travellers, it does not appear to be generally understood. The reader may imagine himself to be upon a staircase, every step of which, to a man of middle stature, is nearly breast high[1]; and the breadth of each step is equal

(1) "The stones, wherewith the Pyramids are built, are from five to thirty feet long (*Herodotus makes none of these stones less than thirty feet*); and from three to four feet high." *Shaw's Travels, p.* 367. *Lond.* 1757.

equal to its height: consequently, the footing is secure; and although a retrospect, in going up, be sometimes fearful to persons unaccustomed to look down from any considerable elevation, yet there is little danger of falling. In some places, indeed, where the stones are decayed, caution may be required; and an Arab guide is always necessary, to avoid a total interruption; but, upon the whole, the means of ascent are such that almost every one may accomplish it[2]. Our progress was impeded by other causes. We carried with us a few instruments; such as, our boat-compass, a thermometer, a telescope, &c.; these could not be trusted in the hands of the Arabs, and they were liable to be broken every instant. At length we reached the topmost tier, to the great delight and satisfaction of all the party. Here we found a platform, thirty-

(2) Upon this account, when we reached the top of the pyramid, we sent an Arab with a short note to the officer who had abandoned the undertaking; urging him to renew the attempt. After some time, the messenger returned, but without our companion. The author, hearing this, went down to him, and found him in the entrance to the pyramid, sitting with some Arabs in the shade afforded by the large projecting masses of stone; and, having with some difficulty prevailed upon him to renew the attempt, succeeded in conducting him to the top. He expressed himself unwilling to return without having gratified his curiosity by a view from the summit; but confessed that the effect produced upon his mind, by the stupendous sight around him, was rather painful than pleasing, and had rendered him wholly unfit for the exertion it required. It is to this circumstance that allusion was before made (*See Chap.* II. *p.* 45); and it confirms the truth of Mr. Burke's observations, upon the impressions to which men are liable, who, without the smallest personal danger, are exposed to the contemplation of objects exceedingly vast in their dimensions. Mr. Burke describes the impression produced by *the sublime* as bordering upon a sensation of pain; illustrating this by reference to a person standing in perfect security beneath a precipice, and looking up towards its summit. (*See Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime, &c. by Edmund Burke. Sect.* 27. *Part* 3. *p.* 237, *&c. Lond.* 1782.

CHAP. IV.

thirty-two feet square; consisting of nine large stones, each of which might weigh about a ton; although they be much inferior in size to some of the stones used in the construction of this pyramid. Travellers of all ages, and of various nations, have here inscribed their names. Some are written in Greek; many in French; a few in Arabic; one or two in English; and others in Latin. We were as desirous as our predecessors[1] to leave a memorial of our arrival; it seemed to be a tribute of thankfulness, due for the success of our undertaking; and presently every one of our party was seen busied in adding the inscription of his name[2].

Upon this area, which looks like a point when seen from Caïro, or from the Nile, it is extraordinary that none of those numerous hermits fixed their abode, who retired to the tops of columns, and to almost inaccessible solitudes upon the pinnacles of the highest rocks. It offers a much more convenient and secure retreat than was selected by an ascetic who pitched his residence upon the architrave of a temple in the vicinity of Athens. The heat, according to Fahrenheit's thermometer, at the time of our coming, did not exceed 84°; and the same temperature continued during the time we remained, a strong wind blowing from the north-west. The view from this eminence amply fulfilled our expectations; nor do the

(1) "Après que nous eûmes gravé nos noms sur le sommet de la pyramide, nous descendîmes," &c. *Savary Lett. sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 188. *Par.* 1785.

(2) In order to prove how commodious a station this place affords, it may be mentioned that the author was enabled to write upon the spot a letter to a friend in England.

Objects seen from the Summit.

the accounts which have been given of it, as it appears at this season of the year, exaggerate the novelty and grandeur of the sight. All the region towards Caïro and the Delta resembled a sea, covered with innumerable islands. Forests of palm-trees were seen standing in the water; the inundation spreading over the land where they stood, so as to give them an appearance of growing in the flood. To the north, as far as the eye could reach, nothing could be discerned, but a watery surface thus diversified by plantations and by villages. To the south we saw the Pyramids of Saccára; and, upon the east of these, smaller monuments of the same kind, nearer to the Nile. An appearance of ruins might indeed be traced the whole way from the Pyramids of Djiza to those of Saccára; as if they had been once connected, so as to constitute one vast cœmetery. Beyond the Pyramids of Saccára we could perceive the distant mountains of the Saïd; and upon an eminence near the Libyan side of the Nile appeared a monastery of considerable size. Towards the west and south-west, the eye ranged over the great Libyan Desert, extending to the utmost verge of the horizon, without a single object to interrupt the dreary horror of the landscape, except dark floating spots, caused by the shadows of passing clouds upon the sand.

Upon the south-east side is the gigantic statue of the Sphinx, the most colossal piece of sculpture which remains of all the works executed by the Antients. The French have uncovered all the pedestal of this statue, and all the cumbent or leonine parts of the figure; these were before entirely concealed by sand. Instead, however, of

answering

CHAP. IV.

answering the expectations raised concerning the work upon which it was supposed to rest, the pedestal proves to be a wretched substructure of brick-work, and small pieces of stone, put together like the most insignificant piece of modern masonry, and wholly out of character, both with respect to the prodigious labour bestowed upon the statue itself, and the gigantic appearance of the surrounding objects. Beyond the Sphinx we distinctly discerned, amidst the sandy waste, the remains and vestiges of a magnificent building; perhaps the SERAPÉUM. A sort of chequered work appeared in the middle of many of the stones belonging to this ruined edifice. It is unnoticed by every author who has written upon the Pyramids. Indeed, the observation of *Geoffroy*, as given in a *Rapport* made to the Institute of Egypt, during the residence of the French at Caïro[1], is very just; that all preceding travellers have attended only to the principal objects in their visits of the Pyramids. They have disregarded a number of other remains, less entire, and more diminutive, but calculated to throw considerable light upon the history of those antiquities which here occupy such a surprising extent. Strabo, whose observations were certainly made upon the spot, as will hereafter be proved, has given, in his account of Memphis, a description of the situation of the SERAPÉUM, pointedly applicable to this position of it; indeed it seems almost identified by his remark. He

(1) "Rapport à l'Institut sur les recherches à faire dans l'emplacement de l'ancienne Memphis, et dans toute l'etendue des ses sépultures." *Voy. Courier de l'Egypte, No.* 104. *p.* 3. *Au Kaire, de l'Imprimerie Nationale.*

He says it stood in a place so sandy, that hills of sand were heaped there by the winds; and mentions the remains of *Sphinxes*, as marking the place where it stood[2]. A writer of somewhat later date, the author of the *Sibylline Verses*, which are believed to be a composition of the second century, may rather allude to the *Serapæum* at Memphis, than to the temple at Alexandria, by the situation he assigns to Serapis[3].

Immediately beneath our view, upon the eastern and western side, we saw so many tombs, that we were unable to count them; some being half buried in the sand, others rising considerably above it. All these are of an oblong form, with sides sloping, like the roofs of European houses. A plan of their situation and appearance is given in Pococke's Travels[4]. The second pyramid, standing to the south-west, has the remains of a covering near its vertex, as of a plating of stone which had once invested all its four sides. Some persons, deceived by the external hue of this covering, have believed it to be of marble; but its white appearance is owing to a partial decomposition, affecting the surface only. Not a single fragment of marble[5] can be found anywhere near

(2) Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σεράπειον ἐν ἀμμώδει τόπῳ σφόδρα, ὥσθ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων θῖνας ἄμμων σωρεύεσθαι, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ σφίγγες· κ.τ.λ. "Est etiam Serapium, in loco valde arenoso, adeo ut arenæ colles a ventis exaggerentur: ibi vidimus Sphinges," &c. *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1145. *Ed. Oxon.*

(3) Καὶ σὺ Σέραπι, λίθοις ἐπικείμενε. "Tuque Serapi sedens in saxis." *Sibyllina Oracula, lib.* v. *ad fin.*

(4) Description of the East, vol. I. Plate xvi. p. 41. *Lond.* 1743.

(5) Marble was not used for buildings in very antient times. "It does not appear," says

CHAP. IV.

near this pyramid. It is surrounded by a paved court, having walls on the outside, and places as for doors, or portals, in the walls; also an advanced work, or portico. A third pyramid, of much smaller dimensions than the second, appears beyond the Sphinx, to the south-west; and there are three others, one of which is nearly buried in sand, between the large pyramid and this statue, to the south-east[1].

Having thus surveyed the principal objects, as they appeared from the summit of the greater pyramid, we proceeded to the examination of the substances which compose its exterior surface.

Limestone used in constructing the greater Pyramid.

The stones of the platform upon the top, as well as most of the others used in constructing the decreasing ranges from the base upwards, are of soft limestone; a little harder, and more compact, than what some of our English masons vulgarly call *clunch;* whereof King's College Chapel at Cambridge, and great part of Ely Cathedral, is built. It is of a greyish white colour; and has this remarkable property, that when broken by a smart blow with a hammer, it exhales the

says Shaw, "that marble was used by the Grecian artists, either in sculpture or building, before the 15th Olympiad, B. C. 720. Dædalus's statues of Hercules and Venus were of wood; of which, or of rough stone, were likewise their idols and temples, till that time. The antient Temple of Delphi was built about the 65th Olympiad, B.C. 520, or 513 years after the Temple of Solomon." *See Shaw's Trav. p.* 368. *Note* 5. *Lond.* 1757.

(1) In mentioning these particulars, the author may possibly repeat what other travellers have said before, without being conscious of so doing: indeed, it is hardly possible to avoid repetition, upon a subject which has been discussed by thousands, although the utmost vigilance be used.

the fetid odour common to the dark limestone of the Dead Sea, and of many other places; owing to the disengagement of a gaseous sulphureted hydrogen. This character is very uncommon in white limestone, although it may be frequently observed in the darker varieties. It is now very generally admitted, that the stones, of which the Pyramids consist, are of the same nature as the calcareous rock whereon they stand, and that this was cut away in order to form them: Herodotus says they were brought from the Arabian side of the Nile[2]. Another more compact variety of limestone is found in detached masses at the base of these structures, exactly as it is described by Strabo; seeming to consist entirely of mineralized *exuviæ*, derived from some animal now unknown. We did not observe this variety among the constituents of the Pyramids themselves, but in loose fragments upon the sand[3]. The forms of the petrifaction are lenticular. We noticed an extraneous fossil of the same nature in the Crimea, which has also been described by Pallas[4]. Strabo's description of this substance corresponds, in so striking a manner, with its present appearance, that his account of it may be noticed as affording internal evidence of his visit to the spot. "Among the wonders,

(2) Euterpe, c. 8.

(3) The author has since been informed that it has been observed among the stones of which the principal pyramid is built.

(4) It has received the appellation of *Lapis Nummularius*, from the resemblance of these lenticular forms to small coins. *See the First Part of these Travels, Chap.* XX. *p.* 519. *Second Edition.*

CHAP. IV.

Extraneous Fossil described by Strabo.

wonders," says he[1], "which we saw at the Pyramids, there is one which ought on no account to pass without notice. There are heaps of stones, lying among the ruins before the Pyramids, in which are found little petrifactions, in form and size exactly resembling the natural appearance of lentils. The tradition is, that these lentils are the petrified remains of the food given to the workmen." Notwithstanding the throng of travellers, particularly of late years, who have resorted to the Pyramids, almost all of whom have borne away some memorial of their visit to the place, not a single specimen of this very curious variety of limestone has yet been observed in any collection of minerals, public or private[2]. Shaw mentions the mortar used in the construction of the Pyramids[3]; although a very erroneous notion be still prevalent, that the most antient buildings were erected without the use of cement. A reference to this kind of test has been frequently made, with a view to ascertain the age of antient architecture. All that can be asserted, however, upon this subject, with any degree of certainty, is, that if the most antient architecture of Greece sometimes exhibit

(1) Ἐν δέ τι τῶν ὁραθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς Πυραμίσι παραδόξων οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν. Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς λατύπης σωροί τινες πρὸ τῶν Πυραμίδων κεῖνται· ἐν τούτοις δ' εὑρίσκεται ψήγματα καὶ τύπῳ καὶ μεγέθει φακοειδῆ· ἐνίοις δὲ, καὶ ὡς ἂν πτίσμα οἷον ἡμιλεπίστων ὑποτρέχει. Φασὶ δ' ἀπολιθωθῆναι λείψανα τῆς τῶν ἐργαζομένων τροφῆς. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1146. *Ed. Oxon.*

(2) Greaves was almost disposed to doubt the truth of Strabo's description, because he did not observe these petrifactions. "Were not Strabo a writer of much gravity, I should suspect these petrified graines." *Pyramidog. p.* 119. *Lond.* 1646.

(3) Travels in the Levant, p. 368. *Lond.* 1757.

exhibit examples of masonry without mortar, that of Egypt is very differently characterized. As we descended from the summit, we found mortar in all the seams of the different layers upon the outside of the pyramid; but no such appearance could be discerned in the more perfect masonry of the interior. Of this mortar we detached and brought away several specimens. It is of a coarse kind; and contains minute fragments of *terra cotta.* Grobert says it does not differ from the mortar now in use[4]. Shaw believed it to consist of sand, wood ashes, and lime[5].

Labours of the French Army.

The French had been very assiduous in their researches among these buildings. They even attempted to open the smallest of the three principal Pyramids; and having effected a very considerable chasm in one of its sides, have left this mark behind them, as an everlasting testimony of their curiosity and zeal. The landing of our army in Egypt put a stop to their labour. Had it not been for this circumstance, the interior of that mysterious monument would probably be now submitted to the inquiry which has long been an object among literary men.

We were employed for a considerable time in a very useless manner, by endeavouring to measure the height of the greater pyramid. This we endeavoured to effect, by extending a small cord from the summit to the base, along the angles formed by the inclination of its planes; and

(4) See Denon's Voyage, as published by Peltier, *tom.* II. *p.* 80. *Append. Lond.* 1802.
(5) See Shaw's Travels, p. 368. also p. 206. *Lond.* 1757.

CHAP. IV.

and then measuring the base as accurately as possible, together with the angle of inclination subtended by the sides of the pyramid. The result, however, as it disagreed with any account hitherto published, did not satisfy us[1]. It is a curious circumstance, that all accounts of its perpendicular height differ from each other. Some French engineers measured successively all the different ranges of stone, from the base to the summit. According to their observations, the height of this pyramid equals four hundred and forty-eight French feet[2].

We now proposed to enter this pyramid: and as an inquiry into the origin and antiquity of these buildings will be reserved for a subsequent consideration, (after a careful examination of the Pyramids of *Saccára,* as well as of those of *Djïza,*) a few brief remarks, containing little else than a mere description of objects, as they appeared to us, are all that will be added to this Chapter.

As we ascended the sandy slope that extends from the mouth of the pyramid, on each side, towards the angles at the base, we observed that the Arabs had considerably increased in number since our arrival, and were very clamorous. One of them, while we were measuring the

(1) " Although these immense masses had been within our view for the preceding three days, and we gradually approached them in the boat, on our arrival we were more astonished than ever: the prodigious stones which are piled one upon another in regular courses, and joined together with cement, are continued to such an exceeding height, that some persons on the top of the great pyramid appeared to us immediately under it, as if they were birds." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

(2) *Déscript. des Pyram. de Ghizé, par J. Grobert.* See Peltier's Edit. of *Voyage en Egypte par Denon, Append. tom.* II. *p.* 62. *Lond.* 1802.

the pyramid, had stolen the boat-compass given to us by Captain Clarke; an irretrievable loss in such a situation. We offered ten times its value to the Sheik who accompanied us, but the thief had disappeared; besides, it was impossible to make an Arab sensible of the sort of instrument for whose recovery the reward was proposed. The Bedouin, who had stolen it, no doubt considered it to be a box of magic or of divination, whereby infidels were guided to the knowledge of hidden treasure; in search of which they always believed us to be engaged. They had the same opinion of the thermometer which they saw us carry to the summit. In many parts of Turkey, this last was believed to be an instrument for ascertaining distances during a journey.

Theft committed by an Arab.

Having collected our party upon a sort of platform before the entrance of the passage leading to the interior, and lighted a number of tapers, we all descended into its dark mouth. The impression made upon every one of us, in viewing the entrance, was this; that no set of men whatever could thus have opened a passage, by uncovering precisely the part of the pyramid where the entrance was concealed, unless they had been previously acquainted with its situation; and for these reasons: First, because its position is almost in the centre of one of its planes, instead of being at the base. Secondly, that not a trace appears of those dilapidations which must have been the result of any search for a passage to the interior; such as now distinguish the labours

Visit to the Interior of the larger Pyramid.

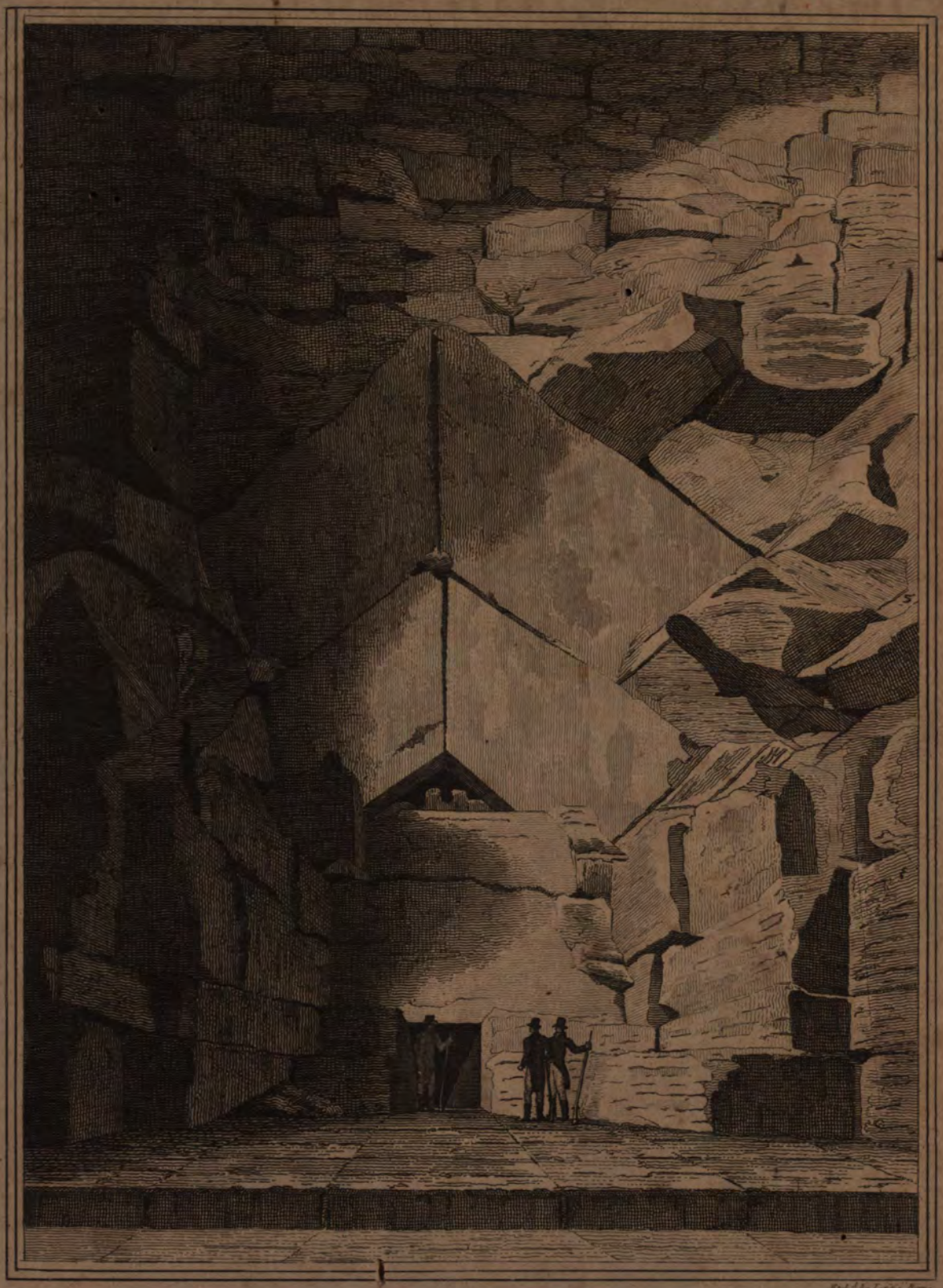
CHAP. IV.

labours of the French upon the smaller pyramid, which they attempted to open. The persons who undertook the work, actually opened the pyramid in the only point, over all its vast surface, where, from the appearance of the stones inclined to each other above the mouth of the passage, any admission to the interior seems to have been originally intended. So marvellously concealed as this was, are we to credit the legendary story given to us from an Arabian writer, who, discoursing of the Wonders of Egypt[1], attributed the opening of this pyramid to *Almamon*, a Caliph of Babylon, about nine hundred and fifty years since? A single passage of Strabo overturns its credit in an instant; as the same entrance was evidently known to him, above eight centuries before the existence of the said Caliph. He describes not only the exact position of the mouth of the pyramid, but even the nature of the passage leading to the Θήκη, or *Soros*, in such a manner, that it is impossible to obtain, in fewer words, a more accurate description[2]. It seems

(1) G. Almec. Hist. Arab. ex Edit. Erp. See Greaves's Pyramidographia, pag. 44. *Lond.* 1646. Maillet had a similar notion: "Ce fut donc sans doute sous les Princes Mahométans, et par le Calife Mahmout, qui regnoit à Bagdad, et qui mourut l'an de l'Egyre 205, ainsi que le rapportent les auteurs Arabes, que cette impieté fut commise." *Déscription de l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 319. 1740.

(2) Ἔχει δ' ἐν ὕψει μέσως πως τῶν πλευρῶν λίθον ἐξαιρέσιμον· ἀρθέντος δὲ σύριγξ ἐστὶ σκολιὰ μέχρι τῆς θήκης. "In media fere laterum altitudine, lapis exemtilis est: eoque sublato obliqua fistula usque ad loculum." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1145. *Ed. Oxon.*

The Oxford Editor of Strabo, in commenting upon the words σύριγξ ἐστὶ σκολιὰ



Entrance to the PRINCIPAL PYRAMID of DJIZA.

seems also true, that this opening had been made before the time of Herodotus, although his testimony be less decisive. He speaks only of subterraneous chambers[3]; but it were impossible to know any thing of their existence, unless the pyramid had first been entered. Hence it is evident, that a passage to the interior had been open from the earliest times in which any account was given of this pyramid; and perhaps it never was so completely closed, but that with a little difficulty an access might be effected. Proceeding down this passage, (which may be compared to a chimney about a yard wide, inclined, as Greaves affirms[4], by an angle of twenty-six degrees to the platform at the entrance,) we presently arrived at a very large mass of granite; this seems placed on purpose to choke up the passage: but a way has been made round it, by which we were enabled to ascend into a second channel, sloping, in a contrary direction, towards the mouth of the first. This is what Greaves calls the *first gallery*[5]; and his description is so exceedingly minute, both as to the admeasurements and other circumstances belonging to these channels, that it were a useless waste of the reader's time to repeat them here. Having ascended along this channel, to the distance of one hundred and ten feet,

σκολιὰ μέχρι τῆς θήκης, justly observes (*Vid. Not.* 27. *ibid.*) the coincidence between Strabo's description of the entrance, and that given by Greaves and Le Bruyn.

(3) Herodot. Euterpe, c. 125.

(4) Pyramidographia, p. 85. *Lond.* 1646

(5) Ibid. p. 86.

CHAP. IV.

feet, we came to a horizontal passage, leading to a chamber with an angular roof, in the interior of the pyramid. In this passage we found, upon our right hand, the mysterious well, which has been so often mentioned. Pliny makes the depth of it equal to one hundred and twenty-nine feet; but Greaves, in sounding it with a line, found the plummet rest at the depth of twenty feet. We were able to ascertain the cause of failure in Greaves's observation, and in those of almost all others who have attempted to measure the depth of this well. The mouth of it is barely large enough to admit the passage of a man's body; but, as this may be effected, it is to be regretted that the French, during all their researches here, did not adopt some plan for the effectual examination of a place likely to throw considerable light upon the nature of the pyramid, and the foundation upon which it stands. This would require more time than travellers usually can spare, and more apparatus than they can carry with them. In the first place, it would be necessary to fasten lighted tapers at the end of a long cord, to precede the person descending, as a precaution whereby the quality of the air below may be proved, and those fatal effects prevented which often attend an improvident descent into wells, and subterraneous chambers of every description. Many hands, too, would be required above, to manage and sustain the ropes by which any adventurer, during the experiment, must remain suspended. The greatest danger to be apprehended would consist in the hazard of an exposure to mephitic air; but due precaution, in a careful attention to the tapers lowered first, might obviate this. We threw down some stones, and observed that

Observation at the Well.

that they rested at about the depth which Greaves has mentioned; but being at length provided with a stone nearly as large as the mouth of the well, and about fifty pounds in weight, we let this fall, listening attentively to the result from the spot where the other stones rested: we were agreeably surprised by hearing, after a length of time which must have equalled some seconds, a loud and distinct report, seeming to come from a spacious subterraneous apartment, accompanied by a splashing noise, as if the stone had been broken into pieces, and had fallen into a reservoir of water at an amazing depth. Thus does experience always tend to confirm the accounts left us by the Antients; for this exactly answers to the description given by Pliny of this well [1]; and, in all probability, the depth of it does not much differ from that which he mentions, of eighty-six cubits, or one hundred and twenty-nine feet, making the cubit equal to eighteen inches. Pliny says that the water of the Nile was believed to communicate with this well. The inundation of the river was now nearly at its height. Can it be supposed, that, by some hitherto unobserved and secret channels, it is thus conveyed to the bottom of this well? It seems more probable, that the water is nothing more than the usual result of an excavation in a stratum of limestone, carried on to the depth at which water naturally lies in other wells of the same country; as, for example, in the pit called *Joseph's Well*, in the Citadel of Grand Caïro. The hill on which this pyramid stands is elevated

(1) "In Pyramide maxima est intus puteus octoginta sex cubitorum, flumen illo admissum arbitrantur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 12. *L. Bat.* 1635.

CHAP. IV.

elevated about a hundred feet above the level of the plain country through which the Nile flows; and, allowing for the height of the mouth of the well above the base of the pyramid, we shall have nearly the distance required for a shaft sunk below the bed of the river.

Examination of some inferior Channels.

Some of the officers belonging to our party, while we were occupied in examining the well, had discovered two or three low ducts, or channels, bearing off from this passage to the east and west, (like those intersecting veins called by miners *cross-courses*,) and which they believed to have been overlooked by former travellers. Certainly there is no accurate notice of them in the descriptions given by Sandys, Greaves, Vansleb, Pococke, Shaw, Niebuhr, Maillet, Lucas, Norden, Savary, or any other author that we have consulted. Perhaps the French engineers employed under Menou in the examination of the Pyramids, by removing the stones which had closed the mouths of these channels, have laid them open. We undertook a most laborious and difficult task, in penetrating to the extremities of these ducts. The entrance being too low to admit a person upon his hands and knees, it was necessary to force a passage by lying flat upon our faces, gradually insinuating our bodies, by efforts with our arms and feet against the sides. The difficulty, too, was increased by the necessity of bearing lighted tapers in our hands, which were liable to be extinguished at every instant, in the efforts made to advance. As we continued to struggle in this manner, one after another, fearful of being at last jammed between the stones, or suffocated by heat and want of air, a number of bats, alarmed by our intrusion, endeavoured to make

make their escape. This we would gladly have permitted, but it was not easily effected. Flying against our hands and faces, they presently extinguished some of our tapers, and were with difficulty suffered to pass by us. After all our trouble, we observed little worth notice at the end of any of these cavities. In one, which the author examined, he found, at the extremity of the channel, a small square apartment, barely large enough to allow of his sitting upright; the floor of which was covered with loose stones, promiscuously heaped, as by persons who had succeeded in clearing the passage leading thither. All these trifling channels and chambers are perhaps nothing more than so many vacant spaces, necessary in carrying on the work during the construction of this vast pile, which the workmen neglected to fill as the building proceeded; like the cavities behind the *metopes* in the Parthenon at Athens, which, although usually filled in Grecian temples, were, as we find in certain instances, left void.

Chamber of the Sepulchre.

After once more regaining the passage whence these ducts diverge, we examined the chamber at the end of it, mentioned by all who have described the interior of this building. Its roof is angular; that is to say, it is formed by the inclination of large masses of stone leaning towards each other, like the appearance presented by those masses which are above the entrance to the pyramid. Then quitting the passage altogether, we climbed the slippery and difficult ascent which leads to what is called the principal chamber. The workmanship, from its perfection, and its immense proportions, is truly astonishing. All about the spectator, as he proceeds,

CHAP. IV.

proceeds, is full of majesty, and mystery, and wonder. The materials of this gallery are said by Greaves to consist of white and polished marble[1]. This we did not observe. Pococke also mentions pilasters in an anticloset before the principal chamber[2]. Both which imply circumstances inconsistent with received opinions in the history of antient architecture[3]. The pilaster is believed to be of modern date; and marble, according to some writers, was not used by architects before the fifteenth Olympiad[3]. Presently we entered that "glorious roome," as it is justly called by Greaves[4], where, "as within some consecrated oratory, Art may seem to have contended with Nature." It stands "in the very heart and centre of the pyramid, equidistant from all its sides, and almost in the midst between the basis and the top. The floor, the sides, the roof of it, are all made of vast and exquisite tables of Thebaick marble." By Greaves's *Thebaick marble* is to be understood that most beautiful variety of granite which Linnæus distinguished by the epithet of *durus rubescens*, called by the Italians[5] *Granito rosso*, composed essentially of feldspar, quartz, and mica. It

(1) Pyramidographia, p. 90. *Lond.* 1646.

(2) Descript. of the East, vol. I. p. 45. *Lond.* 1743.

(3) Before Christ, 720. See a former Note in this Chapter. It should be said, however, that Shaw, who makes this remark, (*Trav. p.* 368, *Note* 5. *Lond.* 1757,) applies it to the *Grecian*, and not to *Egyptian* artists. There are Doric *pilasters*, of the age of Augustus, in the remains of *Mæcenas's* Villa near Rome; and the immense capitals discovered among the ruins of a temple at *Girgenti* evidently belonged to *pilasters* of much earlier date.

(4) Pyramidographia, p. 95.

(5) See Forbes's Travels, p. 226. *Lond.* 1776.

It is often called *Oriental granite*, and sometimes *Egyptian granite*, but it differs in no respect from European granite, except that the red feldspar enters more largely as a constituent into the mass than is usual in the granite of Europe[6]. So exquisitely are the masses of this granite fitted to each other upon the sides of this chamber, that, having no cement between them, it is really impossible to force the blade of a knife within the joints. This has been often related before; but we actually tried the experiment, and found it to be true. There are only six ranges of stone from the floor to the roof, which is twenty feet high; and the length of the chamber is about twelve yards. It is also about six yards wide. The roof or cieling consists only of nine pieces, of stupendous size and length, traversing the room from side to side, and lying, like enormous beams, across the top.

Near the western side, stands the *Soros*, of the same kind of granite as that which is used for the walls of the chamber, and as exquisitely polished. It is distinguished by no difference of form or dimensions from the common appearance of the *Soros*, as it is often seen in Turkish towns, when employed by the inhabitants to supply the place of a cistern. It resembles, as Greaves has remarked[8], "two cubes, finely set together, and hollowed within; being cut smooth and plain," without sculpture or engraving

The Soros.

(6) The author has seen granite of the same kind, and of equal beauty, in fragments, upon the shores of the Hebrides; particularly at Icolmkill.

(7) See Pyramidog. p. 94.

(8) Ibid. p. 96.

CHAP. IV.

engraving of any kind. Its length on the outside is seven feet three inches and a half; its depth three feet three inches and three quarters; and it is the same in breadth. Its position is north and south.

This beautiful relique was entire when our troops were landed in Egypt. Even the French had refused to violate a monument considered by travellers of every age and nation as consecrated by its antiquity; having withstood the ravages of time above three thousand years, and all the chances of sacrilege to which it was exposed during that period from wanton indiscriminating barbarity. It is therefore painful to relate, that it is now no longer entire. The soldiers and sailors of our army and navy having had frequent access to the interior of the pyramid, carried with them sledge-hammers, to break off pieces, as curiosities to be conveyed to England; and began, alas! the havoc of its demolition[1]. Had it not been for the classical taste, and the laudable interference, of Colonel now General Stewart, then commanding-officer in that district, who threatened to make an example of any individual, whether officer or private, who should disgrace his country by thus waging hostility against History and the Arts, not a particle of the *Soros* would have remained. Yet, as a proof of the difficulty which attended this worse than *Scythian* ravage, the persons who thus left behind them a sad

Demolition of the *Soros* attempted.

(1) During the same week in which this Chapter was printing, little pieces of granite were shewn to the author, as "*bits of King Pharaoh's Tomb*," which were taken from this sepulchre.

sad memorial of the British name, had only succeeded in accomplishing a fracture near one of the angles. It was thus disfigured when we arrived; and every traveller of taste will join in reprobating any future attempt to increase the injury it has so lamentably sustained.

Having quitted this Pyramid, we amused ourselves by a cursory survey of the rest; concerning which we have nothing to communicate that would not be a mere repetition of what has been already related by a dozen other writers. We then descended into some of the smaller sepulchres. The walls within these were adorned with hieroglyphics. In some instances, we noticed the traces of antient painting, an art that seems to have been almost co-eval with the human race. The most remarkable instance of this kind was discovered by the author in a situation where, of all others, it was least expected,—upon the surface of the *Sphinx*. As we drew near to view this prodigious colossus, a reddish hue was discernible over the whole mass, quite inconsistent with the common colour of the limestone used in building the Pyramids, and of which the Sphinx itself is formed. This induced us to examine more attentively the superficies of the statue: and having succeeded in climbing beneath the right ear of the figure, where the surface had never been broken, nor in any degree decomposed by the action of the atmosphere, we found, to our very great surprise, that the whole had once been painted of a dingy red or blood colour, like some of the stuccoed walls of the houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Upon this painted surface there was

The Sphinx.

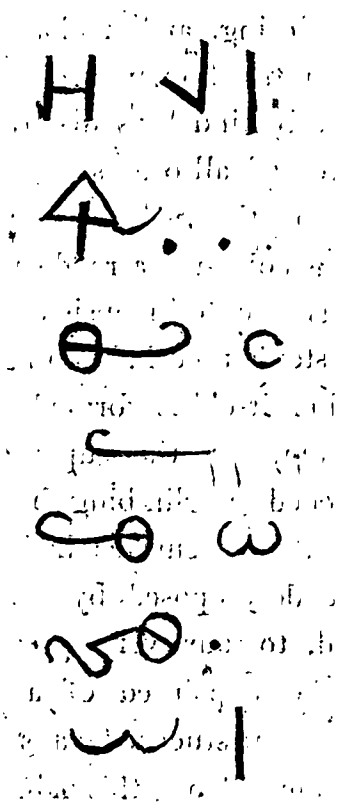
Its surface found to be painted.

 also

CHAP. IV.

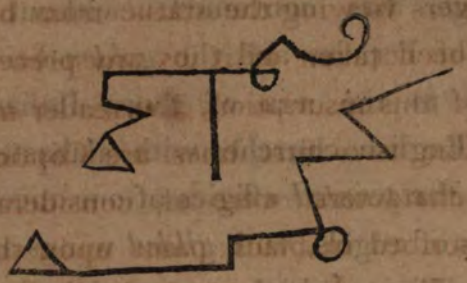
Discovery of an antient Inscription.

also an Inscription; but so concealed, by its situation beneath the enormous ear of the Sphinx, and so out of the reach of observers viewing the statue from below, that no notice has yet been taken of it by any preceding traveller. As to the age of this inscription, the reader must determine for himself. The two first lines are Coptic; the rest is Arabic. The characters were of considerable size, and they were inscribed in black paint upon the red surface of the statue. The author bestowed all possible care and attention in making the following copy of them, as a *fac-simile*.



Above

Above these, and closer under the ear, were written, very conspicuously, these curious monograms,



probably also Arabic, but in their appearance somewhat resembling the kind of writing preserved among the *Inscriptiones Sinaïcæ*, as published by Kircher and by Pococke[1]. According to Pococke, this was not engraven, but *painted*, or *stained*, upon the rock where he saw it.

Custom of painting antient Statues.

Whatsoever may be the age of these characters, the specimen of painting exhibited by the superficies of the stone is of still higher antiquity; not merely because the inscription appears *upon* the painted surface, but from the resemblance which the style of colouring bears to other examples which may be mentioned. The statues of the Parthenon at Athens were originally painted and gilded[2]; and however contrary the practice may

(1) *See Plate* LV. *Inscript.* 86. *Descr. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 149. *Lond.* 1743. "The Greeks," says Pococke, "call this inscription Θεοῦ χάρακτα γράμματα, "*The words of God engraved.*" The same inscription may be found also in Kircher's *Prodromus Copticus.*

(2) "Avant que ce marbre précieux eût été nettoyé, il conservoit des traces, non-seulement de la couleur encaustique dont, suivant l'usage des Grecs, on enduisoit la sculpture, mais encore d'une véritable peinture dont quelques parties étoient couvertes; usage qui tient aux procédés de l'enfance de l'art, dont il ne s'étoit pas encore débarrassé. Le fond étoit bleu; *les cheveux* et quelques parties du corps ETOIENT DORÉS." *Voy. Monumens Antiques inédits. Description d'un Bas-Relief du Parthenon, par A. L. Millin.* Traces of *gilding* are still to be perceived on the *hair* of the VENUS *de Medicis.*

CHAP. IV.

may seem to our notions of taste, a custom of *painting* statues, and of *gilding* the hair of images representing celestial beings, has continued, without intermission, from the age of Pericles and the *golden-haired* Apollos of Greece, down to the æra of those Italian artists who filled our old English churches with alabaster monuments, where, besides the *painted* effigies of our ancestors[1], may be seen the figures of angels, with *gilded* wings and *gilded* hair. But these are subjects which, to a writer fond of pursuing the mazes of antient history, offer such alluring deviations from the main route, as might lead both him and his reader into almost endless digression: the vestiges of antient art, and the remains of antient customs, visible in our daily walks and in every haunt of society, so frequently suggest themselves to philosophical reflection, that, if due attention were paid to them, whole volumes would be inadequate to the dissertations that might be written. A few observations only, selected from the pages of an author who has expressed a similar observation; and who, most learnedly illustrating the arts of *painting* and *writing* among the antient Egyptians[2], has concentrated within a small compass whatever might have been added upon these topics; may terminate this chapter.

"The

(1) A splendid monument of this kind, erected over the bodies of *Lord* SURREY the *Poet* and his family, may be seen in Framlingham Church, Suffolk. *Shakspeare* has finely availed himself of this practice in the image of Hermione (*Winter's Tale*):

"PAUL. ——— O patience!
The *statue* is but newly fixt, the *colour's*
Not dry.———"

(2) Philosophical Dissertation on the Egyptians and Chinese, by De Pauw, vol. I. pp. 187, 188, 189, 190, 202, 203. *Lond.* 1795.

CHAP. IV.
Extract from PAUW.

"The number of things to be spoken of here will not permit us to treat of each in particular; for it is necessary sometimes to neglect details, and confine ourselves to essentials only, that a chapter may contain what might otherwise require a whole book. The loss of the greater part of the history of the Arts in Egypt is a circumstance truly lamentable. All the wrecks now remaining form only a mutilated body. * * *

"Pliny has fallen into an unpardonable contradiction, when he maintains that the art of *writing* had been known from all eternity[3], and denies, at the same time, that the Egyptians practised *painting* during six thousand years. Plato finds no difficulty in believing it to have been known to them for ten thousand years[4]. When Plato, in his Dialogues, makes an anonymous interlocutor assert that ten thousand years had elapsed since *some pictures then seen in Egypt were painted,* we should observe, that colours, applied in all their natural purity on the partitions of the Theban grottoes, might really be capable of supporting so long a period. The fewer mixtures are admitted in colours termed *native,* and appertaining neither to the vegetable nor animal kingdom, the less they are subject to change, where the rays of the sun do not penetrate. This was the case in the

(3) De Pauw is evidently here aiming at the introduction of his own sceptical notions with respect to chronology. We are to understand Pliny's use of the word *eternity* only as referring to a period antecedent to existing records, or those of the *αὐτόχθονες*: an observation necessary to rescue many of the antient philosophers from the absurd notions imputed to them.

(4) De Legibus, Dial. 2.

CHAP. IV.

the excavations we have cited, where many tints could be distinguished, of a beautiful red, and of a particular blue. Colours have remained until our day in some royal sepulchres of *Biban-el-Moluk*, which, in my opinion, have been constructed before the Pyramids. The walls of great edifices, when once coloured, remained so for many centuries; or rather, for ever. The Egyptians do not seem to have used any particular procedure for making the colours and gilding adhere to the wall or the bare rock, as some people have supposed. Count Caylus says, that the manner of laying them on, practised by the Egyptians, was not favourable[1]. Like all the Eastern artists, they employed only virgin tints, and coloured rather than painted."

(1) Antiq. Egypt. Etrusc. &c. vol. I.

Remarkable form of one of the Pyramids of Saccára.

CHAP. V.

PYRAMIDS OF SACCARA.

Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids—Audience of the Vizier — Voyage to Saccára — Nocturnal Festivities of an Arab Village — Appearance of the Country to the South of Caïro — Indigofera — *Situation of Memphis —* Tumulus *seen among the Pyramids — The most antient Sepulchres not pyramidal — Village of Saccára—Difference between the Pyramids of Saccára and those of Djïza—Descent into the Catacombs—Notion founded on a passage in Herodotus — Evidence for the Horizontal Position of the Bodies — Difficulty of ascertaining the truth—Repository of embalmed Birds—Cause of their Interment—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Antelope—Antiquities found by the Arabs—Horses of the Country—Theft detected—History of the Pyramids—Manner of the Investigation—Age of those Structures—Their Sepulchral Origin—Possible Cause of the Violation of the principal Pyramid — Historical Evidence concerning the building of Pyramids in Egypt—Further view of the subject—Hermetic Stélæ—Mexican Pyramids.*

It is impossible to leave the Pyramids of Djïza without some notice of the long list of Philosophers, Marshals, Emperors,

CHAP. V.

Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids.

Emperors, and Princes, who, in so many ages, have been brought to view the most wonderful of the works of man. There has not been a conqueror pre-eminently distinguished in the history of the world, from the days of Cambyses down to the invasion of Napoleon Buonaparté, who withheld the tribute of his admiration from the Genius of the place. The vanity of Alexander the Great was so piqued by the overwhelming impression of their majesty, that nothing less than being ranked among the Gods of Egypt could elevate him sufficiently above the pride of the monarchs by whom they were erected. When Germanicus had subdued the Egyptian empire, and seated "a Roman præfect upon the splendid throne of the Ptolemies," being unmindful of repose or of triumph, the antiquities of the country engaged all his attention[1]. The humblest pilgrim, pacing the Libyan sands around them, while he is conscious that he walks in the footsteps of so many mighty and renowned men, imagines himself to be for an instant admitted into their illustrious conclave. Persian satraps, Macedonian heroes, Grecian bards, sages, and historians, Roman warriors, all of every age, nation, and religion, have participated, in common with him, the same feelings, and have trodden the same ground. Every spot that he beholds, every stone on which he rests his weary limbs, have witnessed the coming of men who were the fathers of law, of literature, and of the arts. Orpheus,

(1) "Cæterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens: dis-jectasque inter et vix pervias arenas, instar montium eductæ Pyramides, certamine et opibus regum." *Tacit. Annal. lib.* ii. *c.* 6. *tom.* I. *p.* 308. *Par.* 1682.

Orpheus, Musæus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, Plutarch, contributed by their presence to the dignity of the place. Desolate and melancholy as the scene appears, no traveller leaves it without regret, and many a retrospect of objects which call to his mind such numerous examples of wisdom, of bravery, and of virtue. To this regret, on our part, was added the consciousness that we had now reached the utmost limit of our travels in this interesting country; for, with the exception of a visit to the Pyramids of *Saccára,* our journey towards the south was here terminated. We had now traversed about forty degrees of latitude, and principally by land; through countries, however, in which little of the refinements of civilized nations had ever been experienced: and we returned from Djïza to Caïro, to conclude our observations in Egypt, previous to the rest of our travels in Greece.

The next day we all dined with Signor Rosetti, who sent a messenger to the Sheik of the Bedouin Arabs at Saccára, stating that we were desirous of seeing the Pyramids and Catacombs of that place, and begging to be informed on what day we might find guides and horses ready for us. On the following evening, August the twenty-fifth, his answer arrived. The Sheik sent two men of his tribe, one to conduct us, and the other to return with our message, fixing the time for our visit. The Arab who was to be our conductor ran away, but we procured another who happened to be then in Caïro. In all the great houses of this city, the earthen vessels for containing water are perfumed. This becomes quite a ceremony. They first put into the vase

CHAP. V.

some mastic, and a substance called *Makourgourivic*, which is brought from Upper Egypt. The name is written as it was pronounced; but perhaps it consists of more than one word. They then clarify the water with almond-paste, cool it by the evaporating jars, and thus it is made fit for drinking.

On the twenty-seventh we purchased every variety of seed which we could obtain from the gardeners of Caïro. After this we visited a manufactory of sabres, wishing to learn the art by which the Mamaluke blades are ornamented with a sort of clouded work. Sabres thus enamelled are said to be *damascened*, from the city of *Damascus*, where this work is carried on in the greatest perfection. We saw the artificers use a red liquid for this purpose, which appeared to be some powerful acid, from the caution they observed in touching it; but they would not allow us to examine it.

Audience of the Vizier.

We then paid our long-promised visit to the Vizier. This venerable man had lived so much with our artillery officers, that he entertained very sincere regard for them. We made our appearance before him in company with Colonel Holloway and Major Hope. He welcomed these officers as if they had been his brothers. He had lost an eye when he was young, in playing the game of *Djirit*. He regaled us in the usual Oriental style; and conversed cheerfully upon the subject of his marches with our countrymen in the Desert; also of his own exploits in battle. He was magnificently dressed, in robes of rich silk; and wore, instead of a turban, a high purple cap; such as the Grand Signior puts on upon public occasions. The pipe which he used for smoking was valued at seven thousand piastres;

piastres; and his poignard was ornamented with the largest emerald we had ever seen, being equal in size to a walnut. He resided in a new and magnificent palace, the windows of which were ornamented with beautifully stained glass. His couch consisted of ebony, inlaid with mother of pearl; and a magnificent mirror, covered with a gauze net, decorated his apartment. His attendants were more numerous than is usual with other *Pashas;* but, in his manners, there was neither the pride, the stateliness, nor the affected pomp, which we had remarked in the Viceroys of Cyprus, of Jerusalem, and of other places.

Voyage to Saccára.

In the evening, at six o'clock, we again set out in our *djerm*, upon an excursion to the Pyramids of *Saccára*, accompanied by Mr. Hammer and Dr. Whitman[1]. We arrived, about ten o'clock, in the village of *Sheik Atman;* and were much gratified upon our landing by a fine moon-light scene, in which two beautiful Arab girls were performing a dance called *Rack*, beneath a grove of palm-trees, to the music of a tambour and a pipe made of two reeds which the Arabs call *Zumana*. A party of Arabs was seated in a circle round them, as spectators. The rest of the inhabitants were sleeping, either in the open air beneath the trees, or collected in tents, pell-mell, among asses, mules, and dogs. Some of their children were running up and down the palm-trees, as if these had been so many ladders, to gather bunches of ripe dates for the circle round the dancers. The broad surface of the Nile reflected the moon's image, and conduced to the perfection

Nocturnal Festivities of an Arab Village.

(1) This gentleman has since published an Account of his Travels in Turkey.

CHAP. V.

perfection of this most beautiful spectacle. The Arabs suffered us to walk among them, without being interrupted in their amusement or their repose. Some of them brought us fruit, and offered other refreshments. The women, were all prostitutes, and almost naked: they wore coral necklaces, and large ivory bracelets. An Arab joined the dance, which we had never seen any of the men do before: he began by exhibiting a variety of attitudes with his drawn sabre; and then proceeded to express the tenderness of his passion for the female dancer in a very ludicrous manner, squeaking and howling like some wild animal. One of the Sheiks who had received us upon our arrival went to a neighbouring village, to procure some additional horses for the next morning. The music and the dancing continued during the whole of the night. Our boat was anchored opposite to the farthest pyramid, towards the south; Caïro being still in sight.

Appearance of the Country to the South of Caïro.

In the morning of August the twenty-eighth, at five o'clock, as the sun was rising in great splendor behind the mountainous ridge of Mokatam, we went round the village, which consisted entirely of mud huts. Near to these were several gardens, in which we gathered radishes for our breakfast. We noticed also some dwarf varieties of the Palm, which we had not before observed, growing in clusters among the taller trees, and bearing abundance of fruit, but hanging so low that it might be reached by the hand. One variety was called *Balack Mahaât:* the average height of this did not exceed ten or twelve feet. Another bore the name of *Balack Seawee,* which grew

(1) Phœnix dactylifera.

grew somewhat taller. A female of uncommon beauty made her appearance out of one of the huts, without any veil; and, to add to the rarity of such a sight, her complexion was fair; much more resembling that of a Circassian than of an Egyptian woman. The quantity of pigeons hovering about these villages is quite astonishing. We also saw flights of larks of a very large size. All the country, as far as the eye extended, was so covered with water, that no particular course of the Nile could be perceived: it was more like a sea than a river. The Pyramids of *Saccára* appeared in the distant view, beyond a country rich in plantations and full of villages: they are less regular in their structure than those of Djiza. The Arabian side of the Nile is not so fertile as the Libyan. Towards Mokatam, the country below the heights seemed to be quite a desert. Mount Mokatam is itself variously perforated by cavernous excavations: these were either the habitations or the sepulchres of the earliest settlers upon the eastern side of the Nile. At a neighbouring village, called *Etterfile*, two gun-boats, and one smaller vessel, were now building. Near this village grew a great quantity of INDIGOFERA, which the Arabs call *Nilé*. Under a similar appellation it was mentioned, at the close of the sixteenth century, as an object of inquiry by Richard Hakluyt[2]; for at that time it was not known in England what plant produced the *Indigo*[3]. Instructions were therefore given, "to know if *Anile*, that coloureth blew, be a natural commodity; and, if it be compounded

Indigofera.

(2) A. D. 1582.

(3) See Martyn's edition of Miller's Dictionary. Art. *Indigofera.*

CHAP. V.

compounded of an herbe, to send the seed or root, with the order of sowing." It is remarkable that *Nil*, or *Anil*, is the American name of the *Indigo* plant. The Portuguese have adopted their *Anil*, or *Anileira*, from the American. In Chinese it is called *Tien Laam*, which signifies *sky blue*. The Arabs, in Egypt, sow the seed of this plant only once in seven years; and they obtain two crops from it in each year. They cut it green, when about two feet in height: (they were cutting some at this time:) it is then put into boiling water, and left in jars for several days: after this it acquires the blue colour. The French had taught them to boil the plant, and use the scum for a dye.

We saw two Arabs crossing the Nile, where it was at least half a mile wide, by means of empty gourds, which they used instead of bladders, with their clothes fastened upon their heads. It was nine o'clock before we steered our *djerm* into a canal leading towards Saccára. We passed the village which Savary believed to denote the situation of antient Memphis, and concurred with him in his locality of the city[1]. His description of the place, particularly of the Causeway and the Lake, is very accurate: But the village is not called *Menf*, or *Menph*, as he pretends, but *Menshee a Dashoo*[2]. The Lake at this time was, in great measure, become a part of the general inundation. We sailed the whole way to the Pyramids of Saccára, with the exception of about half a mile, which it was necessary to ride over, to the Mummy Pits.

Situation of Memphis.

Just

(1) Pococke also places it near the same spot.

(2) This seems to have been Pococke's "*El Menshieh Dashour*." See *Descr. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 49.

Tumulus seen among the Pyramids.

Just beyond *Menshee a Dashoo* we were much struck by the appearance of a *Tumulus,* (standing to the south of a large graduated pyramid,) which, instead of being pyramidal, exhibits a less artificial and therefore a more antient form of sepulchre, than any of the Pyramids. It is a simple hemispherical mound. We saw, afterwards others of the same kind.

The most antient Sepulchres not Pyramidal.

Comparing these appearances with that regularity of structure which characterizes the Pyramids of Djïza, and also with another style of architecture observable at Saccára, where a transition may be discerned between one and the other, (the curved outline not having wholly disappeared, nor the rectilinear form prevailing altogether,) we may establish a rule for ascertaining different degrees of antiquity throughout the

CHAP. V.

the whole series of these monuments. The most antient lie towards the south. Almost all the buildings of Saccára, of whatever size or shape, whether hemispheroïdal or pyramidal, seem to be older than those of Djïza: and, as we proceed in surveying them from the south towards the north, ending with the principal pyramid of Djïza, we pass from the primeval mound, through all its modifications, until we arrive at the most artificial pyramidal heap; something after the manner represented by the following sketch.

Primeval Mound. Pyramid of Saccára. Pyramid of Djïza.

The same rule will apply to similar monuments in America, which have been held sacred among the inhabitants of that great continent from the earliest periods of their history. In fact, the Scythian *Mound*, the Tartar *Têpê*, the Teutonic *Barrow*, and the Celtic *Cairn*, do all of them preserve a monumental form which was more antiently in use than that of a *Pyramid*,

a *Pyramid*, because it is less artificial; and a proof of its alleged antiquity may be deduced from the mere circumstance of its association with the Pyramids of Egypt, even if the testimony of Herodotus were less explicit as to the remote period of its existence among northern nations[1].

Village of Saccára.

We came to the wretched village of *Saccára*. Near to this place, towards the south, there is an antient causeway, composed of stones twelve yards wide, leading up the short ascent to the plain on which the Pyramids stand. Several of the Arabs left their huts to accompany us. When we reached the principal cluster of them, which is behind the village towards the west, we were conducted to the mouth of one of the Catacombs; and prepared for a descent, as into the mouth of a well, by means of a rope-ladder which we had brought with us for that purpose. The sandy surface of the soil was covered with a quantity of broken vessels of *terra cotta*, pieces of human bones, sculls, bits of antient glass, and heaps of ruins.

Difference between the Pyramids of Saccára and those of Djïza.

These Pyramids appear to be a continuation of the same great cœmetery to which those of Djïza also belonged. They extend four or five miles, both to the north and to the south of the village of Saccára. Some of them are rounded at the top, and, as it was observed by Pococke[2], "do not look like pyramids, but more like hillocks cased with stone." One of these is graduated, like the principal pyramid

(1) See the account given by Herodotus of the Scythian mode of sepulture. *Melpomene*, c. 71.

(2) Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 50.

CHAP. V.

pyramid of Djïza; but with this difference, that the gradations here are much larger, although the pyramid be smaller. It consists only of six tiers or ranges of stone; the pyramid itself being an hundred and fifty feet in height[1]. The ranges or steps are twenty-five feet high, and eleven feet wide. The rest of these structures are so fully and accurately described by Pococke, that little will be added here to his description of them. There is one, built also with steps, which he believed to be as large as the principal pyramid of Djïza. The works at Saccára, independently of the different forms which characterize them, do all appear to be older than those of Djïza; the buildings being more decayed, and the stones crumbling, as if they were decomposed by longer exposure to the action of the atmosphere. Four miles to the south of Saccára stands a pyramid built of unburned bricks. This is in a very mouldering state. The bricks contain shells, gravel, and chopped straw: they are of the same nature as the unburned bricks in modern use in Egypt. Pococke concluded, from its present appearance, that this pyramid was built with five gradations only[2]. It is of the same height as the other graduated pyramid of six degrees.

Descent into the Catacombs.

Our rope-ladder was not more than fifteen feet in length, and yet, when placed in the mouth of a catacomb near the graduated pyramid, we found it reach low enough to enable us to descend into the first row of chambers. We entered a room containing scattered bones and fragments of

(1) Descr. of the East, vol. II. p. 50.

(2) Ibid. p. 53.

of broken mummies: these, when entire, had evidently been placed horizontally, upon a sort of shelf or tier of stone, about breast high, formed in the natural rock, and extended the whole length of this subterraneous apartment. Beyond the first chamber were others on the same level, exhibiting similar remains; and below these was a series, extending, in like manner, beneath the upper range. The smell in these catacombs was so exceedingly offensive, that it speedily drove us up again; although we could not explain the cause, for it seemed very improbable that it could originate in embalmed bodies deposited there so many ages before. We saw enough, however, to be convinced that an erroneous notion has been derived from a passage in Herodotus concerning the mode of placing mummies in these repositories[2]. It was impossible that the dead could have been placed *upright* upon their feet, for there was not sufficient space between the roof of the cavern and the place where the bodies were laid. From a former view of the *Soros* in the Djïza pyramid, and also from the appearance here, it became evident that the position of the corpses in Egyptian sepulchres was not *vertical*, but *horizontal*. This may be one of those instances mentioned by Pauw[3], in which Herodotus (if the common notion of his meaning be correct) was deceived by his interpreters; not having

Evidence for the Horizontal Position of the Bodies.

(2) Καὶ κατακλήισαντες οὕτω, θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον. "Inclusumque ita, reponunt in conclavi loculis talibus dicato, statuentes rectum ad parietem." *Herodot. Hist. lib.* ii. *c.* 86. *p.* 143. *Ed. Valcken. et Wesseling. Amst.* 1763.

(3) Philos. Diss. on the Egyptians and Chinese, vol. II. p. 43. *Lond.* 1795.

CHAP. V.

having himself examined the interior of the sepulchral repositories of the country. However, any doubt of this kind, as to the accuracy of an antient historian, should never be raised without the utmost caution[1]; and nothing but the most positive evidence, derived from actual observation, has introduced one here. The testimony now given is, however, confirmed by many other writers. Kircher has given an engraved representation, made from a view of the *Mummy Crypts*, by *Burattinus;* delineated, as he says, with the utmost accuracy[2], in which the bodies are all represented cumbent, with their faces upwards. Denon's description of the *Cryptæ* to the north-east of Thebes is of the same nature[3]. "At the bottom of the galleries, the *sarcophagi* stood insulated, of a single block of granite each, of twelve feet in length and eight in width, rounded at one end, squared at the other, like that of St. Athanasius, in Alexandria." And again, in his long and difficult search to discover "the manner in which a mummy was placed in its sepulchre," having ventured into *cryptæ* where the bodies had never been disturbed, he found[4] them "placed *upon the ground*, and allowed as much space as could contain them in regular order." Pococke, describing the Catacombs of Saccára, speaks of "benches about two feet above the passages," on which "he supposes[5] they laid the

(1) See Note 2, p. 166.

(2) Vid. Œdip. Ægypt. syntagma xiii. c. 4. tom. III. p. 400. *Rom.* 1654.

(3) Denon. Trav. in Egypt, vol. II. p. 174. *Lond.* 1803.

(4) Ibid. p. 226.

(5) Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 54. *Lond.* 1743.

the mummies;" but, being desirous of adopting even these appearances to a notion of their upright posture, he adds[6], "probably the inferior persons were piled one upon another, and the *heads of the family* set upright in the niches." The suggestion is borrowed from Maillet, who mentions "several niches," wherein the bodies "*des maîtres de la famille*" were placed[7]. All this is very easily said; and it is all without proof. The fact is, that no traveller, as far as we can learn, ever did succeed in observing the position of a mummy within its *crypt*[8]. The Arabs, if they can avoid it, will suffer no one to behold what the French[9] writers call *a virgin mummy*. Denon says[10], "*It was a particular which they concealed with the utmost obstinacy.*" Maillet mentions

(6) Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 54. *Lond.* 1743.

(7) Descr. de l'Egypte, tom. II. p. 21. *A la Haye*, 1740.

(8) If any traveller could have succeeded in making observation to this effect, it would have been Mr. W. Hamilton, during his travels in Upper Egypt. In reply to the author's inquiry upon this subject, he says, "I never was in a situation to see mummies in a *constructed* catacomb, or crypt; but a few miles above Philæ, I assisted at the opening of a common grave, full of mummies, *lying upon their backs*: these were covered with the common sand of the desert. The sculptures in the Egyptian temples, which frequently represent mourners around a mummy, *always place the latter in a horizontal posture.*" The testimony of one of Mr. Hamilton's fellow travellers at *Saccára* also confirms what has been said of the difficulty of making these observations. "We did not see the mummies of human bodies: those pits which the Arabs generally shew are filled up with sand, interspersed with bones, and not at all interesting to examine. The places in which there are perfect mummies are covered over with palm-branches and sand, with a view to conceal their situation. There is a sort of *mummy trade*, among the Arabs; and you are much more likely to procure one at Caïro, than at Saccára." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

(9) See Denon, vol. II. p. 224. Vansleb (Relation d'Egypte, p. 149. *Par.* 1667) has a different expression, "*Un puits vierge.*"

(10) Travels in Egypt, Eng. Edit. p. 224. vol. II. *Lond.* 1803.

CHAP. V.

mentions the same difficulty[1]. With regard to the different attitudes assigned by Maillet and by Pococke to the bodies of the rich and the poor in Egyptian sepulchres, it may generally be remarked, that the more magnificent an Egyptian tomb is found to be, the more striking is the evidence it contains for the horizontal position of the body: witness the *Soros* of the principal pyramid of Djïza, and the *Sarcophagi* mentioned by Denon in the sepulchres of Thebes[2].

Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot reconcile existing facts with the common notion which has been derived from the text of Herodotus, it is more reasonable to admit that his meaning has been misunderstood, than that the text itself involves an error; that he alludes, in fact, to the position of the mummy in the *private dwellings* of those among the Egyptians who had no sepulchre for its reception. In their private houses the Egyptians placed the bodies upright. This we learn from Diodorus Siculus, who says[3], "Those who have not sepulchres *built*[4], make a new building in *their own houses*, and place the chest upright." Silius Italicus alludes also to this standing posture[5].

After our descent into these catacombs, we were taken to other *mummy pits;* but the smell in all of them was offensive,

(1) Descr. de l'Egypte, tom. II. p. 22. *A la Haye*, 1740.

(2) Denon's *Voyage en Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 236. *Paris Edit.*

(3) Diodor. Sic. lib. i. c. 92. *Amst.* 1746.

(4) Κτισεις. *Ibid.*

(5) "——Ægyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post funus *stantia* busto
Corpora.——"

offensive, and the appearances were merely repetitions of what we had seen before. Every one of these places had been opened, and ransacked, by the Arabs. We observed a beautiful crystallization, in diverging fibres, of some white substance, upon the wall of one of the chambers, perhaps a *fibrous carbonat of soda*; but in our endeavours to remove it, the specimen was destroyed: it broke immediately upon the slightest touch. We were then conducted to the mouth of one of those subterraneous repositories in which the embalmed birds were deposited. Like the entrance to all the other catacombs, this resembled that of a well. We descended, as before, by our rope ladder, to the depth of twenty feet; and here found a level, or horizontal duct, along which we were compelled to creep upon our bellies, to the distance of about sixty feet, when we came to a central place, whence several passages diverged[6]. These were almost choked by sand, by a number of broken jars, and by a quantity of swathing and of embalmed substances, looking like so much tinder and charcoal dust, which had been taken out of those jars. As we followed the intricate windings

Repository of embalmed Birds.

(6) "The well itself is about six feet square: the sand, and stones, and broken pottery, which are constantly falling, render the descent extremely inconvenient. At the bottom of it is a small hole, which, by those who are at all corpulent, is passed with very great difficulty; indeed, each time it is necessary to clear the sand from the hole, which constantly fills up the entrance. Here, having taken off our coats, with candles in our hands, our faces to the ground, our feet foremost, and an Arab pulling our legs from within, we worked our way through a passage about twenty yards in length, until we arrived at the place where the sacred birds are deposited. The whole is excavated out of the solid rock, and of an inconceivable extent. We did not wander far from the entrance, fearful of being lost in the labyrinth. To the right and left of the entrance are passages, which, as you advance, branch off in various directions." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

CHAP. V.

windings of these channels, we came at last to a passage ten feet in height, and six in width, where the whole space was filled, from the floor to the roof, by the jars, in an entire state, as they were originally deposited. These have often been described. They were all lying horizontally, tier upon tier, the covers being towards the outside, after the manner in which quart bottles are often placed in our cellars. We took down several of them; but as fast as we removed one row, another appeared behind it: and, as we were told by the Arabs, such is their prodigious number, that, if hundreds were removed, the space behind them would appear similarly filled up. The same appearance is presented at the extremities of all these galleries, the passages having been cleared only by the removal of the jars. We opened several of them in the pit. For the most part, the contents of all these vessels were the same; but there were some exceptions. Generally, after unfolding the linen swathing, we found a bird, resembling the English curlew, having a long beak, long legs, and white feathers tipped with black. It is certainly the same bird which Bruce has described[1], called by the Arabs, *Abou Hannes*[2]. In some of

(1) See the plate and description of this bird in *Bruce's Travels*, vol. V. p. 172. *Edin.* 1790.

(2) The only entire specimen of this bird, taken from its embalmed state, was obtained from one of the Egyptian jars by Mr. John Pearson, Surgeon, of London; who, having carefully removed all the linen swathing, and every extraneous substance, succeeded in the entire developement of the perfect animal. Mr. Pearson communicated his observations upon the subject to the Royal Society, among whose Transactions they were published; accompanied by an engraved representation of the bird, as it appeared after the covering was removed.—See a very interesting publication, entitled *Histoire Naturelle et Mythologique de l'*Ibis; par Jules-César Savigny, *Membre de l'Institut d'Egypte.* 8vo. with Plates exquisitely drawn and coloured. *Paris*, 1805.

of these jars, however, instead of a bird, were found parts of other animals, carefully embalmed, and wrapped in linen; as the head of a monkey, or of a cat, without the entire body. Such appearances are rare. Pococke relates, that, in one of the irregular apartments, he saw several larger jars, which might be intended for dogs, or for other animals: of these, says he, some have been found, but they are now very rare[3]. We saw none of those larger jars: they all appeared to be of equal size, about fourteen inches in length, of a conical form, and made after the same manner, of coarse earthenware. A luting fastened on the cover: this luting has been described as mortar, but it seems rather to have consisted of the mud of the Nile[4]. It required considerable labour to move about a dozen of these jars with us, in our passage back to the mouth of the repository; but we succeeded in rolling them before us, until we regained the rope-ladder, when they were easily raised to the surface, and afterwards sent to England, to be distributed among our friends. Another obligation now remains to be fulfilled; namely, that of endeavouring to account for the singular deposit of these birds in the manner which has been described.

Cause of the Interment of the *Ibis*.

A reverence for certain birds that destroy flies and serpents seems common to the inhabitants of all countries. In

(3) Description of the East, vol. I. p. 53. *Lond.* 1743.

(4) "The pottery itself, although three thousand years old, appears as new as if it were of yesterday. We broke several of the pots, and found some very perfect birds. We met with a wing of the Ibis, having the feathers still on the pinion: as soon, however, as this was exposed to the air, the plumage fell to pieces, and was lost." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

CHAP. V.

In almost all parts of the world, it is considered as an unpropitious omen to put to death the swallow or the marten. The same respect has generally been paid to the stork, the heron, and their different species. At this day, the coming of these birds is hailed as a lucky presage over all the north of Europe; particularly in Denmark and in Holland, where the nests of the stork may be observed upon the roofs of cottages and farm-houses, in almost every village. It is observed by Pauw[1], that the Turks, who do not pretend to be idolaters, are as careful in preventing the *Ibis* from being destroyed as the Greeks and Romans. It would have been well if this writer had explained what particular bird he alluded to under this appellation; because it is believed that the bird antiently called *Ibis* is become very rare in Turkey. The Egyptians, says Pauw[2], instead of being the inventors of a superstitious reverence for the *stork* and the *Ibis*, brought this with them from Æthiopia; together with the worship of the *cat*, the *weasel*, the *ichneumon*, the *sparrow-hawk*, the *vulture*, and the *screech-owl;* a worship founded on the utility of these animals. "It was absolutely necessary," says he[3], "to put them under the protection of the law, otherwise the country would have been altogether uninhabitable." The Mahometans, according to Shaw[4], have

(1) Philosophical Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese, *vol.* II. *p.* 100. *Lond.* 1795.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Travels, p. 410. *Lond.* 1757.

have the stork[5] in the highest esteem and veneration: it is as sacred among them as the *Ibis* was among the Egyptians; and no less profane would that person be accounted, who should attempt to kill, nay, even to hurt or to molest it[6]. We are moreover told by Pliny, that the Egyptians invoked the *Ibis* against the approach of serpents[7]. In the earliest ages of Egyptian history, the same regard was paid to the *Ibis*, and for the same cause. Josephus mentions this bird in the beginning of his Jewish Annals, as harmless to all creatures, except to serpents. He relates that Moses, leading an army into Æthiopia, made use of the *Ibis* to destroy a swarm of serpents that infested his passage[8]. Cicero alludes to this property in the *Ibis*[9]; and Pliny speaks of the reverence in which it was held. The punishment in Thessaly for having occasioned the death of one of these birds was equal to that for homicide[10]. Thus we have the most ample testimony as to the veneration in

(5) "*Leklek*, or *Legleg*, is the name that is commonly used by the Arabian authors, although *Bel-arje* prevails all over Barbary. Bochart (*Hierog. lib.* ii. *cap.* 29.) supposeth it to be the same with the *Hasida* of the Scriptures." *Ibid. Note* 6.

(6) Travels, ibid.

(7) "Invocant et Ægyptii Ibes suas contra serpentium adventum." *Plin. Hist. Nat. cap.* 28. *tom.* I. *p.* 530. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(8) *Josephi Hist. Antiq. Jud. lib.* ii. *c.* 10. *Colon.* 1691. It is however maintained by *Savigny*, from the anatomy of the *Ibis*, that this bird could not have swallowed serpents.

(9) "Ibes maximam vim serpentium conficiunt," &c. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib.* i. *p.* 210. *Ed. Lamb.*

(10) "Honos iis serpentium exitio tantus, ut in Thessalia capitale fuerit occidisse, eademque legibus pœna, quæ in homicidam." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* x. *c.* 23. *tom.* I. *p.* 527. *L. Bat.* 1635.

CHAP. V.

in which these birds were universally held. The peculiar circumstances which occasioned the remarkable burial of so many of their bodies in the Catacombs of Egypt, are explained by *Ibn Washi*, an Arabian writer; who says, that it was usual to embalm and bury an *Ibis* at the initiation of the priests[1]. When we reflect upon the number of the priests who officiated in the temples and colleges of the country, and the lapse of ages during which the practice continued, extending even to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, we may easily account for the astonishing number of these birds thus preserved. Plutarch, moreover, mentions the burial of the *Ibis*, and of other animals held sacred among the Egyptians. He says, it was sometimes a private, and sometimes a public ceremony[2]. The *Ibis*, with other sacred animals, was put to death by the priests, and *privately* buried, as an expiatory sacrifice to avert pestilential diseases. The burial was *public* when any particular species of the sacred animals was to be interred[3].

We had no sooner left the sepulchres of the *Ibis*, than we observed Mr. Hammer, on horseback, coming towards us, followed by a large party of Arabs, who were dragging after him a large stone, which had closed the mouth of one of the Mummy-pits. It was a very fine hieroglyphical tablet; and as Mr. Hammer wished very much to send it to the Oriental

Hieroglyphic Tablet.

(1) See the work of *Ibn Washi*, on Antient Alphabets, &c. as translated by Mr. *Hammer*. The same writer is mentioned by *Kircher*, under the name of *Aben Vaschia*.

(2) Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir. c. 73. *Camb.* 1744. (3) Ibid.

HIEROGLYPHIC TABLET.

as it was found at Saccara, closing the mouth of one of the Mummy Pits.

Oriental Academy of Vienna, we assisted him in moving it towards the *djerm*, and succeeded in getting it on board. It was afterwards sent to Rosetta, and to the English fleet; but we are yet ignorant whether it ever reached its destination. In the fear that it may have been lost, and at the same time in the hope of making known to whom it properly belongs, if it now exist in other hands than those for whom Mr. Hammer intended it, a few words may be added as a description of it, accompanied by an engraved representation of the stone.

It seemed, from the rude and angular style of the sculpture, as well as from the substance itself, upon which the characters were engraved, to be of the highest degree of antiquity. It was a slab of common grey limestone, about four feet in length, and two in breadth. Certain of the inscribed characters (for example, IAI and IAI) are so evidently written letters, that if this single tablet alone remain, as a specimen of hieroglyphic writing, there will be little reason to doubt the use of these characters. Among the four figures in the upper department, Anubis is seen with an egg upon his head, and the *Crux ansata* in his left hand. Osiris, by his side, bears in his right hand the *flagellum*, and in his left the *crook*. Upon the right and left of these figures, on either side, is seen an altar supporting the *lotus flower;* and, beyond these, are two figures in the attitude of Almehs, uttering the *Eleleû* at funerals, but perhaps intended to represent a similar ceremony as practised by the *priests*, who are distinguished by the *baldness of their heads*. Herodotus says that it was the peculiar custom

CHAP. V.

custom of Egyptian priests to shave their heads[1]. The whole of this symbolical picture may have related to a sepulchral subject: its meaning was explained by inscriptions placed above the figures, and in other parts of the tablet. Anubis with the egg, and the type of *Life to come* in his left hand[2], may typify that embryo state of the soul which precedes its revivification after death; as may also the unexpanded flower of the Lotus. Another symbolical picture, below this, exhibits a solemn procession, perhaps the same which Plutarch describes[3] as taking place annually, upon the nineteenth of the Egyptian month *Pachon*, when the priests carried rich odours and spices to celebrate the *finding of Osiris*, a ceremony much resembling that of *the Resurrection* in the Greek Church; the *Christos voscress* of the Russians. Inscriptions occupy all the rest of the tablet, either engraven in regular lines beneath, upon the lower part of the stone, or above the heads and by the sides of the pictured figures. This very curious relique, therefore, shews us, not only the *sacred writing*, but also the sort of *symbolical painting* used by the priests of Egypt. At the same time, in rudeness of design, and in the forced exhibition

(1) Herodot. *Euterpe*, c. 36. Eudoxus shaved not only his beard, but his eyebrows, during the time that he resided with the priests of Egypt. *Diogen. Laert. lib.* viii. *segment.* 87. *pag.* 545. Herodotus further relates (*Euterpe, c.* 37.) that the priests shaved their whole bodies every third day.

(2) See Chap. IV. p. 109. of this Volume.

(3) Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 39. *Camb.* 1744.

exhibition of profile, the style of delineation resembles that which is seen upon the most antient *terra-cotta* vases, found in the sepulchres of those Grecian colonies that were established in the south of Italy.

Antelope.

Some young Arabs brought us an āntelope, which they had recently caught. This we purchased of them for three piastres; about four shillings of our money. They had so bruised its legs with cords, that, notwithstanding all our endeavours to preserve this beautiful animal, it lived with us but a short time. The poor creature, after being compelled to exchange its free range of the desert for a confined birth on board the *djerm*, grew tame, and seemed sensible of the kindness of its keepers, for it actually died licking the hands of the person who fed it. The people of Saccára brought us also several antique idols, beads, amulets, &c. found about the Pyramids, and in the Catacombs. Of these we shall briefly notice the more remarkable.

Antiquities found by the Arabs.

1. *Scarabæi*, formed of onyx-stones, with signets, containing hieroglyphic characters, but executed in the coarsest manner; the stones being at the same time so decomposed, that they are become of a whitish colour, quite opaque, and externally resemble common limestone. Of this nature were the signets mentioned by Plutarch, as worn by soldiers[4]. *See Nos. 1, and 2, of the Plate.*

2. Small

(4) De Isid. et Osir. c. 10. *Lut.* 1624.

2. Small lachrymatory vessels of *terra-cotta*, formed of pale-white clay, without varnish.
3. Vessels of libation, of the same materials.
4. Knife-blades of copper. These are frequently represented in hieroglyphic writing.
5. Small idols, formed of blue glass, shaped to resemble the form of the *Mummy-chests*. *See No.* 3.
6. Smaller images of *Anubis*, of the same substance, bored to be worn as ear-drops, or amulets round the neck. *See No.* 4.
7. Similar figures of *Orus*. *See No.* 5.
8. Sculptured idols, formed of limestone, representing the double image of *Leo* and *Virgo*, crowned by an orb, as the *Sun*. *See No.* 6.
9. Similar figures of Isis. *See No.* 7.
10. Beads of white glass, each of which has *seven* blue spots. *See No.* 8.
11. Beads of white glass, without spots.
12. Deformed images, resembling the idols of India and China. *See No.* 9.
13. *Phalli*, and indecent images of *Osiris*, as mentioned by Plutarch[1]. All these are of blue glass, bored, to be worn as amulets.
14. Small amulets of the same substance, and similarly bored, which are very numerous, representing a *horse's head*.

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(1) Πανταχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπόμορφον Ὀσίριδος ἄγαλμα δεικνύουσιν, ἐξοφθιζον τῷ αἰδοίῳ, διὰ τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τὸ τρόφιμον. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. c. 51. *Lut.* 1624.

LARES. BEADS. AMULETS &c found at SACCÂRA.

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head. This is the symbol which Virgil mentions as being found by the Carthaginians in digging for the foundation of their city[2]. It is represented upon the medals of Carthage, which probably suggested the circumstance to Virgil's mind. It also appears upon the *Soros,* called the *Lover's Fountain,* which was found near the castle of *Kallat el Kabsh* in Caïro, and is now in the British Museum. Nor are we without its explanation; for *Ceres,* who was the same as *Isis,* was worshipped under the form of a *horse's head* in Sicily. It is therefore only one of the modifications under which the Antients recognised *Isis,* the *Pantamorpha Mater.* Some of these amulets were curiously adorned with small eyes of antient bronze. *See Nos.* 10, 11.

15. Sculptured images, formed of an opaque vitrified substance, resembling *No.* 5. only larger in size, and covered with hieroglyphic characters. These were about four inches in length. *See Nos.* 12, 13.

Horses of the Country.

The horses of our Arab guard were the finest we had ever seen; not even excepting those of Circassia. In choosing their steeds, the Arabs prefer mares: the Turks give the preference to stallions. The Mamalukes and Bedouin Arabs are perhaps better mounted than any people upon earth; and the Arab grooms were considered, by many of our officers, as

(2) "Lucus in urbe fuit media, lætissimus umbrâ,
Quo primum jactati undis et turbine, Pœni
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi."——— *Æneid.* I. 445.

CHAP. V.

as superior to those of our own country. These grooms affirm that their horses never lie down, but sleep standing, when they are fastened by one leg to a post; and that the saddle is never taken off, except for cleaning the animal. We give this relation as we heard it, without venturing to vouch for its truth. After paying the *sheik* for the horses we had hired, and the peasants for their labour, we returned in our boat to *Sheik Atman*, where we had rested the preceding night; and found, as before, a party of *Almehs*, with bells upon their fingers, exhibiting the dance we had then noticed, as if it had continued, without intermission, from the time of our first coming to the village. Several Turkish soldiers had arrived from the Vizier, to collect straw for his cavalry. While our servant was conversing with one of these men, who was seated upon the ground observing the dance, an Arab, understanding the Turkish language, joined them, and entered into conversation. This man contrived to steal from the servant his purse, containing four sequins of Holland. Upon being accused of the theft, he denied it; but all the Turks, indignant at the audacious manner in which the theft had been committed, insisted upon a general search. The money was found in the Arab's shoes, placed beneath his pillow, under a date-tree; and the purse where he had thrown it, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. Upon the following morning we left the village as soon as daylight appeared, and at eleven A. M. again entered the canal of Caïro.

Theft detected.

Having thus concluded our observations upon the Pyramids of *Saccára*, as well as those of *Djïza*, the remainder of

of this chapter will be appropriated to a few observations upon the history of these remarkable monuments.

History of the Pyramids.

After the numerous accounts which, during so many ages, have been written to illustrate the origin of the Pyramids, it is not probable that any new remarks will meet with much attention. Yet how few, among all the authors who have undertaken to investigate this subject, have ever ventured to express an opinion of their own. Struck by the magnitude of the objects themselves; by their immense antiquity; and by a consciousness of the obscurity in which their history has been veiled, every succeeding traveller contents himself with a detail of the observations of his predecessors, only shewing the extent of the labyrinth wherein he is bewildered. Yet something perhaps might be accomplished, were it allowable upon good authority to annihilate a most redundant source of error and imposture. With this view, it may be advisable to abandon all that Grecian historians have written upon the subject[1]. The arrogance and vanity with which they endeavoured to explain every thing, consistently with their own fables and prejudices, caused the well-known observation made to Solon by an Egyptian priest, who, according to Plato, maintained that the "Greeks were always children, and had no knowledge of antiquity." Hence originate those difficulties mentioned by Pauw, as encountered by persons who study the monuments of a country

(1) "Mirum est quo procedat Græca credulitas. Nullum tam impudens mendacium est, ut teste careat." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* viii. *c.* 20. *tom.* I. *p.* 425. *L. Bat.* 1635.

CHAP. V.

country concerning which the moderns have conspired with the antients to give us false ideas. "The latter indeed," says he[1], "were probably deceived by being at the discretion of a set of men called Interpreters, whose college was established in the reign of Psammetichus, and who might be compared to those people called *Ciceroni* at Rome. Travellers who went and returned, like Herodotus, without knowing a word of the language of the country, could learn nothing but from these Interpreters. These men, perceiving the inclination of the Greeks for the marvellous, amused them, like children, with stories inconsistent with common sense, and unworthy of the majesty of history." If we would obtain authentic information concerning the earliest history of the Egyptians, we must be contented to glean from other sources; and principally from Jewish and Arabian writers. The Jews, by the long residence of their forefathers in Egypt, and also by the constant intercourse offered in the contiguity of this country and Judæa, were of all people the most likely to have preserved some knowledge of Egyptian antiquities: and the Arabs have preserved not only the names bestowed upon the Pyramids from the earliest times, but also some traditions as to the use for which they were intended. By the dim light thus afforded, and by comparing the existing remains with similar works in other countries, and with the knowledge we possess of the customs of all nations in their infancy, we may possibly attain something beyond conjecture, as to the

(1) Philosoph. Diss. on the Egyptians and Chinese, vol. II. p. 43. *Lond.* 1795.

the people by whom the Pyramids were erected, and the purpose for which they were intended. The epocha of their origin was unknown when the first Greek philosophers travelled into Egypt[2]. They are even more antient than the age of the earliest writers whose works have been transmitted to us. That we may arrive, therefore, at any thing like satisfactory information concerning them, the following order of inquiry may be deemed requisite:

Manner of the Investigation.

i. Who were the *inhabitants* of this part of Egypt in the remote period to which these monuments refer?

ii. Is there any thing in the Pyramids, as they now appear, which corresponds with any of the known customs of *this people*?

iii. Did any thing occur in the history of the *same people* which can *possibly* be adduced to explain the present violated state of the principal pyramid?

iv. Doth any record or tradition attribute the origin of the Pyramids to *this people*, or to a period equally remote with that of their residence in Egypt?

If the *three last* of these queries admit of an answer in the affirmative, and a satisfactory reply can be given to the *first*, the result will surely be, either that we do possess documents sufficient to illustrate this very difficult subject, or, at least,

(2) "Nihil certius est, quam omnia, quæ de conditoribus Pyramidum prodita nobis sunt ab Ægyptiis et Græcis, esse incertissima. Ipsi id Veteres fatentur." *Perizonii Ægypt. Orig. et Temp. antiquiss. Investigatio, cap.* xxi. *p.* 386. *L. Bat.* 1711.

CHAP. V.

least, that a very high degree of probability attaches to the opinion thereby suggested; and that the obscurity in which this part of antient history has been involved, is principally owing to the cause assigned by Pauw[1], namely, to a train of theories founded upon the bewildering fables of the Greeks.

To proceed, therefore, according to the proposed method of investigation:

I.

Who were the Inhabitants of this part of Egypt, in the remote period to which these monuments refer?

Age of the Pyramids.

The kingdom of Egypt, according to the best authorities admitted in chronology[2], had lasted about seventeen hundred years at the conquest of Cambyses[3]. The *first Princes* spoken of in sacred scripture are those "of Pharaoh," mentioned in the books of Moses[4], near two thousand years before the Christian æra. The *first pyramid*, according to Herodotus[5], was built by *Mœris*, the last of a line of kings from *Menes* to *Sesostris*; and therefore it must have been erected some ages before the Trojan war. Without, however, placing any reliance upon this record, or attempting to assign a particular epocha for any one of these monuments, we may venture to assume, as a fact, upon the authority of all writers by whom they are noticed, that they existed above sixteen

(1) Philosoph. Diss. &c. vol. II. p. 43. *Lond.* 1795.
(2) See the calculation of Constantine Manasses.
(3) B. C. 525.
(4) "The Princes also of Pharaoh." *Genes.* xii. 15.
(5) Herodot. Euterpe, c. 101.

sixteen hundred years before the birth of Christ. Almost a century before that time, the prosperity of Joseph, then a ruler in this country, and a dweller in the very city to which these monuments belonged, is described as having extended "unto the utmost bounds of THE EVERLASTING HILLS." These words[6], as applied to the place of his residence, and the seat of his posterity, are very remarkable. He "bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh," reducing all its independent provinces into one monarchy. The entire administration of this empire was intrusted to him; for Pharaoh said[7], "Only in the throne will I be greater than thou." In the remote period, therefore, to which the Pyramids refer, "Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house." It is said of them[8], that they "increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them." The customs of embalming bodies, and of placing them in sepulchral chambers, were then practised; for Jacob[9] was embalmed, and "gathered unto his fathers in the cave of the field of Ephron." At the death of Joseph, he too was embalmed[10], but not "gathered unto his fathers. He was entombed, to use the literal expression of the Septuagint[11], EN THI ΣΟΡΩΙ, in Egypt. And this mode of his interment suggests a reply to the *second* question before proposed.

Is

(6) Genes. xlix. 26.
(7) Gen. xli. 40.
(8) Exod. i. 7.
(9) Ibid. L. 2.
(10) Ibid. L. 26.
(11) Ibid.

II.

Is there any thing in the Pyramids, as they now appear, which corresponds with any of the known Customs of this People?

Sepulchral Origin of the Pyramids.

The nature of a *Soros* has been repeatedly explained, upon the indisputable authority of Inscriptions where this name has been assigned to a particular kind of receptacle for the dead, one of which now exists in the chamber of the principal pyramid. This kind of coffin has sometimes one of its extremities rounded, and sometimes both are squared; but its dimensions are almost always the same, and it is very generally *monolithal*, or of one stone. This is the kind of coffin which the Romans called *Sarcophagus*[1]; and any doubt as to its use, seems to be without reason; because the *Soros*, in many instances, has borne, not only its name inscribed upon it in legible characters, but also the purport for which it was intended. The principal pyramid therefore contains that which corresponds with the known customs of a people who inhabited Egypt in the remote period to which the Pyramids refer, because Joseph's body was put ἐν τῇ Σόρῳ. And on this fact alone, if no other could be adduced, the *sepulchral origin* of those monuments is decidedly manifest[2].

III. *Did*

(1) Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 5. Julius Pollux, x. 150.

(2) "Communior ergo sententia fuit, sepulchra fuisse Regum (*Vide Diodorum Sic. lib.* i. *pag.* 40, 41.) quod ex solio seu sandapila in illis residua satis constat." *Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. c.* 21. *p.* 393. *L. Bat.* 1711.

III.

Did any thing occur in the History of the same People which can possibly be adduced to explain the present violated state of the principal Pyramid?

Previous to the consideration of this question, it may be proper to mention, that the custom of heaping an artificial mound, whether of stones or of earth, above the *Soros*, after interment, was a common practice of the Antients. Examples of this kind have been previously alluded to in the former volumes of these Travels. The most antient form of this sort of mound was not pyramidal. However antient the Pyramids may be, a simpler hemispheroïdal or conical form seems to have preceded the more artificial angular structure. Among the Pyramids of *Saccára*, which appear to be more antient than those of *Djïza*, there are instances, as we have shewn, not only of this primeval pile, but of its various modifications, until it assumed the pyramidal shape. One example has been noticed among the Pyramids of *Saccára*, of an immense mound, which corresponds in its form with the common appearance presented by antient *Tumuli* almost all over the world, as they are found in countries where the pyramidal shape was never introduced. But to proceed, in the discussion of the *third* question.

Possible Cause of the Violation of the principal Pyramid.

The body of Joseph being thus placed ἐν τῇ Σόρῳ, and buried according to the accustomed usage of the Egyptians (as manifested by the existence of one of their antient

CHAP. V.

sepulchres containing the receptacle in question), was not intended to remain in Egypt. The Israelites had bound themselves to him by an oath, that when they left the land, they would "carry his bones" with them[1]. Accordingly we find, that when a century and a half had elapsed from the time of his burial, the sepulchre, which during all this period had preserved his reliques in a *Soros*, was opened by the children of Israel. Their number amounted to six hundred thousand men when they went out of Egypt, besides the mixed multitude by whom they were accompanied[2]; a sufficient army, surely, even for the opening of a pyramid if it were necessary, especially when the persons employed for the undertaking were acquainted with the secret of its entrance; having, from the very moment of the patriarch's interment, been under a solemn engagement to remove the body which they had there placed. However this may be determined, it is certain the tomb was opened; for no sooner is their departure mentioned, than we read[3]—"Moses took the bones of Joseph with him." Here, then, we have a record in history, which implies the violation of a sepulchre, and the actual removal of an embalmed body from the *Soros* in which it is said to have been deposited. The locality, too, of this sepulchre seems to coincide with that of the particular cœmetery where this pyramid has for

so

(1) "And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and you shall carry up my bones from hence." *Gen.* L. 25.

(2) Exod. xii. 37, 38.

(3) Ibid. xiii. 19.

so many ages unaccountably borne the marks of a similar violation; its secret entrance being disclosed to view; and its *Soros* always empty[4]. It is by no means here presumed that this circumstance *will* account for its violated state; but it furnishes a curious coincidence between the present appearance of the pyramid, and a fact recorded in antient history which *may possibly be urged* to that effect. No other pyramid has been thus opened; neither is it probable that any such violation of a sepulchre would ever have been formerly tolerated; so sacrilegious was the attempt held to be among all the nations of antiquity, Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, and Romans[5]. At the same time, there are many weighty arguments against the opinion that such a stupendous pyramid would have been erected by Joseph's posterity over his remains, even if they had worshipped him as a God, when it was known that his body was not intended to remain in the country: but the honours paid to the dead in Egypt were in certain instances, as it is evident, almost beyond our conception; and there is no saying what, in a century and a half, the piety of some hundred thousand individuals might not have effected, especially when aided by the Egyptians themselves, who equally revered the memory of Joseph, although they became, at last, inimical to his descendants. This part of the subject is not altogether essential to the end proposed: it has been introduced rather as a curious inquiry suggested by the

(4) " Locus quoque, in quo conditæ sunt Pyramides, ab Israëlitarum habitatione minime fuit alienus." *Perizonii Origines Ægyptiacæ*, c. 21. p. 390. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(5) See Ch. xvii. of the former Section, p. 600; and Note (3).

CHAP. V.

the connection which appears to exist between the Pyramids and the history of the Hebrews: it neither affects nor alters the main argument, as to the nature of these monuments in general.

IV.

Doth any record or tradition attribute the origin of the PYRAMIDS *to the* ISRAELITES, *or to a period equally remote with that of their residence in Egypt?*

Historical Evidence concerning the building of Pyramids in Egypt.

This brings us to the last article of the inquiry. For the *record,* we have only to refer to Josephus[1]; who expressly states it as one of the grievous oppressions which befel the Hebrews after the death of Joseph, that they were compelled to labour *in building Pyramids*[2]; and the curious memorial, as given by the Jewish Historian, is sustained by collateral evidence in the books of Moses. The principal labour of the Israelites is described in Exodus[3] to be a daily task of making bricks, without being allowed a requisite portion of straw for their manufacture. The mere circumstance of six hundred thousand persons being employed at the same time in making bricks, affords of itself a proof that the building for which these materials were required could be of no ordinary magnitude.

(1) "Ego certe Josepho, Israëlitarum tempore factas censenti accesserim." *Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. c.* 21. *p.* 387. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(2) Πυραμίδας τε ἀνοικοδομοῦντες ἐξέτρυχον ἡμῶν τὸ γένος. "Pyramidibus etiam exstruendis homines nostros adhibentes deterebant." *Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib.* ii. *c.* 9. *Edit. Havercampi, tom.* I. *p.* 97. 1726.

(3) Exod. v. 16.

magnitude[4]. This happened too after the *death* of one of the kings of Egypt[5], at which time, it is said, they began "to sigh by reason of their bondage." It is therefore very probable that the pyramid at which they laboured was the sepulchre of this king: this is matter of conjecture; although it may be added, that one of the Pyramids near Saccára is built of *bricks, containing chopped straw*[6]. The fact for present attention is the record preserved by Josephus, which attributes to the Israelites *the origin of certain Pyramids in Egypt:* and for other evidence, proving them to have existed in a period equally remote with that in which

(4) "Quid vero tanto temporis intervallo tot millia hominum perfecerint, non reperimus, nisi munitionem duarum vel trium urbium, quæ ab iis intra paucissimos annos facillime perfici potuit. Debuerunt etiam aliud quid maximæ molis, laboris, temporis, præstitisse, quodque conveniens esset aliquot centenis millibus hominum longissimo et continuo tempore ad opus adactis. Nihil autem majus et operosius in Ægypto, atque ejus Historia invenimus exstructione Pyramidum, quas ab aliis, aut alio tempore exstructas minime constat." *Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. c.* 21. *p.* 388. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(5) Exod. ii. 23.

(6) *See Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 53. *Lond.* 1743. It stands about three miles and a half to the south of the Pyramids of Saccára, near the village of *Menshieh Dashour,* and is called *Ktoube-el-Menshieh,* the *bricks of Menshieh.* It is mentioned by Herodotus (*Euterpe, c.* 136). Greaves, who, though an accurate writer, was not always an accurate observer, after two visits made to the Pyramids, and having, as he says, (*Pref. to Pyramidog. Lond.* 1646.) examined *even the neighbouring desert,* knew not the existence of this pyramid. And he urges this as a reason for not subscribing to the opinions of those modern writers (*Spondanus de Cœmeteriis Sacris, lib.* i. *par.* 1. *cap.* 6. *Brodæus Epigr. Græc. εἰς ναοὺς*) who believed the Pyramids to have been erected by the Israelites: "The sacred Scriptures," says he, "clearely expressing the slaverie of the *Jewes* to have consisted in making *brick,* whereas all these Pyramids consist of stone." (*Pyramidographia, p.* 1.) Exactly after the same manner, he neglected to notice the *petrified lentils* described by Strabo; and then accounts for their disappearance, by supposing them to have been "consumed by time, or *scattered by the winds*"!!! or, "buried in sand." *Ibid. p.* 119.

CHAP. V.

which this people inhabited the country, we may refer to the testimony of *Manetho*, whose authority is respected by Josephus, and who, from his situation as an Egyptian priest[1], had access to every record preserved in the sacred archives of the country. Manetho affirms, that these structures were begun by the fourth king of Egypt, during the first dynasty[2]; which carries their antiquity back to a period earlier than the age of Abraham[3]. Of this nature are the *records* required by the last question in the proposed inquiry, without having recourse to any of the writers of Greece or Italy. As for the *traditions* which refer the origin of these monuments to the age of the Israelites in Egypt, these exist not only among the Arabians, but also among the Jews and Egyptians. The author of a book entitled *Morat Alzeman*, cited by Greaves in his *Pyramidographia*[4], speaking of the founders of the Pyramids, says, "some attribute them to Joseph, some to Nimrod." The Arabians distinguished the

(1) Josephus says, that the care and continuance of the public records were the peculiar province of the priests. (*Vid. lib.* i. *cont. Apion.*) Manetho belonged to the College at Heliopolis, the very seat of Egyptian science. His testimony was preferred by Marsham to that of Josephus himself. However, it should be acknowledged that Perizonius, who considered the Dynasties of Manetho as fabulous, attacked Marsham upon this ground; describing him as "*absurdissima quæque Manethonis recipiendi studiosior, quam speciosa Josephi.*" Vid. Jac. Perizonii ÆGYPT. ORIG. Invest. cap. 21. p. 384. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(2) "Etenim Manetho jam in dynastia I. quartum ejus regem, *Venephen*, Pyramidos erexisse tradit; ac dein, in dynastia IV. regem secundum, *Suphin*, pyramidum maximam exstruxisse." *Perizon. Ægyptiacæ, cap.* 21. *p.* 383. *L. Bat.* 1711. This authority, admitted by Marsham, is contemned by the author from whom it is now cited.

(3) Ibid. p. 384.

(4) P. 6. *Lond.* 1646.

the Pyramids by the appellation of *Djebel Pharoun*, or *Pharaoh's Mountains*[5]; and there is not one of these Oriental writers who does not consider them as antient sepulchres[6].

Upon these premises, thus derived from sources that are not liable to the objections urged by Pauw, being wholly independent of any notions which he supposes the Greeks to have blended with their accounts of the Pyramids, the following conclusions may perhaps appear to be warranted:

1. That the Hebrews inhabited Egypt in the period to which the Pyramids may be referred.
2. That the Pyramids contain an existing document corresponding with the mode of interment practised by this people, and were therefore intended as sepulchres.
3. That the present state of the principal pyramid may *possibly* be owing to the circumstance related in their history, of the removal of Joseph's reliques from the *Soros* in which they had been preserved.
4. That from the records of Jewish and Egyptian historians, as well as from the traditions of the country, we may attribute the origin of some of the Pyramids to the Hebrews themselves; and may assign to others a period even more remote than the age in which this people inhabited Egypt.

In

(5) See also Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. II. p. 85. *Lond.* 1759.

(6) See the Extracts from *Ibn Abd Alhokm*, and the Arabian authors, as given by Greaves, &c. &c.

CHAP. V.
Further View of the Subject.

In the principal point to be determined, namely, the use for which these structures were erected by the Antients, there cannot remain even the shadow of a doubt. That they were sepulchres, has been demonstrated beyond the possibility of a contradiction; and in proving this, all the best authorities have long concurred[1]. In their whole extent from Djïzà to Saccára, the Pyramids, and all their contiguous subterranean catacombs, constituted one vast cœmetery, belonging to the seat of the Memphian kings[2], the various parts of which were constructed in different periods of time. Some learned writers however, as Shaw, and the author of Philosophical Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese, have exercised their erudition in attempting to prove that the Pyramids were mythological repositories of Egyptian superstitions; and they have described the *Soros*, in direct opposition to Strabo, either as a *tomb of Osiris*[3], or as one of those κίσται ἱεραὶ in which the priests kept their sacred vestments[4]. Nor, perhaps, would these conjectures have appeared so visionary, if those distinguished writers had carried the investigation somewhat further. If the connection between antient Egyptian mythology and Jewish history had been duly traced, an evident analogy, founded upon events

(1) See the authorities and arguments stated by Perizonius, *Origines Ægyptiacæ, cap.* 21. *p.* 393. *L. Bat.* 1711. Also Greaves's *Pyramidographia, p.* 43. *Lond.* 1646. *&c. &c.*

(2) Τάφοι τῶν βασιλέων. (*Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1145. *Ed. Oxon.*) In the threatenings denounced against the Israelites (*Hosea, ch.* ix. *v.* 6.) it is said, "MEMPHIS SHALL BURY THEM."

(3) See *Pauw on the Egypt. and Chinese, vol.* II. *p.* 48. *Lond.* 1795.

(4) See Shaw's Travels, p. 371. *Lond.* 1757.

events which have reference to the earliest annals of the Hebrews, might be made manifest. The subject, of itself sufficient to constitute a separate dissertation, would cause too much digression; although an endeavour may be made to concentrate some of its leading features within the compass of a note[5]. The main object at present is to prove the intention for which the Pyramids were erected; and in this, it is

(5) Perhaps, with due attention to facts collected from antient and modern writers, the whole connection might be traced between the history of JOSEPH, and the Egyptian mythology founded thereon. For this purpose, the reader may be referred to all that *Vossius* has written upon the subject (*Vid. lib.* i. *cap.* 29. *tom.* I. *p.* 213. *de Theologiâ Gentili: Amst.* 1642), who considers the Egyptian APIS as a symbol of the *Patriarch.* He supports his opinion by authority from Ruffinus (*Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, lib.* ii. *cap.* 33.); and derives evidence from Augustin, (*Script. Mirab. l.* i. *c.* 15.) to prove that the Egyptians placed *an Ox* near the sepulchre of *Joseph.* It appears also, from Suidas (*voce* Σάραπις), that APIS was by some considered a symbol of JOSEPH: "*Quo ut magis inclinem facit,*" observes Vossius, "*quòd Josephus Deuteronomii cap. pænult. commate* 17, *bos vocetur, secundùm codices Hebræos.*" But if APIS were the same as JOSEPH, so must also be SERAPIS (or SARAPIS, as it was written by the Greeks) and OSIRIS; for these are but different names of the same mythological personage. "*Factus est Joseph quasi rex totius Ægypti, et vocaverunt eum Apis,*" says Kircher (*Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 196. *Rom.* 1652); and he gives us from Varro the reason why he was called SERAPIS: "*Quia Arca* (*inquit Varr.*) *in quâ positus erat, Græcè seu Ægyptiacè dicitur* Σορὸς, *unde* Σορᾶπις, *quasi Arca Apis, deinde, unâ literâ mutatâ,* Σέραπις *dictus est.*" Also, according to Strabo, APIS was the same as OSIRIS. Ὃς ἐστιν (Ἆπις) ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Ὄσιρις (*lib.* xvii. *p.* 1144. *Ed. Oxon.*) Hence it may be inferred, that as JOSEPH, together with the names of APIS and SERAPIS, also bore that of OSIRIS, the annual mournings which took place in Egypt for the *loss of Osiris' body*, and the exhibition of an *empty Soros* upon those occasions, were ceremonies derived from the *loss of Joseph's body*, which had been carried away by the Hebrews when they left the country. Julius Firmicus, who flourished under the two sons of Constantine, endeavours to explain the reason (*De Error. Profan. Relig.*) why JOSEPH was called SERAPIS. In opposition to the origin assigned by Varro, for the name SERAPIS, it may be observed, that Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir. c.* 29.) derides a notion which prevailed maintaining that SERAPIS was no God, but a mere name for the sepulchral chest where the body of APIS was deposited; Οὐκ εἶναι Θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΣΟΡΟΝ οὕτως ὀνομάζεσθαι. But things which were rejected by the Greeks, as inconsistent with their religious

CHAP. V.

is hoped we may succeed. If these were the only monuments of the kind belonging to the antient world, and we had

religious opinions, may come much nearer, on this account, to truth, and to our own. A very popular notion has long been entertained, concerning an extraneous idol brought to Alexandria, by one of the Ptolemies, from the coast of Pontus, which received the appellation of *Serapis* upon its arrival in Egypt. But the word *Serapis* is purely Egyptian (Vid. *Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 232. *Francof.* 1750); and there is something extremely improbable in the circumstances of the importation. That any of the Ptolemies, cooped as they were in Egypt, should insult the inhabitants of the country (*Macrobius, Saturnal. l.* i. *c.* 7.) by the introduction of a strange Divinity from the Euxine, has always worn an appearance of fable. Jablonski has refuted the opinion, by proving that *Serapis* was worshipped in Memphis long before the time of the Ptolemies (*Panth. Egypt. lib.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 233. *Franc.* 1750), and by shewing from Eustathius that the whole story of this *Sinopic* Deity was derived from *Sinopium* near Memphis. Thus Tacitus, "*Sedem, ex quâ transierit* (*Serapis*) *Memphin. perhibent, inclytam olim, et veteris Egypti columen.*" Yet Gibbon seems to imply (*Hist. c.* 28. *vol.* V. *p.* 90. *Lond.* 1807) that both the *name* and the *idol* were alike strangers to the priests of Egypt; and he sneers at the notion of Vossius, that the Patriarch *Joseph* had been adored in the country as the Bull *Apis*, and the God *Serapis*. (*Ibid. See Note* 36.) The reader may consult the learned observations of Bochart upon this subject (*Hierozoïcon, tom.* I. *l.* ii. *c.* 34. *pp.* 345, 346, 347, 348), and also of Jablonski, upon which Gibbon may have grounded his scepticism, although he has not mentioned his authors. The following passage of Apollodorus, as cited by Bochart, proves the name *Serapis* to be of antient date in Egypt: "*Apis, relatus inter Deos,* SARAPIS *appellatus est.*" Upon the identity of *Serapis* and *Joseph* many learned writers are agreed. "*Sunt qui* APIM *et* SERAPIDEM *unum Numen putârint, et per Serapidem* JOSEPHUM *intellexerint;* NEC VERITATI CONTRARIA VIDETUR HÆC OPINIO." (*Cunæus de Repub. Heb. Annot. Nicolai, c.* 17, *not.* 14. *Thes. Antiq. Sac. Ugolini, Venet.* 1745.) Indeed, the number of authors and commentators by whom this opinion is maintained may be considered as more than a counterpoise to the objections of Bochart and of Jablonski. Tirinus, (*Annot. in Sulpit. Sever. p.* 59. *Ed. Horn. L. Bat.* 1654,) in addition to the authorities above cited, mentions also Pierius and Baronius: and he further observes, "Idque patet, tum ex nomine *Serapis* quod Bovem notat; tum ex nomine *Arsaph,* quo teste Plutarcho, Osiris vocabatur, levi commutatione ex *Joseph* facta: tum ex Hieroglyphicis, quibus Osiridem designabant, puta figura bovis seu vituli, notis Lunæ et Solis insigniti: item juvenis imberbis cum modio et calatho in capite. Quæ in Josephum, ejusque boves et spicas, et ætatem, et astrologiæ peritiam, ad amussim quadrant. Subscribunt Clemens Alexandrinus, Augustinus, A Lapide, et Bonfrerius." See also *Spencer de Leg. Heb. lib.* iii. *pp.* 270, 271. *Beyer, Hen. VVeghorst. de vero Dei Cultu, pag. m.* 25. *edit. Kilon.* 1671. *Michael. Not. ad Gaffarell. Curiositates, edit. Hamburg. &c. &c.*

had not the evidence afforded by the *Soros* in the principal pyramid, a greater degree of difficulty might oppose the undertaking. But, in addition to the testimony offered by this remarkable relique, we are enabled, by collateral evidences derived from other countries, to establish, beyond all controversy, the truth of their sepulchral origin. It has been already shewn, that, of themselves, they constitute but remaining traces of a custom common to all the nations of antiquity[1]. An antient Tumulus for men of princely rank seems very generally to have consisted of *three* parts; the SOROS, the PILE, or *Heap*, and the STÉLÉ. Of these, Homer mentions two at once; as being those parts of a Tumulus which were externally visible[2]. As the practice occasionally varied among different nations, only one of these was used to denote an antient burying-place. In Asia Minor, the *Soros*, of gigantic proportion, sometimes stood alone, without the *Pile* and the *Stélé*[3]. In Scythia, and in many Northern countries, the *Pile* only appears[4]. In Greece perhaps, although no instance is decidedly known, the simple *Stélé*, without the pile, might serve to denote the grave of a deceased person[5]. The *Pile*, or *Heap*, was generally nothing more than a lofty mound of earth. More rarely, it

Hermetic Stélæ.

was

(1) "Apud majores, nobiles aut sub montibus, aut in montibus, sepeliebantur; unde natum est, ut *supra cadavera* aut Pyramides fierent, aut ingentes collocarentur columnæ." *Servii Comment. in Virgil.*

(2) Τύμβῳ τε, Στήλῃ τε. Il. Π. 456. See *Greek Marbles*, p. 2. *Camb.* 1809.

(3) See the account of the sepulchres at Telmessus, in the former Section, Ch. VIII.

(4) See Part the First of these Travels. Vignette to Chap. XI.

(5) Καὶ Στήλην ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, οἷα νεκρῷ. *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib.* v. *Oxon.* 1715. The great Column at Alexandria, called "*Pompey's Pillar*," may possibly be an example of the *Stélé*, standing *alone;* as will be shewn in a subsequent Chapter.

CHAP. V.

was a magnificent pyramid. A square platform was left, in some instances, upon the tops of those pyramids, as a pedestal for the *Stélé*. This seems to have been the case upon the summit of the principal pyramid of Djïza[1]. Hence originated the appellation of *Hermetic Stélæ* (because Hermes had the care of the dead), and all the Grecian Mythology connected with them[2]. In America, pyramids were built in this manner by the antient inhabitants of that great continent. That those pyramids were also temples, is true; because all antient sepulchres were objects of worship, and tombs were the origin of temples[3]. The Spaniards, when they first arrived in Mexico, found *pyramids* as *temples* there; but they were sepulchres. *Gage* describes one of these[4]: "It was," says he, "a square mount of earth and stone, fifty fathoms long every way, built upwards like to a pyramid of Egypt, saving that the top was not sharp, but plain and flat, and ten fathoms square. Upon the west side were steps up to the top." By the account *Gemelli* gives[5] of the Mexican Pyramids at *Teotiguacan* (signifying, in the language of the country, a *Place of Gods*, or of *Adoration*), they were erected, like the Egyptian Pyramids, for

Mexican Pyramids.

(1) Vansleb mentions marks of this kind, which he supposes were intended for a Colossus. "On remarque encore les enfonçures qui y sont, lesquelles servoient pour tenir ferme la base du Colosse qui y estoit posé." *Relation d'Egypte, p.* 141. *Paris*, 1677. It was in all probability a *Stélé*; but we did not perceive any such appearance; neither did Pococke, as he confesses, *p.* 43. *vol.* I. *Descript. of the East, Lond.* 1743.

(2) See the former Section of Part II. of these Travels, p. 352. A *dog* is often represented upon the sepulchral Stélæ, as a type of the Egyptian Mercury. This Deity appears upon Egyptian monuments, represented by a human figure with a *dog's head.*

(3) See Part I. of these Travels, Ch. XVII. p. 399. *Second Edit.*

(4) Survey of the West Indies, Chap. XII. *Lond.* 1677.

(5) Travels, lib. ii. c. 8. Part 6.

for sepulchres. The first he saw was a Pyramid of the *Moon*, about one hundred and fifty feet in height. "It was made," he says, "of earth, in steps, like the Pyramids of Egypt;" and on the top of it was a great stone idol of the *Moon*. The Pyramid of the *Sun* was about forty feet higher, and upon the top of it a vast statue of the *Sun:* And as these pyramids were erected for devotion, so were they for *sepulchres*. The same author further informs us, that within the Pyramid of the Moon were vaults *where their kings were buried,* for which reason the road to them is called MICAOTLI, that is to say, *The Way of the Dead.* Precisely, too, after the manner in which the Pyramids of Egypt are surrounded by sepulchres of a more diminutive form, the Mexican Pyramids have, as Gemelli tells us, "about them, several little artificial mounts, supposed to be burying-places of lords." Another instance of a similar nature, and more remarkable for the similitude it bears to the principal pyramid of Egypt, was found in the same country, about thirty years ago, by some hunters. This is the great Pyramid of *Papantla,* mentioned by Humboldt; for, in this, *mortar may be discerned in the interstices between the stones.* It is an edifice of very high antiquity, and was always an object of veneration among the Mexicans. Humboldt says "they concealed this monument for centuries, from the Spaniards;" and that it was discovered accidentally, in the manner that has been mentioned.

(6) Travels in New Spain, vol. II. p. 259.

Antient Enclosure formed by high Mounds of Earth at Saïs, as seen from the Nile.

CHAP. VI.

GRAND CAIRO TO ROSETTA.

Monastery of the Propagandists — Marriage Procession — Visit to the Reis Effendi — First Intelligence concerning the Alexandrian SOROS *— Preparation for Departure — Arrival of the Covering for the* Caaba *at Mecca — Escape of four Ladies — Passage down the Nile — Chemical Analysis of the Water and Mud of the River — Remains of the City of* SAIS *— Antiquities — Bronze Reliques — Aratriform Sceptre of the Priests and Kings of Egypt — Hieroglyphic Tablet — Enumeration of the Archetypes — Curious Torso of an antient Statue — Triple Hierogram with the Symbol of the* Cross *— its meaning explained — Mahallet Abouali — Berinbal — Ovens for hatching Chickens — Tombs at Massora Shibrecki — Birds — Arrival at Rosetta — Mr. Hammer sails for England — State of Rosetta at this season of the year.*

CHAP. VI.

Monastery of the Propagandists.

AFTER our return to Caïro, we visited the library of the *Propaganda* Society, in a monastery belonging to the Missiona-

Missionaries, and found a collection of books as little worth notice as that of the Franciscans at Jerusalem. It consisted wholly of obscure writings on points of faith, the volumes being mixed together in a confused manner. From their appearance, it was evident they had not been opened by their present possessors. We were shewn some drawings of the *Costumi* of Caïro, which had been made by one of the Monks, very ill done, but worth seeing, as they contained a representation of every thing remarkable in the manner of the inhabitants of this city. The church belonging to the convent is kept in very neat order. The Copts have a place allowed them for baptism, near to the altar. The Coptic language is now preserved only in their manuscripts. We purchased a folio manuscript copy of the Gospels, finely written, which had the Arabic on one side, and the Coptic on the other. In the Coptic service of the church the prayers are read in Arabic, and the gospels in Coptic. Browne, who has written the best account of Caïro, computes the number of its mosques at more than three hundred, and the total population of the city as equal to three hundred thousand souls[1].

Marriage Procession.

In our road to the English head-quarters, from the convent of the *Propagandists*, we met a marriage procession. First came a person bearing a box, looking like the kind of show which is carried about the streets of London, covered with gilding and

(1) *Travels in Africa*, p. 71. *Lond.* 1799. The reader, wishing for a further statistical detail, may be referred to the volume published by this faithful, intelligent, and most enterprising traveller.

CHAP. VI.

and ornaments. The use of this we could not learn. Next followed two boys, superbly dressed, and mounted on very fine horses richly caparisoned. Two grooms were in attendance upon each of these horses. Then followed a great number of men, on foot. After these came the bride, beneath a canopy supported by four men, and preceded by a female attendant, who, as she walked, continued to fan her with one of the large semicircular fans of the country, made of differently coloured feathers. The bride was entirely covered by a veil of scarlet crape, spangled from head to foot: she was supported on each side by a female, veiled, according to the common costume of the country. Then followed a band of musicians, playing upon hautboys and tambours. After the musicians came a party of Almehs, screaming the *Alleluia*, as before described. The procession closed with a concourse of people of all descriptions.

Visit to the *Reis Effendi*.

On Monday, August the thirty-first, we were on a visit to the *Reis Effendi*, a minister of the Turkish government, holding a situation which answers to the office of our Secretary of State. Two of the principal officers in the Turkish army were sitting with him. The garden belonging to this house was that in which Kleber was assassinated. While we were conversing with the *Reis*, a Tartar came into the room, saying, in the Turkish language, "Alexandria is taken!" Mr. Hammer, who was with us, interpreted what the Tartar had said. To our great amazement, these Turkish officers received this important intelligence in total silence, without the slightest change of countenance, or even

even a look towards each other. Mr. Hammer said, he believed they did not wish the people of Caïro to know that the English were the captors. After a few minutes thus passed in silence and gravity, they began to whisper to each other, and then wrote with a reed the name of the Tartar, who brought the news. Afterwards, addressing us, the *Reis* asked if we had understood what the Tartar said. We answered in the affirmative. "I do not," said he, "place much faith in the news; but I will send to the Vizier, and inquire if he has received any despatches." Having done this, an answer came, stating that Alexandria was not taken, but that an armistice had taken place, and that the French were in treaty for the surrender of the city. With this welcome information we took our leave, and determined instantly to hasten to the British camp, and to make Lord Hutchinson acquainted with some particulars that had come to our knowledge respecting the antiquities collected by the French in Egypt, all of which we knew to be deposited in Alexandria.

Previous to our departure, it was necessary to collect as much additional information as possible, and especially with regard to the *Rosetta Tablet*[1]; as there was no doubt but every artifice would be used to prevent our Commander-in-chief from becoming acquainted with the place of its concealment. A report had already been industriously circulated,

(1) See the account given of the discovery by *Bouchard*, Part II. of these Travels, Sect. I. Chap. X. p. 304, Note (3). *Broxbourne*, 1812.

CHAP. VI.

circulated, that this stone had been sent to France. We therefore waited upon the only person capable of furthering our views in this respect, and whose name it is no longer necessary to conceal[1]. This person was no other than the intelligent Carlo Rosetti, whose inquisitive mind and situation in the country had enabled him to become acquainted with every thing belonging to the French army. In the course of a conversation with him on the subject of the Rosetta Stone, which he maintained to be still in Alexandria, he informed the author, that something even of a more precious nature was contained among the French plunder: that they had removed, by force, a relique long held in veneration among the inhabitants of Alexandria, after every entreaty had failed for that effect; and that they entertained considerable apprehension lest any intelligence concerning it should reach the English army: that Menou, and some other of his officers, had used every precaution to prevent the people of Alexandria from divulging the place of its concealment, before it could be conveyed beyond the reach of our forces.

First intelligence of the Alexandrian Soros.

Signor Rosetti's remote situation, with regard to Alexandria, prevented his giving a more definite history of this monument, or the place where it originally stood. It was, he said, of one entire piece of stone, of an astonishing size, and of a beautiful green colour: the French had taken it from some mosque, where it was venerated by the Arabs: and

(1) See "*Tomb of Alexander*," p. 31.

and he ended by giving us a letter addressed to one of the principal merchants in Alexandria, who, upon our arrival in that city, would communicate any other information we might require upon this subject.

Preparation for departure from Caïro.

The following day was passed in taking leave of our friends, and in preparation for our departure. We had another audience of the Vizier, who made several inquiries about the Pyramids, and very kindly asked if there were any thing else in Caïro, or its neighbourhood, which we might wish to see. He then subjoined a few pertinent questions concerning the embalmed birds found at Saccára; requesting at the same time that we would send him one. This very rare curiosity in a Turk surprised us; for, in general, nothing can exceed either their ignorance or their indifference, as to literary intelligence. We sent him one of the jars which contain the Ibis, unopened; and another with the lid removed and the interior visible, that he might examine its contents, if he wished to preserve the other vessel as it was found. When we rose to take leave, the attendants presented each of us with an embroidered handkerchief, according to the usual custom in the East.

Arrival of the Covering for the *Caaba* at Mecca.

This day the tapestry destined for the covering of the Caaba at Mecca arrived from Constantinople, by the way of Syria. We were desirous of seeing the entry into Caïro of the cavalcade by which it is accompanied, but found it to be impossible, from the extreme danger attending it. Mr. Hammer, although in the Arabian dress, dared not to venture into the fanatical and furious mob that had assembled upon the outside of the city. The people ran from every

CHAP. VI.

every house and corner of Caïro, to greet its coming; and happy was the Mahometan who could get near enough to kiss a part of the trappings, or even the tail of the camel by which it was carried. After parading it through the principal streets, it was taken to the Citadel, to be kept until the great Caravan of Pilgrims began its march to Mecca. Every house in Caïro, upon this occasion, displayed the most gaudy hangings; but the principal colours were blue, scarlet, crimson, and yellow. The whole city was one scene of festivity. In several houses we saw a figure made up of wool or cotton, to resemble a sheep, but could not learn for what purpose it was so placed.

Escape of four Ladies.

On Wednesday September the second, at twelve o'clock, we set out from Caïro, passing along the Canal in our *djerm*, and having on board four ladies, recommended to us for protection by the *Propaganda Missionaries*. Mr. Hammer was also on board, and rendered us great service in this dangerous undertaking, by being in his Oriental habit. We placed the women in our cabin, concealed by lattice-work and boughs, Mr. Hammer and the rest of our party standing before the entrance. The banks of the canal were covered by *Galeongies* and Turkish troops, carousing, and discharging their carabines. Had they only suspected the presence of females in our boat, the consequences would have been dangerous to us; but the lives of these ladies depended upon the success of the plan adopted for their escape, many women being daily sacrificed by the Turks, in consequence of having been married to, or having lived with Frenchmen. In order to avoid being searched, or giving

rise

rise to suspicion, we had chosen the most public time of the day for passing the canal. Our Arab boatmen had promised their assistance, and they were very faithful. When we entered the boat, we believed, from their appearance, that our passengers were old women. They sat muffled-up, and completely concealed by coarse and thick veils, which covered not only their faces but their persons. When we had cleared the canal, and reached the open channel of the river, they took off their veils, and we were surprised to find that they were all young. One of them was very beautiful; she had been married about four years before; but her husband dying of the plague, during the last summer, had left her a widow. They accompanied us as far as Bulac, when meeting with two of the Propagandists who had assisted their escape from Caïro, and being unable, from the small size of our *djerm*, to offer them suitable means of conveyance for their passage to Rosetta, we engaged the cabin of a large barge preparing to descend the Nile, where, secluded from the observation of the other passengers, they might have secure and convenient accommodation.

Upon our arrival at Bulac, we met Lord Hutchinson's brother upon the quay, and two other English officers, who had just arrived with despatches for the Grand Vizier, containing news of the capitulation then pending between our Commander-in-chief and General Menou, for the surrender of Alexandria. As they were unable to speak the language of the country, we sent our interpreter to hire a party of Arabs to conduct them to the English head-quarters in Caïro.

At

CHAP. VI.

Passage down the Nile.

At six o'clock P. M. we embarked again, and, having lowered the sails, committed our *djerm* to the rapidity of the river. Its course might rather be described as a torrent than as a current. Although a strong contrary wind prevailed during the whole of our voyage down the Nile, we descended with even greater rapidity than we had sailed in coming from Rosetta. The water in the Nilometer of Rhouda had risen nine feet during the month of August: at this time it wanted only two inches of elevation to cover entirely the whole of the Corinthian column on which the height of the inundation is measured, and it was expected to rise yet for twenty days. The great heats had evidently subsided; although the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, this day at noon, stood at ninety degrees.

As we left Bulac, we had one of the finest prospects in the world, presented by the wide surface of the Nile crowded with vessels, the whole city of Caïro, the busy throng of shipping at the quay, the Citadel and heights of Mokatam, the distant Saïd, the Pyramids of Djïza and Saccára, the Obelisk of Heliopolis, and the Tombs of the Sultans; all these were in view at the same time; the greater objects being tinged with the most brilliant effect of light it is possible to conceive; while the noise of the waters, the shouts of the boatmen, and the moving picture everywhere offered by the Nile, gave a cheerful contrast to the stillness of the Desert, and the steadfast majesty of monuments, beautifully described by a classic bard as "looking tranquillity." We continued our progress during the evening and the whole of the night. The next morning, September the third, we found ourselves

ourselves at *Teranè*, and went on shore to procure a little milk for our breakfast. Here we filled two large earthen jars with Nile water; and having rendered them air-tight, we luted them carefully with the mud of the Nile: then placing them in wooden cases, we filled all the vacant spaces with the same substance. The mud soon became dry, and very hard; thus preserving the jars from the danger of being broken by any shock which the cases containing them might afterwards sustain; and also, by the total exclusion of atmospheric air, preventing any change from taking place in the chemical constituents of the water. In this state they were sent, one to the University of Cambridge, and another to Professor Jacquin at Vienna. It is not yet known what chemical union takes place in Nile water, when the addition of pounded almonds causes it to precipitate the substances it holds in a state of imperfect solution: this is the common mode adopted in Egypt for clarifying the water. The only result we have been able to obtain, from the most careful chemical analysis of the Nile water, proves it to contain the carbonates of Magnesia, Lime, and Iron; the Muriat of Soda; and a small portion of Silex and Alumine. But it is one of the purest waters known; remarkable for its easy digestion by the stomach, and for its salutary qualities in all the uses to which it is applied[1]. The mud, or slime, left by this water is found to consist

Chemical Analysis of the Water and Mud of the River.

(1) "L'eau du Nil jouit d'une grand pureté: cette qualité la rend bien précieuse, non seulement pour la préparation des alimens, mais encore pous les arts chymiques où elle peut remplacer l'eau de pluie dont ce pays est privé, et l'eau distillée." *La Décade Egyptienne, tom.* I. *p.* 266. *Au Kaire, An.* 7.

CHAP. VI.

consist principally of Alumine in a state of great purity: it contains nearly half its weight of this substance; the rest is carbonate of Lime, Water, Carbon, Iron oxide, Silex, and carbonate of Magnesia. The persons concerned in agriculture, in Egypt, regard it as a sufficient manure, without any addition of dung[1]: this they reserve for other purposes, and principally for fuel.

Remains of the City of Saïs.

Having received information, from some Bedouin Arabs inhabiting the Delta, of Ruins on the spot marked by D'Anville as the situation of the antient City of Saïs, we determined to visit them. They are near to a village now called *Sé'l Hajar*, or *Sé el Hajar*[2]: this name, literally translated, signifies "*The antient Saïs.*" These Ruins were not observed by the French during their residence in Egypt: they seem to have been ignorant even of their existence[3]. The first notice of them by Europeans occurs in the Travels of Egmont and Heyman[4]; and Mr. Bryant refers to the account given by those Dutchmen, in his observations upon the locality of

(1) "Agri ita pingue fiunt, ut stercoratione non egeant." (*Prosper Alpinus.*) *Voy. Décade Egypt. tom.* I. *p.* 219.

(2) Mr. Hamilton, perhaps more judiciously, writes the name of this place Sâ-el-Haggar. (*See Ægyptiaca, p.* 360. *Lond.* 1809.) It has been here written as nearly as possible to the manner in which the name is pronounced upon the spot. But the Arabs make one word of it; as *Selhajar*; and some of them seemed to call it *Silhajar*. Egmont and Heyman (*vol.* II. *p.* 113. *Lond.* 1759.) wrote it *Sa el Hajer*.

(3) See Denon's account of the observations made by the French in Upper and Lower Egypt.

(4) Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, &c. Vol. II. p. 111. *Lond.* 1759.

of *Zoan*[5]. The situation of *Sé'l Hajar* is not laid down in any modern map; but our boatmen were acquainted with it, and they informed us that we should not reach it before midnight. We therefore ordered them to anchor as soon as they came near to the village, and to remain there until day-light. The velocity with which we proceeded against a violent north-west wind quite astonished us. Our boat lay upon the water with her broadside to the current, and was generally held in this position by the crew; but sometimes she was suffered to float as the stream carried her, turning about in all possible directions.

The next morning, Friday, September the fourth, being told by our boatmen that we were close in with *Sé'l Hajar*, we rose a little before day-light, to take a hasty breakfast, and set out for the Ruins. As soon as the dawn appeared, we landed upon the eastern side of the river, a little to the south of Rachmanie; near the place where a canal, passing across the Delta, joins the Pelusiac with the Canopic branch of the Nile. About half a mile from the shore we came to the village of *Sé'l Hajar*, and found the Arab peasants already at their work. They were employed in sifting soil to lay upon their corn land, among evident remains of antient buildings. The present village of *Sé'l Hajar* seems to be situated in the suburban district of the antient city; for as we proceeded hence, in an eastern direction, we soon discerned its vestiges. Irregular heaps, containing

(5) See Observations relating to various Parts of Antient History, by Jacob Bryant, p. 312. *Camb.* 1767.

CHAP. VI.

containing ruined foundations which had defied the labours of the peasants, appeared between the village, and some more considerable remains farther towards the north-east. The earth was covered with fragments of antient *terra cotta*, which the labourers had cast out of their sieves. At the distance of about three furlongs we came to an immense quadrangular inclosure, nearly a mile wide, formed by high walls or rather mounds of earth facing the four points of the compass, and placed at right angles to each other, so as to surround a spacious area. In the centre of this was another conical heap, supporting the ruins of some building, whose original form cannot now be ascertained. The ramparts of this inclosure are indeed so lofty, as to be visible from the river; although at this distance the irregularity of their appearance might cause a person ignorant of their real nature to mistake them for natural eminences[1]. In their present appearance, they seem to correspond with the account given of a similar inclosure at *San*, or TANIS[2], by a friend

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.

(2) It may be proper to mention, that the learned Jacob Bryant, in his dissertation upon the situation of ZOAN, distinguishes this city from *Tanis*, and confounds it with HELIOPOLIS: (*See Observations relating to various Parts of Antient History, p.* 301. *Camb.* 1767.) Until M. Larcher shall have written his promised dissertation upon the two cities which bore the name of *Heliopolis*, and better evidence be given for the notion of a *Pseudo-Heliopolis* upon the Arabian side of the Nile, the following localities will be here assigned for the three cities, *Saïs*, *Tanis*, and *Heliopolis*:—for the first, *Sé'l Hajar*; for the second, *San*; for the third, *Matarieh*. M. Larcher's doubts upon this subject are so closely allied to the following remarks made by Bryant, that it is impossible to believe they had not a common origin: indeed, the French writer seems almost to have literally translated Bryant's words. "There were two cities named Heliopolis; OF WHICH I SHALL HAVE A GREAT DEAL TO SAY HERE AFTER. * * * * * This is a cir-

friend of our party, who visited the Pyramids with us, and who was engaged in a voyage down the Nile at the time we were employed among the Ruins of Saïs[3]. The water of the river, in consequence of the inundation, had obtained access to this inclosure, so as to form a small lake around the conical heap of ruins which stood in the middle of the area. Perhaps it was thus admitted in antient times; as the vast rampart of the inclosure, both in its bulk and elevation, render it well calculated to contain water. The description given by Herodotus of a *sepulchre*[4] at Saïs is so applicable to the general appearance of this place, that perhaps the evidence it affords may be deemed almost conclusive as to the locality of the city. He says it stood within the *sacred inclosure*, behind the temple of Minerva; mentioning also *a shrine*[5], in which were obelisks; and near those

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a circumstance that has escaped the notice, not only of all the moderns, but of most of the Antients." *(See Bryant, Observat. &c. p. 82. Note 2. Camb. 1767.)* "Il y avoit deux villes," says Larcher, "de ce nom *(Heliopolis)*. * * * * * Ceci auroit besoin d'être appuyé de preuves, mais comme cela exigeroit une dissertation fort longue, JE LE FERAI PROBABLEMENT DANS UNE MEMOIRE A PART. *Table Géographique de l'Histoire d'Hérodote, pp. 171, 172. Paris, 1786.*

(3) William Hamilton, Esq. F. A. S. one of his Majesty's Under-Secretaries of State, author of "*Remarks on several Parts of Turkey*," of which only *Part the First*, under the title of *Ægyptiaca*, has yet appeared. It is to be hoped that Mr. Hamilton's other important avocations will not prevent the continuation of this valuable work. For his account of the situation of *San*, and the present appearance of its ruins, see *Ægyptiaca, p. 382. Lond. 1809.* A Map of their Topography, and a Plan of the Ruins, as they were discovered by the French, are given in Plate XVII of Denon's large work. In the same plate may be seen also a Plan of an Inclosure and Ruins near *Beibeth*, which exactly represents the present appearance of the inclosure at Saïs.

(4) Herodot. *Euterpe*, c. 170. Herodotus says he was not permitted to name the person to whom this sepulchre belonged.

(5) Τέμενος. *Euterpe*, c. 170.

CHAP. VI.

those obelisks *a lake*, flanked with stone, equal in size to the *Lake Trochoïs* at Delos. But the form of the lake, according to him, was circular. *Nocturnal* solemnities were exhibited upon it, according to a custom still kept up at Grand Caïro, at the overflowing of the Nile. The solemnities of Minerva at Saïs were reckoned to hold the third rank in importance among all the festivals of Egypt[1]. It was the metropolis of Lower Egypt[2]; and its inhabitants were originally an Athenian colony. Egmont and Heyman found here a very curious Inscription[3] in honour of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, ITS BENEFACTOR, certain of whose titles are given[4]:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ-

(1) Herodot. ibid. c. 169. The principal solemnities were held at *Bubastus*, in honour of *Diana*. Those of *Busiris*, in honour of *Isis*, held the second rank. Minerva was worshipped at *Saïs* under the name of *Neith*, according to Plato and Plutarch.

(2) Καὶ ἡ Σάϊς μητρόπολις τῆς κάτω χώρας. *Strabon. Geogr. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1137. *ed. Oxon.*

(3) Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. II. p. 112. *Lond.* 1759.

(4) As this Inscription is the only one which has been found by the moderns at Saïs, in any legible characters; and is, moreover, materially connected with the history of the city; and as the work which contains it is now become rare; the author hopes its repetition here will not be deemed superfluous.—Another Inscription, of much greater celebrity, is preserved by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir. c.* 9.), as it existed upon the pedestal of Minerva's statue at Saïs. Kircher has attempted to shew the manner in which it was engraven. It was, in all probability, written in the Sacred characters; but, if it were a Greek inscription, it might, from its antiquity and the number of the letters, have stood in the following order:

ΕΓΩΕΙΜΙΠΑΝΤΟΓΕΓ
ΟΝΟΣΚΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΕΣΟ
ΜΕΝΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΕΜΟΝ
ΠΕΠΛΟΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΠΩΘ
ΝΗΤΟΣΑΠΕΚΑΛΥΨΕΝ

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΡΜΗΝΙΑΚΟΝΜΗΔΙΚΟΝ
ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ
ΗΠΟΛΙΣΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

They saw also the colossal statue of a female, with hieroglyphics, the head of which had been broken off and removed to Caïro. Fourteen camel-loads of treasure were said to have been found among the Ruins. Our inquiry after antiquities was, however, for a long time unsuccessful; and we began to despair of carrying from Saïs any thing belonging to the antient city, except our description of the place, and a slight sketch of the inclosure, as seen from the river[5]. The French had so often stripped and terrified the inhabitants of other parts of the Delta, that, although Saïs had hitherto escaped their visitation, the mere coming of strangers filled the Arabs with distrust and alarm. However, the sight of a few newly-coined *parahs* presently subdued their apprehensions, and we were surrounded by men, women, and children, bringing, as at *Saccára*, a number of curious antiquities. Among these were various fragments of antient sculpture, formed of *dark grey Granite*, of *Hornblende Porphyry*[6], and of the sort of *Trap* which Winkelmann[7] and others

(5) See the Vignette to this Chapter.

(6) This substance is the *Ner' e bianco* of the Italian lapidaries. (*See Ferber's Trav. in Italy, p. 217. Lond. 1776.*) It consists of white opaque crystals of Feldspar, which owe their colour to decomposition, imbedded in black Hornblende. The word *Porphyry* may now be used to denote any compound mineral containing crystals of Feldspar. Thus we have, *Hornblende* Porphyry, *Pitchstone* Porphyry, *Serpentine* Porphyry, &c. &c.

(7) Œuvres de Winkelmann, tom. I. p. 168. *Paris*, An 2 de la République.

CHAP. VI.

others[1] have called *green basaltes*. This last substance has been described as one of the hardest materials of antient art: it is certainly one of the most durable, for the works executed in it retain their original polish as perfect as when they issued from the hands of the sculptor. We procured also a number of bronze reliques. From the state of decomposition in which these appeared, as well as from the circumstances of their form, they seemed to be of high antiquity. The bronze itself has since been analyzed, and is found to consist of copper and tin; a compound common to almost all the brazen works of the Antients. We bought of the peasants a bronze tripod, originally intended for a lamp; also a small bronze bust of AMMON, with the remarkable appendage of *wings*, and a *lion's paw* for its pedestal[2]. Perhaps it was originally an antient weight. Its very great antiquity may be determined by the shape of the *wings*, which are curved upwards from the back of the head. This peculiarity is found only in the works of artists belonging to the earliest ages, as we learn from the sculpture and coinage of Greece, particularly of Corinth. They brought also a bronze image of ORUS, formerly worn as an amulet, together with a number of *Lares* and other amulets, similar to those already described in the account of the antiquities found at Saccára. One of the former, in the shape of a Mummy, similar to *Nos.* 12 and 13, in the Plate representing the Antiquities found at Saccára, but of larger size, deserves more particular notice[3]. The substance of it is porcelain, resembling

Bronze Reliques.

(1) "*Basaltes Orientalis viridis.*" (*Ferber, ubi supra,* p. 233.) "Extremely hard, homogeneous, and compact, without any crystallizations."

(2) See Nos. 1 and 2, of Plate annexed. (3) See Nos. 3, 4, of Plate.

R.B. Harraden del.

Letitia Byrne Sculp.

ANTIQUITIES found at SAIS.

resembling the sort of earthenware called *Delft;* and it offers, perhaps, the most antient specimen of the art in the world. The interior exhibits a pale baked clay, and the exterior is covered with a highly vitrified varnish. The lower part of the figure has been broken off near the feet; but all the upper part is entire. It has a long narrow beard, hanging from the extremity of the chin; and below the breast are five lines of an hieroglyphical inscription. The hands are crossed upon the breast; sustaining against either shoulder such perfect models of the symbol which Kircher has denominated *Hieralpha*[4], that it is impossible we can remain any longer in doubt respecting its real signification. The subject has been before alluded to[5]; but something may yet be added for its illustration; for, in fact, it is here rendered more evident that an antient *Plough* was the archetype of an *Egyptian character*, common in hieroglyphic writing. Upon this figure the entire model of the instrument is complete; and even the twisted cordage, binding the plough-share to the handle, is distinctly represented[6]. But, in order to remove all remaining doubt concerning this symbol, we perceive in the left hand of the figure a stouter cord[7], from which is suspended *a Harrow* hanging

Aratriform Sceptre.

(4) See A, B, of No. 3.

(5) See Chap. IV. pp. 111, 112.

(6) See *m*, *n*, of No. 3, in the Plate annexed.—In the beautiful designs by *Roncalli*, of the Obeliscus Campensis, engraved by *Antonini*, for *Zoega's* work "*De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*," published at Rome in 1797, the delineation of this symbol, as *a Plough*, is so distinct, that even the rings attached to the cordage are visible. *See* No. 5 *of the Plate, as copied from that work.*

(7) See *x*, *x*, of Nos. 3 and 4.

CHAP. VI.

hanging behind the left shoulder[1]. We see clearly, therefore, the kind of instrument mentioned by Diodorus[2], who says the priests and kings of Egypt bore a sceptre in the form of *a plough*. An instrument of this kind was said to be in use among the Celtic tribes[3]. The inhabitants of St. Kilda, in the Hebrides, use it as a sort of *spade*, or *hand-plough*. But in the north of Sweden and Finland, a different race of men use *a plough* of the same form, upon a larger scale: it is there drawn by cattle; and it is further distinguished by having a *double*, instead of a *single* plough-share. Linnæus first observed this very antient model of the plough, during his travels in his native country; and a representation of the Finland plough has been here introduced, as it was copied from one of his drawings[4]. This curious relique therefore preserves a model of one of the most antient instruments of agriculture known in the world[5]; the

(1) See *z*, of No. 4.

(2) Diodor. Sic. lib. iv.

(3) See p. 111 of this Volume.

(4) See No. 6 of the Plate.

(5) Osiris is said to have constructed his own plough. Tibullus (*lib.* i. *eleg.* 7.) makes him the first husbandman. There were two methods of using the very simple instrument here represented; one being the more antient, but the shape of the plough remaining the same; which was that of an *Alpha*, with one side shorter than the other. As a *hand-plough*, the vertex was capped with brass or iron, which the husbandman forced into the ground with his foot. It was then held in this position, and in this manner it is now used by the natives of St. Kilda. When used as a *draft-plough*, which must have been suggested by the improvement of a later age, the shorter *limb* of the Alpha was tipped with metal, and it was then held in this position, as it is now used by the inhabitants of Ostro-Bothnia. The *hand-plough* was of course the antient sceptre; not only on account of its antiquity, but as being the only *portable* instrument.

the primeval plough of Egypt, and of the Eastern world; held in veneration from the earliest ages, and among all nations; considered as a sacred symbol; an emblem of power and dignity; a sceptre fit for kings, and even Gods, to wear[6]; a type of Nature's bounty, and of peace on earth[7]. To this veneration of the plough may be referred all the mysteries of Ceres, and many of the most sacred solemnities, the rites and the festivals, of Egypt and of Greece. Such is the explanation of Kircher's *Hieralpha*, in a *symbolical* view. That, as an *archetype*, it subsequently gave birth to an *alphabetical sign*, which was introduced among the characters used in Egyptian writing, is very probable; for a gradual change from the pictured forms of visible objects to written types, is manifest to any one who will give himself the trouble to collect and to compare the various modifications which the hieroglyphics have sustained[8].

Having

(6) "In antient times, the *sacred plough* employ'd
"The Kings, and awful fathers of Mankind." *Thomson.*

(7) "And they shall beat their swords into plough-shares." *Isaiah* ii. 4.

(8) Mr. Hamilton's observations upon the rolls of Papyrus which are found in the Mummies of the Thebaïd confirm this opinion in a remarkable manner.—"Of the four," says he, "which I brought to England, one is in the British Museum; another in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries: the other two are but fragments; one of them written in the common Egyptic character, that of the other approaching much more to the hieroglyphical mode of writing.

"This circumstance had first induced me to consider, in a Memoir submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, the vulgar character, or ἐγχώρια γράμματα, of antient Egypt, as *having derived its origin from the picture-writing of earlier ages:* and I am further inclined to that opinion by the observation of many peculiarities in which they still resemble; these resemblances becoming more and more distant, *in proportion to the remoteness of the period of such writings from the original institution of their hieroglyphical archetype.* In some rolls of Papyrus, almost every letter bears a faint resemblance to some visible object, as an eye, bird, serpent, knife, &c.; whereas in others it is very difficult to trace it: and at the date of the Inscription on the Rosetta Stone, the copy

 seems

CHAP. VI.

Having by this time gained the confidence and good-will of the Arabs, we might have extended our researches by making an excavation within the antient inclosure, if our time had not been limited. They told us, that it was their frequent practice, when they dug up stones with hieroglyphic figures, to bury them again. And were this not true, it is very improbable that all the colossal works which once adorned the city of Saïs have been removed or destroyed. From the account given of them by Herodotus, we may conclude that subsequent generations were unable to carry off such stupendous masses of stone, for nothing less than gunpowder would have been equal to their demolition. Amasis constructed at Saïs a *propylæum* in honour of Minerva, which in magnitude and grandeur surpassed every thing before seen, of such enormous size were the stones employed in the building and in its foundation. Herodotus, enumerating the decorations given by Amasis to this edifice, mentions colossal statues of prodigious magnitude, under the appellation of *Androsphinges*[1]. A statue of this kind was discovered soon after we left Egypt[2]. But the

seems so much to have degenerated from the original, as to leave no means whatever of forming a comparison between the two: and we know that there are instances of both characters being applied to the same use; some few rolls of Papyrus having already been published, written in what is called the Sacred Character." *See Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 407. Lond. 1809.*

(1) Τοῦτο δὲ, κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ 'ΑΝΔΡΟΣΦΙΝΓΑΣ περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε. "Quinetiam ingentes colossos, et immanes ANDROSPHINGAS, ibidem posuit." *Herodot. Euterpe, c. 175. Ed. Galei.*

(2) See Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 382. *Lond.* 1809.

the most surprising work at Saïs was a *monolithal* shrine[3], brought from Upper Egypt; in the conveyance of which, from Elephantine, two thousand persons were employed, during three years[4]. A celebrated colossus, given by Amasis to the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, had also its duplicate at Saïs, of the same size, and in the same attitude[5]. Within the *sacred inclosure* were buried the sovereigns of the Saïtic dynasty[6]; and it may be supposed that the ransacking of such a cœmetery would lead to the discovery of many curious antiquities, and even give probability to the narrative related by the inhabitants of *Sé'l Hajar* to Egmont and Heyman[7], concerning the camel-loads of treasure which were found upon the spot. Our next inquiry was directed towards the mosque; suspecting that, in the materials employed for this building, something more might come to light. After a slight hesitation, they also granted us permission to carry on our researches here, and admitted us to view the interior of the structure. The fragments of some antient columns appeared in the walls; and in the steps, before the entrance, we noticed a large slab

(3) Count Caylus wrote a dissertation upon this extraordinary structure. *Voy. Mém. de l'Académie, &c. tom.* xxxi. *Hist. p.* 23.

(4) Herodot. *Euterpe,* c. 175.

(5) Ibid. c. 176. The *colossal hand* of granite, which is now in the British Museum, was found by the French upon the site of antient Memphis, between Djïza and Saccára, and believed by them to have belonged to one of the statues mentioned by Herodotus, as being near the Temple of Vulcan.

(6) Herodot. ibid. c. 169. For an account of this dynasty, see Kircher, *Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* i. *c.* 10. *p.* 97. *Rom.* 1652.

(7) See Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. II. p. 112. *Lond.* 1759.

CHAP. VI.

Hieroglyphic Tablet.

slab of polished *Syenite*. Having with some difficulty extricated and turned the stone, we found it to be the base or pedestal of one of those upright statues which seem to correspond with the notion entertained of the *Androsphinxes* mentioned by Herodotus; although it does not answer in its size to the proportion necessary for the colossal figures alluded to by the historian. It is now in the Vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge[1]. One foot only belonging to the statue now remains upon this pedestal. What renders it peculiarly interesting is, that it exhibits, among the characters of an hieroglyphic tablet which is quite entire, a perfect representation of the *Ibis*. The other signs are also such accurate figures of visible objects, that almost all their archetypes may be enumerated; either by comparing them with things found among barbarous nations; or with natural phænomena; or with existing antiquities; or by explaining the ideas they are intended to convey, according to facts derived from the study of antiquities in general. That the Reader may therefore compare a few observations upon this subject with an engraved representation of these hieroglyphics, they will be given according to a numerical order corresponding with ciphers upon the Plate.

(1) See "*Greek Marbles*," No. II. p. 3. *Camb.* 1809.

N.B. *See the Plate.*

Enumeration of the Archetypes.

No. 1. THE Segment of a Circle, thus placed, is believed, by almost all writers upon the subject of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, to signify the *Lower Hemisphere.* May it not rather denote a period of time? Sometimes a small Orb is placed within it, as at *No.* 31.

2. An Egyptian *Sistrum,* with four *Chords,* or *Bars,* as described by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir. c.* 63.) the sound of which was believed to avert and drive away *Typhon.* Plutarch has given a particular account of this instrument.

—— "Quid nunc *Ægyptia* prosunt
Sistra?"——

3. Two *Battle-axes,* fashioned like weapons brought from the South Seas, with stone blades, fastened to wooden handles.

4. The *Scarabæan Ball;*—among the Egyptians, a Type of the SUN. *See Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. &c.*

5. Perhaps an antient *Auger,* used in boring stones for lapidary inscriptions, &c.

6. An Eagle, as seen on Medals of the Ptolemies.

7. The *Testudo,* or two-stringed Lyre; the φόρμιγξ of Homer.

8. Another Musical Instrument.

9. A supposed Type of the *Upper Hemisphere,* as contrasted with *No.* 1.

10. The *Sacred Inclosure* of Saïs, and Cœmetery of their Kings. *See Herodotus, Strabo, &c.*

11. A cumbent *Sceptre,* or War Instrument.

12. *Testudo,* and Battle-axe.

13. The appearance of a Line, as seen here, inclosing some of the hieroglyphic characters, which are thereby separated from the rest, may possibly be nothing more than a *parenthetical* mark. These are common on the Obelisk of Heliopolis. The characters so included represent the *Scarabæan Ball,* as at *No.* 4. and *two Vessels of Terra Cotta,* with forms often observed among antient Vases of Earthen-ware.

14. Represents the same instrument as at *No.* 2. and *a copper Knife-blade,* like those which are found in the Catacombs of *Saccára,* and other Sepulchres of Egypt.

15. Same

CHAP. VI.

No. 15. Same as *No.* 4.

16. A *Fillet,* seen upon representations of APIS; with the square *Soros,* or Chest, in which his remains were deposited.

17. An Owl.

18. *Forceps,* as found in Greek sepulchres; used to fasten garments.

19. Same as *No.* 1.

20. The Horns of APIS. (*Et comes in pompâ Corniger Apis erat.*") Such was the symbol of Power and Divinity over all the Eastern world. "AND THE TEN HORNS WHICH THOU SAWEST ARE TEN KINGS." *Rev.* xvii. 12. See also *Psalms* 18. 12. 75. 10. *Dan.* vii. 24; &c. &c.

21. *Axes* for beheading Victims. Instruments of the same form were used in beheading cattle during the public festivals of Venice; particularly during the Carnival.

22. Entrances to the ADYTA ÆGYPTIORUM. (*See Kircher, tom.* I. *p.* 393. *Rom.* 1652.) "AND HE BROUGHT ME TO THE DOOR OF THE COURT: AND WHEN I LOOKED, BEHOLD A HOLE IN THE WALL. THEN SAID HE UNTO ME, SON OF MAN, DIG NOW IN THE WALL. AND WHEN I HAD DIGGED IN THE WALL, BEHOLD A DOOR. SO I WENT IN, AND SAW; AND BEHOLD, EVERY FORM OF CREEPING THINGS, AND ABOMINABLE BEASTS, AND ALL THE IDOLS OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, POURTRAYED UPON THE WALL ROUND ABOUT." *Ezekiel, ch.* viii. 7, 8. 10. See also *Eusebius, lib.* ii. *Præp. Evang. Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodoxos; &c.*

23. Small Vessels of pale Clay, exactly of this form, baked only by the Sun's heat, are found in digging among the Antiquities of Saïs, and also in the Catacombs of Saccára.

24. This strange looking figure can only be comprehended by comparing it with other representations of the same thing, where the object is more distinctly delineated. It is intended for an angle of the elbow, with the lower part of the arm and hand extended horizontally; the hand containing a cup, or small vase. It is very perfectly represented in *Zoega's* Plate of the *Obeliscus Campensis.*

25. Two *Battle-axes.*

26. Same as *No.* 10.

27. Same as *No.* 5.

28. Vessels of *Terra Cotta,* as found at Saïs.

29. Same

No. 29. Same as *No.* 4. The mark towards the centre exhibits only a convexity found in almost all hieroglyphics, rising from their inferior surface.

30. Is an Astronomical Sign; and it proves that the antient symbol of *Byzantium* was derived from Egypt. Upon the Byzantine medals, the Star appears above the Crescent, which is here given in an inverted position. It is still seen upon the walls of the Grand Signior's palace at Constantinople; near the gilded iron gate in the Gardens of the Seraglio, by which the Sultan enters from his winter apartments. The Turks display it upon their banners. The very antient tradition preserved in Athenæus, of 'the Sun's sailing over the Ocean every night in a Cup,' may possibly refer to this part of the Egyptian Mythology. (*See Athen. p.* 469. *Also Bentley upon Phalaris, p.* 81.) It seems to correspond with representations seen upon heads of *Isis*, and also of *Ceres*, where an entire *Orb* is placed within *a Crescent*.

31. Same as *No.* 1. distinguished only by containing an *Orb*, or *Scarabæan Ball*.

32. Similar to *No.* 30.

33. Same as *No.* 31.

34. *Triglyph*, as seen in Doric Architecture. This figure occurs as a written character in the antient vernacular language of Egypt.

35, & 36. Same as *No.* 31.

37. Same as *No.* 29.

38. Same as *No.* 1.

39. The Serpent, as described by Herodotus; held sacred in antient Egypt, and still venerated by its modern inhabitants. Ceres was represented among the Greeks in a *Car drawn by Serpents*: and our Saviour used the expression, "*Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.*"

40. Same as *No.* 9.

41. Perhaps a Dyke, or Canal.

42. An Owl.

43. Same as *No.* 10.

44. Same as *No.* 7.

45. Same as *No.* 28.

46. Same as *No.* 29.

47. Head of an Ostrich, and of an Ox or Heifer.

48. A well-known sign, used by the Antients, upon their medals, gems, vases, &c. to denote *Water*. The representations of '*IO* crossing *the Sea*' have frequently no other sign to signify *water* than this type beneath the figure of the *Heifer*.

49. The

CHAP. VI. No. 49. The *Coluber Cerastes*, or Horned Viper, a native of Egypt. *See Hasselquist, p.* 221. *Lond.* 1766. *Linn. Syst. Nat. p.* 217.

50. Same as *No.* 20.

51. A *Lachrymatory*, between two *Strigils*.

52. Perhaps the *Ham-string*; an instrument of punishment used in the East.

53. An Egyptian Altar.

54. Same as *No.* 24.

55. A perfect representation of the *Ibis*. That which Dr. Shaw has given, as found upon a Sardonyx, is far from being so faithful a portrait of this animal. *See Shaw's Travels, Plate facing p.* 409. *Lond.* 1757.

56. Same as *No.* 23.

57, & 58. Unknown.

59. Same as *No.* 1.

60. Same as *No.* 5.

61. Unknown.

62. Same as *No.* 1.

63. A Dove.

64. Same as *No.* 1.

65. Same as *No.* 28.

66. Same as *No.* 29.

67. Same as *No.* 40, accompanied by the *Thyrsus Scyllocyprius*. *See Kircher, Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 277. *Rom.* 1652.

68. Unknown.

69. An Obelisk.

70. Same as *No.* 3.

71. Here the type of the *Upper Hemisphere* is introduced between the figures of *a Bird* and one of those *Crosses*, but without a *handle*, mentioned by *Ruffinus*, and by *Socrates Scholasticus, lib.* v. *c.* 17.

72. Same as *No.* 22.

73. Unknown.

74. Same as *No.* 9.

75. Same as *No.* 69.

76. Three Axes.

77. Same as *No.* 1.

78. The same *Bird* appears at *No.* 71. Unknown.

79. Shews

No. 79. Shews the only instance which occurs, in this Hieroglyphic Tablet, of the mode by which the Priests compounded several archetypes into one symbol. The *Fillet*, as at No. 16, is thrown over a sign of the *Upper Hemisphere*[1], as at No. 9; and these form a pedestal, supporting *a Dove*, as at No. 63; and the *Blade of a Knife*, somewhat similar to that seen at No. 14.

80. Seems also a part of the compound figure in No. 79; being in the same line with the extremities of the *Fillet*.

81. Unknown.

82. Same as No. 9.

83. Same as No. 69.

The reader will perhaps deem these observations of little importance; yet surely the first step towards any chance of discovering a key to the Hieroglyphic characters will be that which enables us to determine the *archetypes* whence the *letters* were severally derived: for although these may appear somewhat plainly delineated upon this very antient Tablet, they are by no means so universally. As soon as the full outline was modified, and approached nearer to signs used as *letters*, the original forms were so altered that they almost disappeared. Thus we find examples, in the manuscripts taken from mummies, of a mode of writing, where the representation of an animal, or of any other visible object, only now and then appears, mingled with the *letters*, and very imperfectly traced[2]. Nor was this the only change that took place. The inscription upon this Tablet, as

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(1) By these expressions, "*Upper*" and "*Lower Hemisphere*," ought properly to be understood *the Sun* in the *upper* or *lower hemisphere*; and, generally, *an orb* is represented in the *semicircle*. By the *first*, the Egyptians denoted AMMON; by the *second*, according to Jablonski, SERAPIS. See Jablonski's beautiful illustration of these signs, *Pantheon Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 235. *Francof.* 1750.

(2) See Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, p. 407, &c. *Lond.* 1809.

CHAP. VI.

as it is evident, was intended to be read *vertically*, or from *top* to *bottom*, according to the form now observed in the *vulgar writing* of the Calmucks[1], and some other Oriental nations: but in process of time the *horizontal* manner of tracing the signs was introduced, as we see by the inscriptions upon the tablet found at Saccára[2]; and the characters were then read from left to right, if we may judge from the position of the figures introduced among the hieroglyphics upon that stone.

When we had agreed with the Arabs for the purchase of this Tablet, and for its safe conveyance on board the *djerm*, we prepared to examine the interior of the Mosque. Here we found, among other materials loosely put together for the purpose of supporting a stone table, the finest piece of Egyptian sculpture we had yet seen. This was the *Torso* of a statue of the kind of *trap* mentioned before, or *green Oriental basalt*. So perfect is its preservation, that the polish upon its surface equals that of glass. A zone, covered with hieroglyphics, fastens the apron round its waist; and this apron is believed to represent the leaf of some Egyptian plant. But that which particularly distinguishes this *Torso*, is the curious exhibition it offers of the process used by the antient sculptors of Egypt in graving the hieroglyphical symbols; a part only of the graved work being completed, and the rest of the figures sketched, as delineations upon the stone, with great ingenuity and accuracy, preparatory to their incision. Another remarkable circum-

Curious Torso of an antient Statue.

(1) The *sacred writing* of the Calmucks is read from left to right, like our own. See Part the First of these Travels, p. 335. *Second Edit.*

(2) See p. 174, and the Plate.

circumstance, but generally characterizing the best hieroglyphical sculpture, may be distinctly observed upon this *Torso*. Although the engraved characters be all of them *intagliated*, and may be considered as *intaglios*, yet a bold convexity is perceivable within each figure, rising in relief from the inferior surface, like the workmanship of a *Caméo*[3]. There is a third point of view in which this curious fragment of the finest sculpture of Egypt is also entitled to more particular regard; not only in the University where it is now placed, but from literary men in general, and among all those who are interested in Ecclesiastical history. The very first hieroglyphical character engraven upon the back of this statue, is the CRUX ANSATA; the identical type mentioned by early writers of the Church, as having caused such a stir among Christians and Pagans, at the destruction of the Heathen temples in Alexandria[4]. From the time of Ruffinus, of Socrates, and of Sozomen, this type has occasionally exercised the ingenuity and the erudition of the most learned scholars[5]. It is seen suspended from a hook, which is fastened by its other extremity to a *globe*

Triple Hierogram with the symbol of the Cross.

(3) Johnson writes this word *Camaieu*, from *Chamachuia*; but it is now become sufficiently naturalized, under its present form, to admit of its being written according to the common mode of pronouncing the word. Nicols, in his "*Lapidary*," *chap.* xxv. *p.* 131, *(printed at Cambridge in* 1652,) wrote it both *Chamehuia*, and *Cameus*. The Editors of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia, vol.* V. *Part* I. *Edin.* 1812, have adopted the word *Caméo*.

(4) See Chap. IV. p. 107, of this volume.

(5) *Jamblichus*, in an earlier period, had endeavoured to explain it. Among the moderns, *Kircher, Jablonski*, our countryman *Dr. Shaw, De Pauw*, and others, have all written upon this subject.

CHAP. VI.

globe or *ball*, evidently intended for the *Sun*[1]. Admitting therefore the explanation of the *Crux ansata*, as given to us, upon the testimony of converted Heathens, by Ruffinus and by Socrates Scholasticus[2], and supposing the meaning of these figures to be *symbolical* in this instance rather than *literal*, we may explain the signification of this triple hieroglyphic without further conjecture; for it plainly indicates that LIFE TO COME PROCEEDS FROM, AND DEPENDS UPON, THE GIVER OF LIGHT. The Christians, says Socrates[3], perceiving that this great truth was couched under hieroglyphical signs, and that the same signs did also prognosticate the downfall of the Temple of Serapis, whenever it came to light, exulted in the discovery, and made it the ground upon which many of the Heathens were converted. After the same manner, continues the historian[4], did the Apostle St. Paul convert many of the Athenians to the faith, by using for his purpose a Heathen altar, which he found with an inscription "TO THE UNKNOWN GOD."

Having also purchased this *Torso*, and conveyed it on board the vessel, as the day was now far advanced, we prepared for our departure from Saïs; much gratified by a view of the place, and by the acquisitions we had made in so short a space of time. The Arabs expressed equal satisfaction, for the whole village assembled to accompany us as far

(1) See No. 7, of the last Plate.

(2) See Chap. IV. p. 109, of this volume.

(3) Socrates Scholasticus, lib. v. c. 17. p. 276. *Paris*, 1668.

(4) Ibid.

far as the river; the women dancing, singing, and clapping their hands; and the men playing upon reed pipes, called here *Zûmana*[5]. Many of these women wore large bracelets of ivory; and exhibited the same indecent gestures which we had noticed among the dancing girls in our visit to Saccára. They remained dancing upon the shore until we lost sight both of them and of *Sé'l Hajar*. The Nile was truly boisterous, and the rapidity of our descent rendered our loss of time of less consequence: it was like a passage of the *rapids* in some of the rivers that fall into the Gulph of Bothnia; and, towards evening, the turbulence of the waves induced our boatmen to anchor, for a short time, at the village of *Mahallet Abouali*. The wind was less violent after sun-set; and we passed Rachmanie during the night, regretting that we could not see the great Canal which supplied Alexandria with water from the river.

Mahallet Abouali.

Before daylight in the morning, September the fifth, we went to the village of *Berinbal*, to see the manner of hatching poultry, by placing their eggs in ovens, so frequently mentioned by authors, and so well described by one of our oldest travellers, George Sandys[6]. Notwithstanding this, the whole contrivance, and the trade connected with it, are accompanied by such extraordinary circumstances, that it required all the evidence of one's senses to give them credibility.

Berinbal.

We

(5) It is the same instrument which we noticed at Saccára, under the name of *Zabûna*.

(6) See "Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610," p. 125. *Lond.* 1637.

CHAP. VI.

Ovens for hatching Chickens.

We were conducted to one of the principal buildings constructed for this purpose; and entered by a narrow passage, on each side of which were two rows of chambers, in two tiers, one above the other, with cylindrical holes, as passages, from the lower to the upper tier. The floor of the upper tier is grated and covered with mats, on which is laid camel's dung; somewhat resembling the manner of placing hops, for drying, in English Oast-houses. We counted twenty chambers, and in each chamber had been placed three thousand eggs; so that the aggregate of the eggs then hatching amounted to the astonishing number of sixty thousand. Of these, above half are destroyed in the process. The time of hatching continues from autumn until spring. At first, all the eggs are put in the lower tier. The most important part of the business consists, of course, in a precise attention to the requisite temperature: this we would willingly have ascertained by the thermometer, but could not adjust it to the nice test adopted by the Arab superintendant of the ovens. His manner of ascertaining it is very curious. Having closed one of his eyes, he applies an egg to the outside of his eyelid; and if the heat be not great enough to cause any uneasy sensation, all is safe; but if he cannot bear the heat of the egg thus applied to his eye, the temperature of the ovens must be quickly diminished, or the whole batch will be destroyed[1]. During the first eight days of hatching, the eggs are kept carefully turned. At the end of that time, the culling begins. Every

(1) We may therefore suppose the temperature about equal to blood-heat, or 100° of Fahrenheit.

Every egg is then examined, being held between a lamp and the eye; and thus the good are distinguished from the bad, which are cast away. Two days after this culling, the fire is extinguished; then half the eggs upon the lower are conveyed to the upper tier, through the cylindrical passages in the floor; and the ovens are closed. In about ten days more, and sometimes twelve, the chickens are hatched. At this time a very singular ceremony ensues. An Arab enters the ovens, stooping and treading upon stones placed so that he may walk among the eggs without injuring them, and begins clucking like a hen; continuing this curious mimicry until the whole are disclosed. We heard this noise, and were equally surprised and amused by the singular adroitness of the imitation. The chickens thus hatched are then sold to persons employed in rearing them. Many are strangely deformed; and great numbers die, not only in rearing, but even during the sale; for, to add to the extraordinary nature of the whole undertaking, the proprietors of these ovens do not give themselves the trouble of counting the live chickens, in order to sell them by number, but dispose of them, as we should say, by the gallon; heaping them into a measure containing a certain quantity, for which they ask the low price of a *parah;* rather more than a farthing of our money. Four soldiers were at this time stationed at *Berinbal,* to protect the inhabitants from being pillaged by our allies, the Turks.

Tombs at Massora Shibrecki.

Near this village we noticed the superb tomb of some Santon, or Sheik, standing upon the banks of the Nile. The form of the dome, so prevalent in these buildings, seems

CHAP. VI.

seems to have been originally borrowed from the shape either of a pumpkin or of a melon; the external fluted surface, and almost the entire form of the fruit, being modelled by the architect. The custom also of surrounding a principal tomb with humbler sepulchres, as it existed in ages when the Pyramids were erected, seems, by the appearance of this cœmetery, to have been common in the country. The place is called *Massora Shibrecki.* Other travellers have observed, not only in Egypt, but also in Syria, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Damascus, a form of sepulchre precisely corresponding, though upon a smaller scale, with the graduated structure of the Pyramids; being all of them pyramidal, with decreasing ranges, of *four* or more steps, like the principal Pyramids of Saccára[1]. It is proper to mention this, because it tends to confirm what was before said of the sepulchral origin of the Pyramids; and also because this peculiarity is not observable in the cœmetery at *Massora Shibrecki,*

(1) Colonel Squire mentions this circumstance twice in his Journal; once in describing the Cœmeteries of Damascus, and a second time in his account of the Pyramids of Saccára. Speaking of the latter, he says, "To this day the inhabitants cover the spot where the body is interred with a sort of monument, which is evidently taken from the form of a pyramid. The large pyramid at Saccára is formed in four stages, and is flat at the top. Indeed all the Pyramids, although, as it is reported, they may have been cased with a smooth stone surface, are built with steps, and many of them are flat on the summit. At present, the common tombs of the inhabitants of Egypt and Syria are built in this form. In the towns, the work is masonry; in the villages, they are constructed of mud; but they retain, in either instance, a resemblance to the Pyramids in their forms. This, joined to other circumstances, seems to afford a strong proof that the Pyramids were originally intended as receptacles for the dead." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

Shibrecki, which might be supposed to exhibit the usual form of Oriental tombs. The shape here of the smaller sepulchres is rather cylindrical than pyramidal.

A little below *Berimbal*, there is a canal which extends to the Lake *Berelos*[2]: at the mouth of it we saw some birds of exquisite beauty, to which the Arabs give the name of *Sicsack*; but could learn nothing further of their history. Also a species of *Ardea*, entirely of a white colour, by some mistaken for the *Ibis*; but the bill is differently shaped, and the *Ibis* has generally, if not always, some black feathers near the tail. Hasselquist described the *Ibis* as a species of *Ardea*, of the size of a raven[3]. He says that it eats and destroys serpents[4], small frogs, and insects; that it is very common in Egypt, and almost peculiar to that country. We saw also the *Egyptian Plover*, or *Tringa Ægyptiaca* of the same author. The rest of our voyage to Rosetta was so expeditious, that we arrived there by eight o'clock in the same morning; and repaired to our former residence upon the quay. As soon as we landed, Mr. Hammer heard that Sir Sidney Smith was upon the point of sailing for England; and being unable to resist the opportunity thus offered of visiting a country he so much wished to see, he gave up the plan he had formed for an expedition to the *Oases*, and set out immediately for the British fleet. While he was employed in procuring camels for himself and his servant, we

Arrival at Rosetta.

(2) See the Map facing p. 290, in the former Volume.

(3) Hasselquist's Travels, p. 198. *Lond.* 1766.

(4) See Savigny's observation upon the anatomy of the *Ibis*, denying this property.

CHAP. VI.

we wrote a few letters of introduction for him to some of our correspondents in the University of Cambridge, and in other parts of England, and with great regret took leave of our valuable friend.

We found an evident difference of climate between this place and Grand Caïro. The dates were not yet ripe; and the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, when we made our usual observation at noon, had fallen five degrees lower than it stood at Grand Caïro only four days before; being at eighty-nine upon September the first; and this day, September the fifth, at eighty-four. The number of English women that had assembled at Rosetta from the different ships in the fleet, and were walking daily upon the strand, offered a singular contrast to the appearance exhibited by the Arab females, in their passage to and from the Nile for water, and in the markets of the town. To these were also occasionally added the women of the Indian army, now encamped near Rosetta, wearing large rings in their noses, and silver cinctures about their ankles and wrists; their faces, at the same time, being frightfully disfigured by red streaks, traced above the eyebrows. Each party of these females doubtless regarded the other two as so many savages; and who shall say which was the most refined? The town had undergone other alterations, and was much improved as a place of residence since we left it in the beginning of August. An Italian had opened a coffee-house, which was the resort of the officers both of the army and navy. A prospect of tranquillity had brought back many families, who had before deserted it: and Arabs were seen

seen in great number in the streets, selling sugar-canes, fruit, and other vegetables; and employed in making chairs, tables, and bedsteads, from the branches of the date trees[1]. We had no time to spare for any further inquiry into the history of the place, or the antiquities it might conceal[2]: yet, in spite of every exertion to prosecute our expedition to Alexandria, we were detained three days in preparing and packing cases, containing the collection we had made, and in procuring another djerm to convey them to the fleet; the boat in which we came having been pressed for the service of the army as soon as it arrived.

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(1) Rosetta was again become an emporium for the surprising harvest of Upper as well as of Lower Egypt. Mr. Wills, acting as Commissary for our fleet, to whom we were indebted for many acts of civility, at this time received an order for corn, to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds sterling. This gentleman informed us, and said he was convinced of the truth of the statement, that Upper Egypt could annually supply five millions of Caïro *ardepts* of wheat; each *ardept* being equal to *five bushels* of our measure; besides a great supply of barley and rice, the precise quantity of which he was unable to ascertain.

(2) Captain Squire arrived at Rosetta in the evening of the same day on which we left it. The following remarks occur in his Journal. "The town of *Rosetta*, or *Raschid* as it is called by the Arabs, was built in the year of Christ 875; and is now in a very ruinous state: the houses, which are built of burned brick, are high; and the streets, as in all Turkish towns, narrow. At this time it is but thinly inhabited, although trade (now the ports of Egypt are relieved from a blockade) seems about to revive: the shops are well stocked with provisions of all kinds. Wild fowl may be had in abundance. It may easily be conceived that the eye would revel in a prospect so refreshing as the Delta, (after contemplating the sandy deserts of Aboukir, and the neighbourhood of Alexandria,) forming so delightful a contrast by its verdure and cultivation. Of late years, the desert has encroached, even here, considerably on the town; and the west side of Rosetta is completely skirted by sand hills." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

CHAP.

OBELISK of CLEOPATRA.

from Denon.

CHAP. VII.

ROSETTA TO ALEXANDRIA.

Voyage to Aboukir—Visit to Lord Keith—Journey to Alexandria—Arrival at the British camp—Communication with Lord Hutchinson—Entrance into the French garrison—Wretched state of the inhabitants—Visit from a party of Merchants—Discovery of the Tomb of Alexander—*Circumstances of its removal by the French—Its situation upon the author's arrival—Internal evidence of its authenticity—Other antiquities collected by the French—Cleopatra's Needles*—Pompey's Pillar—*Discovery of the Inscription—Sepulchral origin of the Column—Manner of its support—Proof that it was erected by the Romans—Restoration of the legend upon the pedestal—Events that occurred after the death of Pompey—Shrine constructed by Cæsar—Testimony of the Arabian Historians—Hadrian's monument to his horse—Traditionary name of the Pillar founded on historical evidence—Interview with Menou—Surrender of the Rosetta Tablet—Intercourse between the armies—French Institute—Catacombs of Necropolis*—Serapeum *of* Racotis—*Of* Hades *and of* Ammon—

Cause

Cause of such elaborate sepulchres—Descent into the Cryptæ—*Remarkable Symbol—Imperfect accounts of the Alexandrian Antiquities—Conduct of the Capudan Pasha.*

CHAP. VII.

Voyage to Aboukir.

EARLY on the morning of September the eighth, we got once more under weigh, in a large djerm, having all our Egyptian collection of antiquities on board; and saw the beautiful prospect of Rosetta disappear, as we sailed between the Isle of *Sarshes*[1] and the Delta. We had little wind, but it was favourable; and as we passed the fearful bar at the mouth of the Nile, there was not the smallest surf. A small isle at the entrance of the river was entirely covered with pelicans. About half way between the *boccaze* and the fleet, we observed a salute from all the Turkish ships at anchor; in honour, as it was said, of some Mahometan festival. The mud of the immense torrent now pouring into the Mediterranean, at the highest period of the Nile's inundation, extended over the surface of this part of the sea; and the water tasted fresh at a considerable distance from the embouchure. As Captain Clarke's frigate no longer remained among the transports, we steered our vessel among the merchant ships lying nearer to the coast towards Aboukir, and came alongside the *Felicité* from Smyrna, laden with stores. Here we were hospitably received by our friend Mr. Schutz, of that city, who was on board, as supercargo, and by a worthy Ragusan who was master of the merchantman.

The

(1) See the Map facing p. 290 of the former Volume.

CHAP. VII.

Visit to Lord Keith.

The next morning, Wednesday September the ninth, we waited upon Lord Keith, to thank him for the civilities he had shewn us, and to take our leave. He told us that no vessels would be permitted to sail into the port of Alexandria, until the French had evacuated the city, and the magazines been properly secured by our army; as he knew that there were not less than fifty or sixty ships, manned by Greeks and Turks, waiting for the sole purpose of plunder. We could not therefore obtain permission for the *Felicité* to take us thither; and we returned, to undertake the journey by land. A contrary wind, with a very heavy sea, had caused so much delay, and had given us so much labour in working up to the Admiral's ship, that we did not get back again until the day was far advanced. We passed that night upon the deck of the *Felicité;* the cabin swarming to such a degree with bugs, that the table, during dinner, was covered with them.

Arrival at the British Camp.

We set out very early, September the tenth, accompanied by Mr. Schutz, and reached the British camp by day-break. The Commander-in-chief was on horseback, inspecting the lines. We waited in his tent until he returned, when he received us with his usual condescension and kindness. He told us that our friend Mr. Hamilton had also reached the camp that morning, and had been furnished with a passport to enter Alexandria. The capitulation for the surrender of that city had been protracted by the contumacy of the French General, Menou, who was unwilling to deliver up the Antiquities demanded by the English; and his reluctance, in this respect, was considerably augmented by observing the increasing nature of those demands: for as

the

the French had carefully concealed what they possessed, fresh intelligence continually came to Lord Hutchinson concerning the acquisitions they had made, and gave rise to some new exaction on the part of our army. Thus finding himself likely to be stripped of all the Egyptian trophies with which he had prepared to adorn the Museum at Paris, Menou gave no bounds to his rage and mortification. Sometimes he threatened to bury himself and his troops in the ruins of Alexandria, sooner than accede to the proposals he had received; at other times he had recourse to the most ridiculous gasconade, and threatened to meet Lord Hutchinson in single combat. The valuable Tablet found near Rosetta, with its famous trilinguar inscription, seemed to be more than any other article the subject of his remonstrances; because this, he maintained, was "his private property; and therefore as exempt from requisition as the linen of his wardrobe, or his embroidered saddles[1]." We then ventured to inform his Lordship, that we had reason to believe there was something concealed in Alexandria for the possession of which the French were more anxious than even for this Tablet: and making known to him the nature of our errand, received his orders to set out instantly for Alexandria; and endeavour to discover, not only where the particular monument was hid to which we alluded, but also whatsoever other antiquities the French might have secreted in the city. He gave us also authority from himself to receive the Rosetta Tablet,

(1) These were nearly Menou's own words, as they are given in the sequel.

CHAP. VII.

Tablet, and to copy its inscriptions; fearful lest any accident might befal it, either while it remained in the possession of the enemy, or in its passage home. His Lordship had already obtained an impression from the stone, made with red chalk, upon paper, by some member of the French Institute; but the characters so impressed were too imperfectly marked to afford a faithful representation of the original: this he consigned to our care, as likely to assist us in the undertaking. While we were thus engaged in receiving his Lordship's instructions, Colonel Montresor came in, and undertook to procure for us the horses and forage which Lord Hutchinson had ordered. Having then given us a passport for quitting the English lines and entering the city, we were conducted to the tent of Colonel Probyn, of the Royal Irish; and in a short time Colonel Montresor, from whom we had often before experienced the most friendly attentions, arrived with horses and every thing necessary for our conveyance.

Thus provided, we left the British camp, and, crossing the valley which separated the two armies, drew near to the outworks of Alexandria. Our sentinels, being then advanced close to the fortifications of the place, challenged us; and having given them the word, we were suffered to pass on. As we approached the gates of the city, we saw a vast number of Arabs, who were stationed on the outside of the walls, with baskets of poultry and other provisions, waiting for permission from the English to supply the inhabitants; who were then greatly distressed for want of food. At the gates, a French sentinel received our passport, and conducted us to

an

Entrance into the French Garrison.

an officer for its examination; who directed us to present it again, when we should arrive at head-quarters within the city. In the desolate scene of sand and ruins which intervenes between the outer gates and the interior fortifications, we met a party of miserable Turks, who were endeavouring, literally, to crawl towards their camp[1]. They had been liberated that morning from their dungeons. The legs of these poor creatures, swoln to a size that was truly horrible, were covered with large ulcers; and their eyes were terrible from inflammation. Some, too weak to advance, had fallen on the sand, where they were exposed to the scorching beams of the sun. Immediately on seeing us, they uttered such moans that might have pierced the hearts of their cruel oppressors. They begged for water, but we had none to give them; for, eager in the pursuit of our object, we had neglected to supply ourselves with provisions. We succeeded, but not without difficulty, in prevailing upon some Arabs to take care of them until relief could be obtained[2]; and at eleven o'clock, A. M. we passed, through the inner gates, into the great square of Alexandria.

Wretched state of the inhabitants of Alexandria.

We found the inhabitants in the greatest distress for want of provisions: many of them had not tasted meat or bread for several months. The French, who were better supplied for some time, were now driven to such straits, that they

(1) Some repetition will perhaps be noticed of observations made in a former work (*Tomb of Alexander*, p. 38.); but the author did not consider any thing which occurred in a preceding publication as authorizing the omission of a part of his Journal upon the present occasion.

(2) We had afterwards the happiness of hearing that they reached the Turkish camp.

CHAP. VII.

they had put to death fifteen horses every day, for many days past, to supply their own soldiers with food. The families, to whom we had brought letters, were in a state of misery hardly to be described. We first went to the house of the Imperial Consul. They asked us eagerly when the English were to enter the city: and being told that some days would elapse before this could take place, they burst into tears. Every individual beneath the Consul's roof exhibited proof of the privation which his family had sustained: fallen cheeks; clothes hanging loose, as if too large for their bodies; and a general appearance of wretchedness and dejection. The Consul said, that his family had tasted neither bread nor meat for many months: that their principal food had been bad rice and onions. Upon the landing of our army, most of the inhabitants were under the necessity of making biscuit for the support of their families; but as soon as this was known to Menou, he ordered the whole of it to be seized, for the use of the garrison. When we inquired what other measures the French had adopted to maintain themselves, we were informed, that they had seized all the specie, plate, and merchandize in the city; and given, in lieu thereof, bills upon their *one and indivisible* Republic; thus having the means of buying up, at enormous prices, whatever article of food might be brought in by the Arabs, or appear in the markets of the place[1].

If

(1) The following prices were given, upon the day of our arrival, for provisions, which of course the merchants were precluded from buying, as they had been stripped of every thing likely to be accepted in exchange.

For

If the capitulation had been prolonged another fortnight, every merchant's family would have been found destitute even of clothing; for, every fortnight, additional exactions were made by the troops; and already every thing else had been seized. It was calculated that of the Turks, then prisoners in the city, upwards of forty perished daily. The French had carried their cruelty to these men to the severest extremities; making them work, like horses, at their mills, and in drawing water. All the male inhabitants had been compelled to assist in the duties of the garrison, and to bear arms, upon pain of imprisonment if they refused; a species of oppression, however, which might have been expected from any troops similarly situated; neither would it be proper to judge of Frenchmen in general by the sample which their army in Egypt afforded; collected as it had been, from the refuse not only of the French republic, but of all the rovers and banditti of the Levant. So desirous were the French soldiers of abandoning Alexandria, notwithstanding the obstinacy of their General Menou, whom they detested, that they had been seen to seize Arabs by the beard, who arrived by stealth with provisions, and

	L.	*s.*	*d.*	*English.*
For one pound of beef . . .	0	10	0	
One bottle of wine . . .	1	0	0	
One ditto of brandy	1	10	0	
One pound of bad rice . .	0	1	0	
One ditto of cheese . . .	0	9	0	
A fish (the size of a mackarel)	0	5	0	
One egg	0	0	8	

Neither bread nor wood could be obtained at any price: the French soldiers were then employed in pulling down the houses of the inhabitants for fuel.

CHAP. VII.

and beat them, in order that supplies of food might not be the means of protracting the surrender of the place.

We had scarcely reached the house in which we were to reside, when a party of the merchants, who had heard of our arrival from the Imperial Consul, came to congratulate us upon the successes of our army, and to offer any assistance in their power, for expediting the entry of the English into Alexandria. Some of these waited until the room was cleared of other visitants, brought by curiosity, before whom they did not think proper to make further communication. But when they were gone, speaking with circumspection, and in a low voice, they asked if our business in Alexandria related to the subject of contention between Lord Hutchinson and Menou; namely, the Antiquities collected by the French in Egypt? Upon being answered in the affirmative, and, in proof of it, the copy of the Rosetta Stone being produced, the principal person among them said, "Does your Commander-in-chief know that they have *the Tomb of Alexander?*" We desired them to describe it: upon which they said, that it was of one entire and *beautiful green stone*[1], shaped like a cistern, and taken from the Mosque of St. Athanasius; that, among the inhabitants, this cistern had always borne the appellation of *Alexander's Tomb.* Upon further conversation, it was evident that this could be no other than the identical monument to which our instructions from Caïro referred. We produced the confidential letter entrusted to us

Discovery of the *Tomb of Alexander.*

(1) The fact is, that the stone, being a mass of *breccia,* is variegated; and parts of it only are of a *green colour.*

us upon this subject. The person to whom it was written was not present; but they offered to conduct us to his house. We had hitherto carefully concealed the circumstance of its being in our possession; and, for obvious reasons, we shall not mention, even now, the name of the individual to whom it was addressed. "It relates then," said they, "to the particular object of our present visit; and we will put it in your power to get possession of it." They then related the unjustifiable measures used for its removal by the French, upon whom they bestowed every degrading epithet which their indignation could suggest; telling us also the veneration in which the Mahometans had always held it, and the tradition familiar to all of them respecting its origin. Indeed this had been so long established, that one wonders it had been so little noticed among the enlightened seminaries of Europe[2]. Leo Africanus, long subsequent to the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens, had recorded the tradition[3]; and Freinshemius, in his Supplement to Livy, had admitted the authority of Leo[4]. That it should particularly excite the attention of Frenchmen is easily explained. Their own countryman, Rollin, had directed their regard towards it, by countenancing the opinion and testimony of Freinshemius[5].

So

(2) Many were misled by the words of Juvenal:

"Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem
"*Sarcophago* contentus erit."———

supposing the allusion to be intended, rather for *Babylon*, than for *Alexandria*, where Juvenal had himself visited the Tomb.

(3) Alexandriæ Descript. tom. II. lib. 8. p. 677. *Elzev.* 1632.

(4) Lib. 133. tom. V. p. 637. edit. *Crevier.*

(5) Rollin. vol. V. p. 137.

CHAP. VII.

So eager were they to obtain it, that the most solemn treaty was infringed, whereby they had guaranteed to the Moslems the inviolable possession of their sanctuaries. The Mosque of St. Athanasius was forcibly entered by a party of their pioneers, with battle-axes and hammers; and the "*Tomb of Iscander, founder of the city,*" was borne away, amidst the howling and lamentation of its votaries[1]. But we must turn our attention, at present, from the circumstances of its removal by the French, to pursue a narrative of events which ultimately placed in our possession a trophy, still destined, in their sanguine expectations, to grace their national Museum[2]. At the moment of our arrival in the city, not a single individual of our army or navy, nor even in Great Britain, knew that the monument at which Leo Africanus had himself done homage, as a Mahometan, and which had so long been venerated by Moslems under the remarkable appellation of the Tomb of Alexander, existed in Alexandria[3].

We

(1) See also the communication made to Dr. Henley, by General Turner, respecting the last instance of devotion paid to the Tomb by many Moslems of distinction, at its departure from Alexandria. *Append. to Tomb of Alex.* No. II. p. 144.

(2) Perhaps few of our countrymen have yet attended to the language they hold upon this subject. The following extract from an account of the French Expedition to Egypt, by Charles Norry, architect, one of the members of the "*Société Philotechnique,*" attached to the Expedition, will offer a specimen of the hopes entertained in France for the recovery of this valuable monument. "SANS DOUTE CE MONUMENT NOUS SERA APPORTE AU MUSEUM DE PARIS! AU MOINS EST-IL DEJA DESIGNÉ POUR L'ORNER UN JOUR"!!! See *Peltier's edit. of Denon's Voyage in Egypt, tom.* II. *Append. p.* 129. *Lond.* 1802.

(3) This is evident, from the total silence respecting it in all the works published concerning Egypt since the campaign; neither was there any thing known concerning the history of this monument after it was deposited in the British Museum, until the period of the author's publication upon the subject in 1805.

We then visited the person to whom our letter from Caïro had been addressed, respecting the communication to be made upon our arrival; and found that every information had been anticipated by the intelligence we had already received, excepting that which related to the place where this valuable relique was now deposited. This, however, they readily gave us. We were told that it was in the hold of an hospital ship, named *La Cause*, in the inner harbour; and being provided with a boat, we there found it, half filled with filth, and covered with rags of the sick people on board[4]. It proved to be an immense monolithal *Sarcophagus*, or, according to the name borrowed by the Greeks from the antient language of Egypt, a *Soros*[5]; converted, in ages long posterior to its formation, into a cistern, according to a custom which has been universal in the East, wherever such receptacles for the dead have been discovered. The nature of the stone, and the testimonies concerning its history, have been already before the public[6]: some repetition has therefore now occurred; but to repeat the whole of a detail which was then unavoidably elaborate, would be considered not only as tedious, but altogether

(4) Mr. Hamilton afterwards saw it in the same situation. "We were conducted," says he, "alongside of a large hospital ship, on board of which was the celebrated Alexandrian Sarcophagus: it had been for several months in the hold, and was intended to be sent to France the first opportunity. This monument was resigned to us not without much regret, as it had long been considered one of the most valuable curiosities in Alexandria." *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p.* 403. *Lond.* 1809.

(5) See Jablonski, Bochart, Kircher, &c.

(6) See "*The Tomb of Alexander*," as published by the author in 1805.

CHAP. VII.

altogether as a work of supererogation. The *Soros* is now placed where it is open to the inspection of any one who may deem it to be an object of curiosity. All that the author wishes to insist upon, as conveying indisputable evidence, is, the corresponding testimony afforded by the remarkable nature of the receptacle, with the tradition mentioned by Leo Africanus, and preserved among the Moslems to the hour of its removal[1]: a species of evidence which may fairly be deemed *internal*; because it is impossible that a set of ignorant barbarians could be aware that the object of their veneration was, in fact, that particular species of conditory, which Herodian, speaking of the Tomb of Alexander, has designated by the term *Soros*; still less that the same *Soros*, inscribed with the *sacred writing* of the

(1) The Arabs retain both the name and the æra of Alexander in their calendars; calling him, always, ذو القرنين *bicornis;* and Golius explains the true cause of this appellation. "Arabes eum *Bicornem* vocant, non tam ob partum Orientis et Occidentis imperium, quam *à cornutâ Alexandri effigie, nummis exhibitâ,* ut Jovis Ammonis filius agnosceretur." (*Vid. Annot. in lib.* ii. *Sulpit. Sever. c.* 25. *p.* 343. *Edit. Horn. L. Bat.* 1654.) The image of Alexander, so expressed, appears upon the medals of Lysimachus, and was common to many States after his death, although it is always falsely considered as the head of some other person. His image also appears very commonly covered with the spoils of a lion; when it is improperly considered as *a young Hercules*: sometimes also it is seen armed with a helmet, and then it is confounded with the figures of *Minerva.* Le Brun has been censured and ridiculed for introducing what has been called *a head of Minerva,* upon the figure of Alexander, in his celebrated paintings of his battles; whereas it is, in all probability, a genuine portrait of that hero. Alexander is thus alluded to in the Tailor's Story before the Sultan of Casgar, in the Arabian Tales. "Sir," said he, "you will be pleased to know that this day is Friday, the 18th of the month Saffar, in the year 653 from the retreat of our great Prophet from Mecca to Medina, and in the year 7320 of THE EPOCHA OF THE GREAT ISKENDER WITH TWO HORNS."

the priests, is thereby demonstrably the tomb of some person deified by the Egyptians, as Alexander incontestably was after his interment[2].

In the evening of the same day, about five o'clock, we waited upon Monsieur Le Roy, *Ordonnateur de la Marine*, in consequence of receiving, by Menou's Aid-de-Camp, an order from the French General to see the other antiquities their army had collected to send to France, and which they had been compelled to surrender. This gentleman treated us with great politeness, and conducted us to some magazines near the old port: here many of the reliques were then deposited which are now in our national Museum. A Soros, brought from Grand Caïro, was upon the beach near those magazines, together with part of another from Upper Egypt, ready to be shipped off, as soon as an opportunity might offer. Near to these was also placed a granite fragment, being the hand of a colossal statue discovered by the French engineers upon the site of antient Memphis[3], and supposed to have belonged to the Temple of Vulcan[4]. Another fragment, exactly similar to

(2) See *Lucian, vol.* I. *p.* 290. *edit. Amstelod. Blaeu.* Marcus Aurelius Alexander Severus was born in a *temple sacred to Alexander the Great*, and thence received the name of *Alexander*. See also the various proofs of *Alexander's deification* adduced in the *Tomb of Alexander, Camb.* 1805; and the additional evidence of the fact, as published by Dr. Henley, in the Appendix to that work.—"Ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω θεός. Quandoquidem Alexander vult esse Deus, esto Deus." *Ælian. lib.* Ii. *Var. Hist. cap.* 19.—See also *Vossius, de Cultu Alexandri Magni, tom.* II. *cap.* 17. *p.* 802. *Amst.* 1642, *&c.*

(3) Where the villages of *Metrahenny* and *Mohannan* are now situated.

(4) The reader will find this Colossus mentioned in the "*Rapport fait au Premier Consul Bonaparte, par le Citoyen Ripaud*," in the Appendix to Peltier's edit. of *Denon's*

CHAP. VII.

to this, is yet lying among some Ruins upon the shore to the east of Alexandria, believed by the French to denote the site of Canopus[1]. An intentional reserve has been carefully maintained by their writers, upon the subject of all the antiquities that came into our possession: on this account the places where some of them were discovered are still unknown in this country. We saw also three large *Syenite* statues, each in a sitting attitude, holding the *Crux Ansata* in the left hand: these were representations of the twofold symbol worshipped by the Egyptians with a lion's head[2]. The largest statues of this form are those of *Thebes*, about four hundred miles to the south of Caïro[3], one of which has been commonly called *Memnon's Statue*. From the drawings made of those figures by Denon[4], it is plain that neither of them were represented with human heads; but that they corresponded with the double image of a human figure with a lion's head, common among the antiquities of Egypt; the nose and under-jaw of the leonine bust belonging to each of them having fallen off, but the rest of the

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Travels in Egypt, tom. II. *p.* 38. *Lond.* 1802. but without any specific description. Its dimensions alone are stated — "*Un Colosse d'environ trente-cinq pieds de proportion.*"

(1) It is represented, with part of a Sphinx, and other broken pieces of sculpture, in one of the plates belonging to the large Paris edition of Denon's Travels. *See tom.* II. *Plate* 3. "*Ruines de Canope.*"

(2) See the Plate representing Antiquities found at Saccára.

(3) According to Norden, 405 miles, who makes the distance equal to 135 French leagues. *See Drawings of some Ruins, &c. published by the Royal Society in* 1741. *p.* 9.

(4) See Plate 44 of the large Paris edition of the *Voyage en Egypte par Vivant Denon.*

the head being similar to that which appeared upon the statues here shewn to us by Monsieur Le Roy, and since removed to our national Museum[5]. This is so evident, that it is remarkable none of the travellers who have visited Thebes have paid attention to the fact. They were perhaps misled, by expecting to find the image of a human form, as belonging to the supposed statue of Memnon. Indeed Norden, in the design he made upon the spot, as appears by the etching he afterwards engraved from it[6], has attempted a faint delineation of the human countenance, by introducing an imperfect restoration of the features, as they were suggested to his imagination by the appearance of the stone. Pococke used still greater freedom[7]; but Denon accurately delineated the figures as he found them. According to his plate, there is not the smallest trace left of any human countenance; and the back of the head, in each statue, agrees with those figures which have the leonine bust. Strabo, who was himself at Thebes, and mentions these colossal statues, does not say that either of them was a statue of *Memnon;* but that they were near the *Memnonium;* and that a sound issued every day from one of them[8].

Within

(5) See also the Plate of the Antiquities found at Saccára, as before referred to.

(6) See Norden's Etchings, tab. I. as before cited. *Lond.* 1741.

(7) Pococke's Observations upon Egypt.

(8) *Strabon. Geogr. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1155. *Ed. Oxon.* The observation of Strabo may remove the difficulty that has always attended any endeavour to reconcile the statue from which the sound issued with that of an actual statue of Memnon; *Memnonis saxea effigies,* as mentioned by Tacitus. The persons who heard the sound might attribute that sound to Memnon, without considering the statue to be his statue.

CHAP. VII.

Within the magazine we saw many other antiquities; particularly the head of a colossal image of the *Ram*, or of AMMON, whose name and worship, derived from Æthiopia[1], became a source of the most absurd and fabulous history among the Greeks[2]. Also, two oblong slabs of stone, adorned with hieroglyphical sculpture, together with an Egyptian coffin of stone, adapted to the human form; and the fragment of a Soros, both brought from Upper Egypt. Also other antiquities, the description of which might afford very pleasing employment: but a volume, rather than a chapter, would be required for the undertaking; and all these reliques are now under the guardianship of scholars amply qualified to satisfy the public curiosity concerning their history. At the house of General Friant, we were afterwards shewn two statues of white marble; one of Marcus Aurelius, and the other of Septimius Severus, which are also now in England.

The

(1) See *Vossius de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib.* ii. *c.* 11. *Amst.* 1642. *Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. Synt.* 3. *cap.* 6. *Rom.* 1652. *Pauw Philos. Diss. part.* iii. *sect.* 7. *Lond.* 1795, &c. &c. The reader may also consult *Diodorus*, and the *Æthiopica of Heliodorus*. Kircher has cited a very remarkable communication, made to him by an Abyssinian, upon this curious subject, which he has thus translated into Latin. "*Quoniam à me petiisti tibi dicere aliquid de Diis Æthiopum. Noveris quòd patres nostri cum Gentilibus et Paganis passim commiscerentur, inceperunt discere opera eorum; et fecerunt sibi Deos privatos, et adoraverunt eos, sculpturam manu hominis perfectam. . . . . Et ego adhuc multa in Æthiopia in Barnagasch hujusmodi vidi; erant autem magnâ ex parte referentia caput Leonis et Arietis; nomen eorum,* Amuna."

(2) "Planè ridiculum est, velle *Ammonis* nomen petere à Græcis: cùm Ægyptii ipsi Ἀμοῦν appellent, teste etiam Herodoto." *Vossius de Orig. &c. Idolat. lib.* ii. *c.* 11. *tom.* I. *p.* 362. *Amst.* 1642. The name of the Supreme Being among the Brahmins of India is the first syllable only of this word, pronounced ÂM.

Cleopatra's Needles.

The next morning, September the eleventh, another French officer attended us, in company with Mr. Hamilton, to the Obelisks, commonly called *Cleopatra's Needles*. One alone is now standing; the other, lying down, measures seven feet square at the base, and sixty-six feet in length. They are so well known, that it is not necessary to give a very particular description of them[3]. They are covered with hieroglyphics, cut to the depth of two inches into the stone, which consists of red granite; but, owing to a partial decomposition of the feldspar, its red colour has faded towards the surface. A similar decomposition has frequently hastened the decay of other antient monuments; and it offers proof of a fact worthy the notice of persons employed in national architecture; namely, that granite is less calculated for works of duration, than pure homogeneous marble, or common limestone. The action of the atmosphere conduces to the hardness and durability of the two latter; but it never fails to corrode

(3) After the English were in possession of Alexandria, a subscription was opened among the officers of the army and navy, for the purpose of removing the cumbent Obelisk to Great Britain. With the money thus raised they purchased one of the vessels that Menou had sunk in the old port of Alexandria; this they raised, and prepared for its reception. The work went on rapidly; the Obelisk was turned, and its lower surface was found to be in a high state of preservation. It was then moved, by means of machinery constructed for the purpose, towards the vessel prepared to receive it. Lord Cavan presided in this undertaking. A naval officer, who was present upon the occasion, brought over to England the plans projected for conveying this splendid trophy of the success of our arms to the Metropolis of this country; and there is every reason to believe the design would have been accomplished. Its interruption took place in consequence of an order preventing the sailors from assisting at the work.

CHAP. VII.

corrode and to decompose substances where feldspar is a constituent. Examples may be adduced of marble, after continual exposure to air and moisture during two thousand years, still retaining the original polish upon its surface unaltered; but granite, under similar circumstances, has not only undergone alteration, but, in certain cases, has crumbled, and fallen into the form of gravel, owing to the decomposition of the feldspar. Instances of such disintegration may be noticed among the ruins of Alexandria Troas, and over all the district of Troas in general. Some of the granite columns used by the Turks in the fabrication of their cannon-balls have been found in such a state of decomposition, that, although sufficiently compact to admit of their receiving a spheroïdal form, yet, when fired at our ships, the substance shivered, and flew about in small pieces, like canister shot, proving a very destructive species of ammunition[1].

Pompey's Pillar.

We were now desirous of visiting the stupendous Column so long distinguished by the appellation of "*Pompey's Pillar.*" It is visible from almost every spot in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The Inscription upon its pedestal (containing, as many have believed, the name of the Emperor *Diocletian*) was not then known to exist, although it had been mentioned by the Consul Maillet[2], and after him by Pococke[3].

The

(1) The author has specimens of this decomposed Granite, which the Turks employed against our fleet, during its passage of the Dardanelles, under Admiral Duckworth. The Feldspar has entirely lost its colour; and the mass is become friable, like loosely cohering Breccia.

(2) Descr. de L'Egypte, tome I. p. 180. *à la Haye*, 1740.

(3) Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 8. *Lond.* 1748.

The circumstances of our visit may therefore be deemed curious; as Mr. Hamilton was one of our party, who afterwards assisted in the development of this important record, and who himself discovered the name, believed to be that of *Diocletian*, soon after the Inscription was again recognised[4]. When we had gratified our curiosity by a general survey of this surprising monument, and had gazed for some time in utter astonishment at the sight of a column of granite, whose *shaft* alone, of one entire mass, with a diameter of eight feet, measures sixty-three in height[5], Mr. Hamilton expressed a wish to find something remaining of the Inscription mentioned by Pococke. In search of this, we examined the four sides of the *pedestal:* the western side seemed to be corroded, as many authors have described it to be; but not a trace of any existing inscription could be discerned. The author wishes to lay some stress upon this singular fact, that due merit may be attributed to those who have since so remarkably recovered the characters of that Inscription; after it had also baffled every research of the French during their long residence in the country, as their own writers do acknowledge[6]. Mr. Hamilton, who participated

(4) Mr. Hamilton communicated this circumstance in a Letter to the author.

(5) The height of the whole column, including the capital, shaft, and pedestal, is eighty-eight feet, six inches, as measured by the French engineers.

(6) See particularly the "*Rapport par Charles Norry*," in the Appendix to Peltier's edition of Denon's Travels, (*Lond.* 1802.) as it was read before the Institute. "It is greatly to be regretted," says Norry, "that an inscription formerly placed on one of the sides of the pedestal should be no longer legible."

CHAP. VII.

participated the labour, has since published an account of the transaction: but the person to whom the literary world has been exclusively indebted for *first* making known the actual existence of the Inscription, after its supposed disappearance, has never yet been mentioned as the discoverer of it, in any of the publications that have appeared upon the subject. At the time of our visit, it was considered not merely as illegible, but altogether as lost; neither Mr. Hamilton, nor the author, nor any other individual of our party, being able to discern even the part of the pedestal where it had been inscribed.• This may serve to explain the difficulty which afterwards attended its recovery, when a whole day was frequently required for the purpose of obtaining a single letter. Mr. Hamilton arrived in Alexandria, as it has been related by him[1], after the Inscription had been found, and the undertaking for copying it had been begun. He himself assisted in making a *fac-simile* of it; and it was he, as was before stated, who observed the letters which are now believed to complete the name of the Emperor Diocletian. There is indeed good reason to conjecture that *Diocletian's* name is mentioned in that Inscription; but it by no means necessarily follows that the pillar was erected by him; and some reasons will be given in the sequel to shew that the legend admits of a different, although a doubtful, reading. At present, in justice to the memory of a distinguished, but now lamented officer, it is necessary to prove

(1) Ægyptiaca, p. 403. *Lond.* 1809.

prove that all the information afforded by the Inscription itself would have been consigned to everlasting oblivion, but for the important discovery made by the late Lieutenant-colonel Squire of some remaining characters upon the pedestal, while Mr. Hamilton, and his companion, Major Leake, were in Upper Egypt[2]. Therefore, whatsoever may be the nature of the intelligence derived from any subsequent examination of those characters, it will be due in the first place to the individual, who made known the circumstance of their existence; for not only the Members of the French Institute, but all who were with our army in Egypt, and almost every traveller

(2) This circumstance is mentioned in a Letter to his Brother, in the following words: "I believe the Paper presented to the Antiquarian Society contains the *best* history of the discovery of the Alexandrian Inscription" (*alluding to the misrepresentations published upon the subject by Colonel Walsh and Sir R. Wilson*). "I wish not to be brought forward in any literary dispute; but the fact is, that most of the letters were discovered by me while Messrs. Hamilton and Leake were in Upper Egypt. I had seen the same Inscription in Pococke's Travels before, and knew of its existence from that book." The next Extract is taken from a former Letter written by Colonel Squire to his Brother, from Alexandria: it relates to his discovery of the Inscription; and is dated *Alexandria, Christmas Day*, 1801. "Here let me remark," says Colonel Squire, "that it is not impossible but that part of the Inscription on the great pillar may be read: Π and Ο are legible enough; and by other remains of characters, *I can plainly perceive that the Inscription consisted of four lines, in Greek. With sulphur, an impression of these characters might be taken*, and perhaps something satisfactory discovered. *Before we quit the country, I will certainly endeavour to make the experiment.*"

The public will therefore perceive that all idea of attempting the discovery is due to Colonel Squire; that *he* had the greatest share in its execution, and that even the device of the *sulphur* is due to *him*. The Consul Maillet, about fifty years before, had recommended *wax* for the same purpose: "*Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'au bas de son fût, du côté de l'ouest, ou trouve une inscription Grecque, dont je ne crois pas qu'on ait encore tiré de copie. . . . . Le seul moyen de l'avoir, seroit, à mon avis, d'en prendre l'empreinte sur de la cire molle.*" Déscription de l'Egypte, tom. I. p. 180. *à la Haye*, 1740.

CHAP. VII.

traveller who has visited Alexandria since the time of Pococke, did consider the Inscription as being entirely lost.

As for the Column itself, the *shaft* is of much earlier antiquity than either the *capital* or the *pedestal*. A similar *shaft*, of the same kind of granite, and nearly of equal magnitude, has been already described[1] among the ruins of another city, built also by the founder of Alexandria; remaining, like this, alone, without any contiguous architecture serving to prove that a pillar of such vast dimensions belonged to any temple, colonnade, or other edifice of the antient city. It was before suggested, in the account given of that remarkable relique, that each of these columns may have supported a statue: but this notion of the use of a single pillar is not found to be warranted by any evidence on which we can rely. It is certain that some conspicuous relique was placed upon the *capital* of the Alexandrian Column; a *circular cavity* having been there discovered, proving that there was formerly a projection for its support[2]. A question then naturally arises; Whether the antient inhabitants of Asia Minor, of Egypt, and of Greece, were accustomed to use *pillars* for other purposes than

(1) See Section the First, Chap. VI. of Part II. of these Travels.

(2) Norry describes a *circular cavity*, two inches deep, upon the summit; "which," says he, "gives reason to suppose that there has formerly been a projection on the top for supporting *a statue*; but this is merely conjecture." (*See "Rapport," &c. as before cited.*) However, we have reason for more than conjecture upon this subject, as will be manifest in the sequel; not indeed that *a statue* was here placed, whose pedestal would hardly have been *circular*; but a *cinerary urn*, for the *foot* of which a circular cavity is peculiarly suitable.

than those of architecture? This question may be decidedly answered in the affirmative. The *Stélæ* of the Antients had precisely the form of the shaft of this Column; although no instance has yet been observed of a *sepulchral pillar* of such magnitude. Indeed, until lately, the *Stélæ* themselves had been remarkably overlooked: they were as so many stumbling-blocks to antiquaries; and nothing puzzled literary travellers more than the numerous examples of small pillars of granite, porphyry, and marble, scattered over the shores of the Ægean Sea: these were found generally in the vicinity of tombs, or near to the walls of cities where tombs were situated; being always insulated, and generally without capitals or pedestals. The Turks, imitating the customs of their predecessors, have introduced them into their cemeteries. Now and then a modern structure exhibits several *stélæ* of different sizes, collected together, and made to serve as props for the building: in such instances, *capitals* and *pedestals*, in barbarous taste, and of various materials, have been added to them. Remains of this kind may be discerned in some of the edifices erected in the lower ages of the Roman Empire. Possibly, then, this pillar, stupendous as it is, was erected upon some memorable occasion, as a *sepulchral monument*. A few observations will soon shew whether this *possible* illustration of its origin be also *probable*: nay more; whether we have not strong presumptive evidence to prove, that a monument of this form was actually erected in this place, and for the purpose of a *stélé* or *sepulchral pillar*.

After a vain search for the Inscription, we observed that the

CHAP. VII.

the pedestal itself did not rest upon the sand; but that, by removing some of this, we might get beneath it, and examine the manner of its support. Here, to our surprise, we found that the whole of this immense pile, consisting of three parts, pedestal, shaft, and capital, was sustained upon a small prop of stone, about four feet square, exactly as it is described by Paul Lucas[1], although positively contradicted by Norden[2]. Around this central base, but in very irregular positions, had been placed other masses, the sepulchral fragments of antient Egyptian monuments, which did not appear to contribute to the support of the Column, but to have been brought there for the purpose of maintaining the prop in its adjusted situation until the pedestal could be raised upon it. The prop itself consists of a mass of that beautiful kind of *breccia*, called, peculiarly, *Egyptian*. The four sides of it are inscribed with hieroglyphic figures[3]; but the position of these figures shews that the prop has its original base uppermost, for they appear inverted: thus affording a complete proof, that the stone, whereon they are inscribed, belonged to other more antient works; and that these must have been in ruins before the Column was erected upon its present basis. But this is not all the intelligence we

(1) Voyage fait par Ordre de Louis XIV. en 1714. tom. II. p. 23. *Amst.* 1744.

(2) Travels in Egypt and Nubia, vol. I. p. 16. *Lond.* 1757.

(3) See the Plate annexed; where those hieroglyphics are represented, according to a design which the author made of them upon the spot, as accurately as the difficulty of the situation, and the imperfect state of those rude symbols, would admit.

we derive from the topsyturvy position of the hieroglyphics: we have, in this curious circumstance, most satisfactory evidence that this Column was not set up, as it now stands, either by the antient inhabitants of Egypt, or by the people of Alexandria under the Ptolemies; for nothing could be more absurd, than to suppose that, in an age when Egyptian superstitions were revered, and the hieroglyphics were regarded as sacred, such sacrilegious work would have been tolerated, as the burying of the holy images and symbols, *pell-mell,* to prop and to support a Corinthian pillar, even if it could be admitted that such an order of architecture then existed. Hence it is manifest, without further inquiry, that this monument, as it now appears, must be attributed entirely to the Romans; since the warmest advocates for the arts and ingenuity of the Arabs will not venture to ascribe a work of this kind to the Moslems, in any period of their history. This is nearly all the intelligence we can obtain concerning it. The Inscription upon the pedestal, as its characters were obtained in consequence of Colonel Squire's discovery, gives us no information as to the origin of the Column, although it may throw some light upon its restoration under its present form. The only visible part of the legend is as follows:[4]

ΤΟ . . . . . ωΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
ΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ
ΔΙΟ . . . . ΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝ . . . . . ΤΟΝ
ΠΟ . . . . . ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
. . . . . In

(4) See the communication made by Dr. Raine to the Society of Antiquaries, as read before the Society, Feb. 3, 1803.

CHAP. VII.

In the third line, the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh letters, being indistinct, were supplied by dotted characters[1], in order to complete a supposed reading of ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ. But this introduction of the name of a Roman Emperor, without an epithet immediately preceding it, is unusual; and when letters are thus to be added by conjecture, or in consequence of some imaginary resemblance, in the indistinct traces of the original *legend*, to the characters which have been substituted, every person is at liberty to make his own hypothesis; provided only that a reading be produced which shall contain exactly the number of letters requisite to fill the vacant spaces upon the stone. For example, the perpendicular line of the dotted Κ, as proposed in the paper read to the Society of Antiquaries[2], may with equal authority be written Ν. The two lines of the Λ may also belong to Α. The cross bar of the Η may be the lower line of Δ, and the Τ may with equal probability be written Ρ; and when this is granted, the reading becomes evidently ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ. The use of ΔΙΟΣ, as an epithet, answering to DIVVS, so frequently bestowed upon Roman Emperors, and particularly upon Hadrian[3], although authorized in this sense by Hesiod and by Homer, is perhaps unknown in Greek prose.

Hadrian

(1) According to the plan pursued by Taylor, when he added the letters supposed to be wanted in the Marmor Sandvicense.

(2) See Dr. Raine's communication, as above.

(3) Sic passim. "Ut DIVUS HADRIANUS in quadam oratione ait." &c. (*Ulpianus, lib.* 50. *Dig. tit.* 15. *de Censibus, &c. &c.*) IMP. CAESARI. DIVI. HADRIANI. &c. *Donii Inscript. Antiq. ab Gorio. Classis tertia, No.* 16. *See also Nos.* 17, 18, *&c. Florent.* 1731.

Hadrian was called, by the Greeks[4], both ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ and ΘΕΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ. The epithet Διος was consequently appropriate; and the more so, as it was poetical; the language of poetry being often adopted in Greek inscriptions, which are very commonly written in metre[5]. At the same time, it must be confessed that there is this powerful objection to the reading now proposed; that among all the epithets applied to Roman Emperors which are preserved by Gronovius, Goltzius, Gorius, Vaillant, Harduin, and Eckhel, there is not an example where Διος is thus used. In this uncertainty with regard to the four letters which immediately follow ΔΙΟ in this Inscription, it must remain for some future traveller to determine what the true reading really is. The *probability* is certainly strong for ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ, but this is by no means certain; and in favour of ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ, it may be urged, that Sicard, as cited by Brotier[6], who examined the

(4) See Harduin. Num. Antiq. p. 329. *Paris*, 1684. Also Vaillant. Num. Imp. pp. 34, 36. *L. Par.* 1698. Spanhem mentions an Athenian medal with this inscription to Hadrian: ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ. ΣΩΤΗΡΑ. ΤΟΝ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ. *De Præstantiâ et Usu Num. p.* 384. *Amst.* 1671.

(5) Such inscriptions are commonly found in Asia Minor, and among the ruins of Paphos in Cyprus; also in the Island of Rhodes. *See Part* II. *Sect.* I. *of these Travels, Chap.* 8.

(6) Sicard believed the name to be that of *Dionysius Ptolemæus*, brother of Cleopatra, by whose order Pompey was assassinated. "Serapeum fuit in vico, cui nomen Necropolis, prope *Columnam Pompeii*, ut vulgò loquuntur; quam verius columnam *Dionysii Ptolemæi* dicerent, ut ex semesis inscriptiones literis observavit *P. Sicard* egregius Ægyptiacarum antiquitatum indagator. (*Vid. Brotier. Annot. in Tacit. Hist. lib.* iv. *cap.* 84.) The circumstance of Sicard's maintaining that the name at the beginning of the third line of the Inscription was Dionysius, &c. proves, at least, that he read ΔΙΟΝ, and not ΔΙΟΚ.

CHAP. VII.

the Inscription long ago, declared the fourth letter to be N instead of K. In order to account for the introduction of *Diocletian's* name, the *supposed* gratitude of the people of Alexandria to Diocletian, for an allowance of corn, has been mentioned[1]; but there is no authority in History either for the tribute itself, or for the feelings thereby believed to have been commemorated. Hadrian, on the contrary, for the services he rendered to their city, was pre-eminently entitled to their gratitude. This is evident from his own observations, when speaking of Alexandria[2]: "HUIC EGO CUNCTA CONCESSI, VETERA PRIVILEGIA REDDIDI, NOVA SIC ADDIDI, UT PRÆSENTI GRATIAS AGERENT." Hadrian, according to Dio Cassius, performed funeral rites to Pompey[3]. Julius Cæsar had done the same[4]; and it is related, both by Lucan[5] and by Valerius Maximus[6], that when the head of Pompey was brought to him in Alexandria, he caused it to be burned with odours and the most solemn rites, and

(1) "The occasion may perhaps be found in that part of the history of this Emperor, where, *after having severely chastised the inhabitants of Alexandria who had rebelled against the government,* he established a public allowance of corn for the city at two millions of medimni. See *the Memoir read to the Society of Antiquaries, Feb.* 3, 1803, *as before cited.*

(2) Epistola Hadriani Aug. Serviano Cos. Ægypt. *Vid. Vopisc. in Saturnino, p.* 245.

(3) Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. lxix. vol. II. p. 1159. *Hamb.* 1750.

(4) Ibid. lib. xlii. c. 8. vol. I. p. 310.

(5) De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. ad fin.

(6) "Caput autem plurimis et pretiosissimis odoribus cremandum curavit." *Valerii Maximi, lib.* v. *p.* 246. *Paris,* 1679.

Sepulchral origin of the Column.

and its ashes to be enshrined within *an urn*(7). It sometimes was customary with the Romans to place their cinerary urns in conspicuous situations, upon the pinnacles of lofty and magnificent monuments. The famous Cone, or Pine-apple, of gilded brass, preserved in the Vatican at Rome, and originally placed upon the Mausoleum of Hadrian, was perhaps intended to contain the ashes of that Emperor; and in the examination of the Alexandrian Column, we find the extraordinary coincidences, first, of the workmanship, which is decidedly *Roman*; secondly, of its form, which is that of a *Stélé* or *sepulchral pillar*; thirdly, of a circular cavity discovered upon its capital, as for the reception of *an urn*; all agreeing with its remarkable traditionary appellation of *Pompey's Pillar*. Some little variety, as might be expected, appears in the accounts given by writers of different ages, with regard to the manner in which funeral honours were rendered to Pompey's head by Julius Cæsar. Lucan's allusion to *an urn* is however consistent with the Roman custom of *burning* instead of *burying* the dead; and it is supported by the earlier testimony of Valerius Maximus. Appian, who flourished during the subsequent reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, says the head was *buried*; but he adds the remarkable

(7) "Et placate caput, cineresque in litore fusos
"Colligite, atque unam sparsis date manibus urnam."
Lucani de Bell. Civil. lib. ix. 1092. *Lips.* 1726.

Fabricius, in his Notes to Dio Cassius (*lib.* xlii. *Note* 50.) mentions an antient gem, the subject of which represented the bringing of Pompey's head to Cæsar. "*Icon oblati Cæsari capitis Pompeii in veteri gemmâ apud Licetum*," p. 248."

CHAP. VII.

remarkable fact of a *shrine* constructed over it[1], in a situation exactly answering to that of this pillar, which Cæsar dedicated to *Nemesis*, the protecting goddess of the reliques and the memory of deceased persons. This, it seems, was overthrown in the time of Trajan; which may explain the cause of its restoration by Hadrian. It is also worthy of notice, that Pococke mentions a name given to this monument by Arabian historians, which bears testimony to the event recorded by Appian; inasmuch as it attributes the origin of the work to Julius Cæsar[2]. The presumptive evidence is therefore somewhat striking, as to the corresponding testimony borne by the monument itself to the funeral honours rendered to Pompey both by Julius Cæsar and by Hadrian, whatsoever be the legend of the Inscription upon its pedestal. A circumstance recorded by Dio Cassius, in his life of Hadrian, may also prove that this kind of monument was, in the age of that Emperor, no unusual mark of sepulchral dignity;

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(1) Τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καί τι αὐτῇ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ βραχὺ, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν, ΝΕΜΕΣΕΩΣ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ἐκαλεῖτο· ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρείφθη. "*Caput* autem *Pompeii* oblatum aversatur *Cæsar*, sepeliri jussit in suburbis, *sacellum*que ibi dedicavit *Nemeseos*; quod nostrâ ætate, quùm Trajanus Augustus Judæos exitiali bello persequeretur, ab his ob præsentem necessitatem est dirutum." *Appiani Rom. Hist. De Bell. Civil. lib.* ii. *vol.* II. *p.* 299. *Ed. Schweigh. Lips.* 1785.

(2) "Some Arabian historians, on what *authority* I know not, call it the Palace of Julius Cæsar." (*Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 8. *Lond.* 1743.) The authority is clearly found in the circumstance related by Appian (*De Bell. Civil. lib.* ii. *c.* 90. *Lips.* 1785.) *of the shrine* (τέμενος) constructed by Julius Cæsar at the funeral of *Pompey's head.*

dignity; for when he wished to honour his horse Borysthenes with funeral rites worthy of a deceased hero, it is related that he set up a *Stélé* upon his tomb[3].

From the different accounts given by historians of the disposal of Pompey's remains, (his head being honoured with funeral rites at Alexandria[4], and his body, according to some writers, burned and buried near Pelusium[5], while others maintain that its ashes were conveyed to Rome[6],) the place of his *sepulchre* is involved in uncertainty[7]; but every thing that relates to the historical evidence touching the funeral rites offered to his memory by Roman Emperors in Alexandria, is clear and decisive; and when Dio Cassius relates that Hadrian, in a copy of verses which he composed, boasted he had repaired the monument formerly raised to Pompey[8], it is probable

(3) Καὶ ὁ Βορυσθένης ὁ ἵππος, ᾧ μάλιστα θηρῶν ἠρέσκετο, σημεῖόν ἐστιν. ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον κατεσκεύασε, καὶ ΣΤΗΛΗΝ ἔστησε καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπέγραψέν. *Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. vol.* II. *lib.* lxix. *p.* 1159. *Hamburg.* 1750.

(4) Appian. De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. 90. *Lips.* 1785. Valerius Maximus. Lucan. De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. *Lips.* 1726.

(5) Strabon. Geog. tom. II. lib. xvi. p. 1081. lib. xvii. p. 1130. *Ed. Oxon.* 1807. Dio. Cassii, lib. xlii. c. 5. vol. I. p. 309. *Hamburg.* 1750. Appiani Alex. De Bellis Civil. lib. ii. p. 481. *Par.* 1592. Lucan. De Bell. Civil. lib. viii, &c.

(6) Τὰ δὲ λείψανα τοῦ Πομπηίου Κορνηλία δεξαμένη κομισθέντα, περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ἔθηκεν. *Plutarch. in Vit. Pomp. Par.* 1624.

(7) "Atque erit Ægyptos populis fortasse nepotum
"*Tam mendax Magni tumulo*, quam Creta Tonantis."
Lucani de Bell. Civil. lib. viii. *p.* 871. *Lips.* 1726.

(8) Καὶ τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένον ἀνῳκοδόμησεν. (*Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. lib.* lxix. *vol.* II. *Hamburg.* 1750.) It should at the same time be observed, that Spartian, c. 14. together with Appian, and some other writers, speak of a *restoration* by Hadrian of Pompey's sepulchre, at Pelusium, near Mount Cassius; that is to say, the sepulchre of *his body*;

CHAP. VII.

probable that he alluded to this *sepulchral pillar*; bearing, besides its traditionary name, the marks of *restoration*, and the most characteristic features of the purpose for which it was erected.

A few remarks, with regard to the rest of the Inscription, will conclude the whole of our observations upon this magnificent and interesting monument.

The epithet at the conclusion of the third line could not be ascertained at the time the Inscription was again recognised[1]; but there appeared to be five characters wanted. These five characters have been ingeniously supplied by a learned friend of the author[2], for they are evidently the first five letters of the word CEBACTON. The Præfect's name, at the beginning of the fourth line, was supposed[3] to be Πομπηίος; but the third letter is found to be C, and not M, and it was thus read by Pococke many years before[4]. Having therefore ΠΟC, we may read ΠΟCΤΟΜΟC. This name is found in Gruter,

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body; the information concerning which, as derived from the Antients, is not only uncertain, but contradictory. But Appian also mentions another distinct sepulchral τύμενος, erected over the *head of Pompey* at Alexandria by Julius Cæsar. This was ruined in the time of Trajan; and it is to the restoration of this monument, by Hadrian, which Dio Cassius seems to allude, under the words μνῆμα αὐτοῦ.

(1) See the Paper read to the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 3, 1803.

(2) The Rev. George Adam Browne, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, the intimate friend of the late Professor Porson, and of Dr. Raine, late of the Charter House. Mr. Browne also proposed the substitution of Ποστομος for Πομπηίος in the fourth line.

(3) See Paper mentioned in Note (1).

(4) See Pococke's copy of the Inscription. *Description of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 8. *Note* (*d*). *Lond.* 1743.

Gruter, in several instances, written *Postumus*[5]. It occurs in an inscription discovered upon an edifice which contains the famous Zodiac at *Dendera* in Upper Egypt[6], as the name of a Præfect who lived under Augustus. We have, moreover, in the *Dendera inscription*, a sort of *formula* enabling us to supply the last line, which is entirely wanted. We there read the words ΟΙΑΠΟΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, "*The People of the Metropolis.*" Upon the whole, then, that has been before adduced, and with the aid of the document alluded to, it is proposed to read the Inscription upon POMPEY'S PILLAR in the following manner; the Reader being left to use his own judgment as to the introduction of *Hadrian's* name, or that of *Diocletian*, in the third line. We have rather preferred the former, for the reasons already given.

ΤΟΝΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
ΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑC
ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝCΕΒΑCΤΟΝ
ΠΟCΤΟΜΟCΕΠΑΡΧΟCΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΟΙΑΠΟΤΗCΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

'POSTUMUS PRÆFECT OF EGYPT, AND THE PEOPLE OF THE METROPOLIS, ('*honour*') THE MOST REVERED EMPEROR, THE PROTECTING DIVINITY OF ALEXANDRIA, THE DIVINE HADRIAN AUGUSTUS."

In

(5) See Gruter. Inscript. 113. 1.—172. 10. &c. &c. *Amst.* 1707.

(6) See Denon, Hamilton, &c. The Inscription was also copied by several of our officers who came with the Indian army to Egypt. It is there written *Marcus Clodius Postumus*. Denon wrote the name ΠΟCΤΟΥΜΟC.

CHAP. VII.

Interview with Menou.

In the forenoon of this day, the author waited upon General Menou, requesting a passport, that might enable him to pass and repass the outer gate, to and from the British camp; and at the same time made application for permission to copy the Inscriptions upon the Rosetta Tablet, which was still carefully concealed. One of the Aid-de-Camps conducted him into a small tent, pitched in a spacious area, or square, near the inner gates of Alexandria, where the parade of the garrison was daily held. This tent, small as it was, had been separated into two parts by a curtain, behind which Menou had his *Charem;* giving audience in the outer part, near to the entrance, where there was hardly room enough to stand upright. Having waited some time, during which women's voices were heard in conversation behind the partition, the curtain was suddenly raised, and Jaques Abd'allah made his appearance. A more grotesque figure can hardly be conceived. He wore a flowered embroidered waistcoat, with flaps almost to his knees, and a coat covered with broad lace. Elevating his whiskered face and double chin, in order to give all imaginable pomp and dignity to his squat corpulent figure, which covered with finery much resembled that of a mountebank, he demanded, in an imperious tone of voice, "*Que souhaite-t-il, Monsieur Clarke?*" Having explained the cause of the visit, as far as it related to the passport, and being directed to apply for this to *Réné*, General of Brigade, the author ventured to introduce the subject of the Rosetta Stone; stating, that he was about to return to Lord Hutchinson,

Hutchinson, and wished to obey the orders he had received from his Lordship, for copying the Inscription. At the very mention of this Stone, Menou gave vent to his rage; and, ready to burst with choler, exclaimed, "You may tell your Commander-in-chief, he has as much right to make this demand, as a highwayman has to ask for my purse! He has a cannon in each of my ears, and another in my mouth; let him take what pleases him. I have a few embroidered saddles, and a tolerable stock of shirts, perhaps he may fancy some of these!" The author assured him that he could be the bearer of no message of this kind; but whatever he might think proper to put in writing, should be carefully conveyed, and as punctually delivered. Having left the tent, and waited upon General René for the passport, while this was preparing[1], a note came from Menou for Lord Hutchinson. With this note the author and his companions set out for the English camp; and arriving at headquarters, presented it to his Lordship, making known at the same time all that had transpired concerning the Sarcophagus from the Mosque of St. Athanasius, together with the intelligence which had been obtained with regard to the other antiquities. To Menou's note his Lordship disdained making any reply; transmitting only a verbal message, cautioning him to beware of sending any more messages or letters to him, but to obey the conditions proposed for the surrender of Alexandria,

(1) See a copy of the original, in the Appendix.

CHAP. VII.

Alexandria, upon pain of having not only his own baggage, but that of all the officers of the French army, submitted to an examination. All the antiquities, without reservation, were to be delivered to the English; and to this demand was added an order for the collection of specimens belonging to Natural History, and whatsoever other literary acquisition had been made in Egypt for the French nation. His Lordship directed that the most diligent inquiry should be made concerning every thing of this nature; and having given orders for a supply of provisions to accompany us upon our return, offered the use of his horses while we remained in Alexandria, and a groom to assist us in taking care of them. After this we had an opportunity of witnessing the sort of fare which the Commander-in-chief of a British army, who had so liberally provided for others, allowed for his own use. He gave us a general invitation to his table; adding, "If you have appetite enough to dine with a soldier, you will this day have something more than usually substantial." The dinner was served in his tent, and we sat down; it consisted of the remaining half of a cold pie, made by one of the privates the day before, containing some lumps of meat encased in a durable crust about an inch thick, of the coarsest flour; a surprising contrast to the magnificent entertainment we had experienced with the Anglo-Indian army in the Isle of Rhouda. Some of the officers informed us that such was his daily diet; and that it rarely differed from the allowance made to the common soldiers of the army. In the evening we returned. It was quite dark,

dark, and the gates were shut; but we found no difficulty in obtaining admission, by means of our passport.

Saturday, September the twelfth. This day the flesh of horses, asses, and camels, sold, in the market, at a price nearly equivalent to half a guinea of our money, for a single *rotola*, equal to about a pound and a quarter. Mr. Hamilton went with us to the French head-quarters, and undertook to mention to Menou the result of our visit to Lord Hutchinson. We remained near the outside of the tent; and soon heard the French General's voice, elevated as usual, and in strong terms of indignation remonstrating against the injustice of the demands made upon him. The words "*Jamais on n'a pillé le monde!*" diverted us highly, as coming from a leader of plunder and devastation. He threatened to publish an account of the transaction in all the Gazettes of Europe; and, as Mr. Hamilton withdrew, we heard him vociferate a menace of meeting Lord Hutchinson in single combat—"*Nous nous verrons, de bien près—de bien près, je vous assure!*" However, Colonel, now General, Turner, who had arrived also in Alexandria, with orders from our Commander-in-chief respecting the surrender of the Antiquities, soon brought this matter to a conclusion. The different forts were now occupied by our army; and the condition of the garrison was such, that Menou did not deem it prudent to resist any longer: he reluctantly submitted to the loss of his literary trophies. The Rosetta Tablet was taken from a warehouse, covered with mats, where it had been deposited with Menou's baggage; and it was

Surrender of the Rosetta Tablet.

CHAP. VII.

surrendered to us, by a French officer and Member of the Institute, in the streets of Alexandria; Mr. Cripps, Mr. Hamilton, and the author, being the only persons present, to take possession of it. The officer appointed to deliver it recommended its speedy conveyance to some place of safety, as he could not be answerable for the conduct of the French soldiers, if it were suffered to remain exposed to their indignation. We made this circumstance known to Lord Hutchinson, who gave orders for its immediate removal; and it was given in charge to General Turner, under whose direction all the monuments of Egyptian antiquity, resigned to us by the articles of the capitulation, were afterwards conveyed to England[1].

Every thing now seemed to indicate the speedy evacuation of the garrison by the French[2]. The officers and soldiers were actively employed in selling the plunder they had made. Negro slaves of both sexes, watches, jewels, horses, camels, sabres, were bartered in all parts of the city. A plain silver watch might be bought for three or four dollars; a fine Arabian horse, for about five and twenty. A French General sold two horses, of perfect beauty, with their saddles and bridles, to an English clergyman, chaplain in the fleet, for fifty dollars. Several valuable camels, from the great scarcity of every kind of provender, were turned adrift,

(1) See Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 402. *Lond.* 1809.

(2) The first division of the French army embarked at Aboukir on the 14th of September.

adrift, to find owners without the gates; no purchasers being found, who would undertake the charge of them within the walls. A better understanding, however, began to subsist, at this time, between the contending forces. Some stragglers from the French army advanced, during the day-time, into the neutral ground between the two armies, and there offered their Egyptian sabres, and other articles, for sale to the English: here and there, even in the British camp, might be seen a French officer joining in conviviality with our troops; drinking toasts for the health of King George, the success of the capitulation, and a speedy deliverance from the government of Menou. The utmost harmony and good-humour prevailed at these meetings: and a sincere desire to quit the country was evident on the part of the French soldiers; every one of whom seemed to consider himself as upon an equal footing, even with the Generals of his own army[3].

Intercourse between the Armies.

In the course of this day, we visited the Members of the French Institute, at the house where they held their sittings; and found them assembled round a long table, inspecting and packing a number of drawings, plans, and maps.

French Institute.

(3) A Creole trumpeter, who had served under Buonaparte in his campaigns of Italy and Egypt, and pretended to have been always about his person, came one day, and asked, when the garrison of Alexandria would sail for France? As we could neither answer this question, nor were disposed to pay any attention to the account he gave of himself, he said, "If you should mention the name of *L'Esprit* to the little Corsican, you will find that I am pretty well known to him:" and, by way of proving his importance, he added, "*Quand j'arriverai à Paris, je lui ferai expliquer pourquoi il me laissa dans ce maudit pays-ci.*"

CHAP. VII.

maps[1]. We were very politely received, at our entrance, by Monsieur *Le Pere*, Architect, Director of the Class of Civil Engineers: and we experienced from all of them that urbanity, which, in despite of the impressions and prejudices caused by the consequences of hostility, and the lawless deeds of a promiscuous soldiery during the ravages of war, must yet be considered as the distinguishing characteristic

(1) The FRENCH INSTITUTE of Egypt was divided into four sections; severally consisting of the *Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy, Literature* and the *Fine Arts*. The following persons were its Members.

(*Those marked with an* asterisk *had left Egypt at the time of our arrival.*)

MATHEMATICS.

* Andreossy.	Girard.	Malus.
* Buonaparte.	Lancret.	* Monge.
Costaz.	Le Pere.	Nouet.
Fourier, *perpetual Secretary of the Institute.*	* Le Roy.	* Quesnot.

PHYSICS.

* Beauchamp.	Delisle.	* Dubois *(père)*.
* Berthollet.	Descotils.	Geoffroy.
Boudet.	Desgenettes.	Larrey.
Champy *(père)*.	* Dolomieu.	Savigny.
Conté.		

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Corancey.	Jacotin.	Reynier.
* Dugua.	* Poussielque.	Tallien.
* Fauvelet-Bourienne.		

LITERATURE and ARTS.

* Denon.	* Parseval.	Rigo.
Dutertre.	Protain.	Rigel.
Le Pere.	Don-Raphael.	* Ripaut.
* Norry.	Redouté.	

To these Sections of the Institute were also annexed the following persons, under the several heads of

Librarians.		*Commission of Agriculture.*	
Coquebert.	Méchain.	Champy *(père)*.	Nectoux.
		Delisle.	

COMMIS-

teristic of the French people, in their conduct even towards their enemies. We assured them, that although our business in Alexandria related to the literary acquisitions made for their nation by their army in Egypt, it had nothing whatsoever to do with the private collections or journals of individuals; and therefore we hoped they would allow us to compare notes with them upon certain points of observation, in which we

COMMISSION of ARTS and SCIENCES.

Antiquaries.

* Ripault. * Pourlier.

Architects.

Balzac. * Norry.
Le Pere. Protain.

Astronomers.

Nouet. Méchain *(fils)*.
* Quesnot.

Botanists.

Deslisle. Nectoux.
Coquebert.

Chemists.

* Berthollet. Descotils.
Champy *(père)*. Champy *(fils)*.

Surgeons.

* Dubois. Lacypierre.
Labate.

Artist for Design.

Dutertre.

Geometricians.

* Monge. Costaz.
Fourier. Corancey.

Engraver.

Fouquet.

Civil Engineers.

Le Pere. Caristie.
Girard. Favier.
Faye. Dubois.
Le Pere *(Gratian)*. Devilliers.
Martin. Moline.
Saint Genis. Duchanoy.
Lancret. Alibert.
Fevre. Regnault.
Chabrol. Bernard.
Jollois. Potier.
Raffeneau. Viard.
Arnolet.

Geographical Engineers.

Jacotin. Bertre.
Simonel. Lecesne.
Levesque. Laroche.
Jomard. Faurie.
Corabeuf.

Engineers' Constructors.

Boucher. * Greslé.
Chaumont.

Oriental Literature.

Marcel. Raige.
* Joubert. Delaporte.
Belletete.

Literati.

* Denon. Lerouge.
* Parseval.

Mechanics.

Conté. Coutelle.

Artists.

Adnès *(père)*. Adnès *(fils)*.
Cécile *(Mechanical Engineer)*. Couvreur.
Aimé. Lenoir *(Mathematical Instrument Maker)*.
Collin.

Musicians.

Rigel. Villoteau.

Mineralogists.

* Dolomieu. Roziere.
Cordier. Dupuy.

Naturalists.

Geoffroi. Savigny.

Painters.

Redoubte, *(Painter of Natural History)*.
Rigo.

Apothecaries.

Boudet. Rouhieres.

Sculptor.

Casteix.

CHAP. VII.

we might be mutually interested; and we further solicited permission to consult the splendid map of Egypt which their geographers had completed. This proposition was not acceded to on their part; nor, perhaps, was it reasonable, at that time, to expect that our request could be complied with. They very candidly confessed, that it would give them pleasure to satisfy our curiosity any where else; but that, under the present circumstances, they could only consider our inquiry as likely to lead to additional demands on the part of our Commander-in-chief; and for this reason alone they must decline acceding to our request. We had, however, a short conversation with them upon the subject of the Ruins of *Saïs*, which their countryman Savary had mentioned among the desirable objects of discovery in Egypt[1]; although Egmont and Heyman had published their notice of them twenty years before Savary began the account of his travels in the country[2]. These Ruins had altogether escaped their observation. They said that their researches had always been restricted to the march of their army, and therefore, in Lower Egypt, had been principally confined to the western side of the Nile; that they had heard of the ruins at *S'el-hajar*, but did not conceive them to be so considerable as we had found them. Being asked whether any of them had seen the interior of an Egyptian sepulchre, containing mummies, before the position of the bodies had been disturbed by the

(1) See Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. II. Lett. 73. *Lond.* 1786.

(2) Savary's first Letter is dated July 24, 1777.

the Arabs, they answered in the negative. With this information we took our leave of them, accompanied by one of the younger Members of the Institute, who kindly offered to accompany us to the Catacombs of NECROPOLIS, lying westward of Alexandria. These we were now desirous to examine.

Cryptæ of Necropolis.

Among all the antiquities of this once celebrated city, which after the destruction of Carthage ranked next to Rome in magnitude and population, the Cryptæ of Necropolis are the least known, and the most wonderful. They have been incidentally but not frequently mentioned, in the various descriptions given of Alexandria in books of modern travels[3]; but the Antients have left us much in the dark concerning their history. Strabo indeed, after giving an account of a navigable canal which extended from the Old Port to the Lake Mareotis, carries his observations westward, and notices the Catacombs, under the name of Necropolis[4]. In the very brief description which he has given of them, enough

(3) See the "*Déscription de l'Egypte,*" *par Maillet, tom.* I. *p.* 169. *A la Haye,* 1740. Pococke's Descr. of the East, vol. I. *Lond.* 1743. Norden's Travels, vol. I. p. 17. *Lond.* 1756, &c. Savary's Letters on Egypt, vol. I. p. 43. *Lond.* 1786. An Extract from Savary may afford a specimen of the manner in which these Catacombs have been generally noticed. This writer does not seem to have ever entered them. "At half a league's distance to the southward of the town, is the descent into the Catacombs, the antient asylum of the dead. *Winding passages lead to the subterraneous grottoes where they were deposited.*"

(4) Εἶθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις, τὸ προάστιον (*sic leg. Cod. MSS. Medic. Esc. et Paris. Vid. Lect. Var. in Strabon. edit. Oxon.*) ἐν ᾧ κῆποί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ, πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδειαι. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1128. *ed. Oxon.* 1807.

CHAP. VII.

enough is said to prove that every characteristic of the most antient cemeteries of Oriental nations belonged to them; for they were suburban, and were situated in the midst of gardens[1]. Enough remains also in the severe simplicity of their structure, and in the few Egyptian symbols found within them, to shew that they are of earlier antiquity than the foundation of Alexandria by the Macedonians, even if we had not the most decisive evidence to prove that the regal sepulchres of the Alexandrian monarchs were within the city. As repositories of the dead they were consequently places of worship, whose dark and subterraneous caverns were aptly suited

(1) "And he was buried in his Sepulchre, in the *Garden* of Uzza," (*Kings* xxi. 26.) In the same chapter, *ver.* 18. it is said of Manasseh, that "he slept with his fathers, and was buried in the *garden of his own house*, in the *Garden* of Uzza:" that is to say, in the garden of the sepulchre of his *own house*, or *family*; the cemeteries of the Jews exhibiting always a series of gardens, each of which belonged to some particular family. Among the Heathens such gardens were places of religious worship. Thus in Isaiah, (*c.* lxv. 3.) "A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face, that *sacrificeth in gardens*." An illustration is hereby suggested of a remarkable passage in Ezekiel, (*c.* xiii. 19, 20.) "And will ye pollute me among my people .... to *slay the souls that should not die*. . . . . Behold I am against your pillows, wherewith ye there hunt the souls into *gardens*." The *Garden* to which our Saviour "*oftimes resorted with his Disciples*," at the foot of the Mount of Olives, "*over the Brook Cedron*," (*John* xviii. 1, 2.) was in all probability a place for pious meditation, *in the midst of Tombs*; for the antient Jewish sepulchres extend over all the base of the mountain opposite to Jerusalem. Hither he retired to pray, the night before his crucifixion. And when his body was buried, "as the manner of the Jews is to bury," (*John* xix. 40, 41.) the sepulchre wherein they laid him was in "*a Garden*." The same custom of adorning cemeteries with *gardens*, and resorting to them for meditation and prayer, still exists among all the Eastern Jews, who write upon the tomb of a deceased person, "Let his soul be in the *garden* of Eden;" also among the Moslems over all the Turkish Empire. It is said also of the Mexicans (*See Purchas's Pilgrim, p.* 804. *Lond.* 1614.) "The places where they buried them were their *Gardens*."

suited to the ideas entertained of *Hades*, the *invisible abode* of departed spirits[2]. Of such a nature was the *Serapeum* of RACOTIS, described as of much earlier antiquity than the temple of the same name founded by one of the Ptolemies[3]. Racotis was in ruins before the building of Alexandria[4]; and the *Cryptæ* of Necropolis, from their situation, can be attributed only to that antient city[5]. Having before shewn that the worship of *Serapis* in Egypt was long anterior to the introduction of an idol under that name by Ptolemy Soter[6], as related by Tacitus[7], and also mentioned the authorities which refer its origin to the death of the Patriarch Joseph[8], it will be

(2) Καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ Σάραπιν τὸν ἀϊδῆ δηλονότι. πρὸς ὃν φησιν ἄνω πορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν βιωσάντων, ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα. "Quem nos alio nomine Serapim vocamus, ut qui est ἀϊδής, sub aspectum minimè cadens: ad quem Plato sublimes ait evehi illorum animas, qui quam optimè justissimèque vixerunt." *Julianus Imp. Orat.* iv. *p.* 136. *Vid. Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 237. *Francof.* 1750.

(3) "Fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum." *Tacit. Hist. lib.* iv. *c.* 84.

(4) "Nam Racotis, quæ postea nonnisi suburbium Alexandriæ fuit, diu ante urbem hanc regiam ab Alexandro erectam, illic steterat. *Vid. Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiorum, tom.* I. *p.* 231. *Francof.* 1750. Also the authors by him cited. *Pausanias, lib.* v. *p.* 432. *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *p.* 545. *Plinius, lib.* v. *c.* 10. *Clemens Alexandrinus, Protreptico, p.* 31. *Stephanus Ethnicographus, in voce* Ῥακώτης, *&c. &c.*

(5) Jablonski, &c. ubi supra.

(6) See Chap. V. p. 193, Note (5), of this volume. In addition to the evidence there offered for the antiquity of the worship of Serapis in Egypt, may be also cited the following powerful argument, as urged by *Cuper.* in his *Harpocrates, p.* 83. *Utrecht*, 1687. "Anti advectum ex Ponto Serapin, alius in Ægypto eodem nomine deus colebatur. Pausanias, lib. i. scribit Athenienses Serapidis cultum a Ptolemæo accepisse, et templum ejus ἐπιφανέστατον esse Alexandrinis, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει: unde absque dubio sequitur, ANTE PTOLEMÆUM Lagi F. si is, ut plerique tradunt, Sinopensem deum advehi curavit, SARAPIN IN ÆGYPTO CULTUM FUISSE."

(7) Tacit. Histor. lib. iv. cap. 84.

(8) See Chap. V. of this volume, as above cited.

CHAP. VII.

Remarkable Symbol.

be proper briefly to notice the opinion of Jablonski, as to this part of the Egyptian mythology; because a symbol which we discovered, forming a central and conspicuous ornament of the Catacombs, may seem to strengthen his opinion, and thereby shew that here was the Serapeum of Racotis. He endeavours to prove, from various authorities, but principally by a passage which he has cited from the *Saturnalia* of *Macrobius*[1], that SERAPIS was a type of the *infernal sun*, that is to say, of the sun during its course through the *lower hemisphere*, or winter signs of the Zodiac; as AMMON was of the *supernal*, or path of the sun during the summer months[2]. Hence the name of *Hades*, bestowed upon *Serapis* by the Emperor Julian[3], and the analogy between this deity and the Pluto of the Greeks[4]. According to Macrobius, the Egyptians were wont to represent the sun, in their winged images of that luminary, with two colours;

(1) "Hoc argumentum Ægyptii lucidius absolvunt, ipsius solis simulacra pinnata fingentes; quibus color apud illos non unus est. Alterum enim cæruleâ specie, alterum clarâ fingunt; ex his clarum superum, et cæruleum inferum vocant. Inferi autem nomen Soli datur, cum in inferiore hemisphærio, id est hyematibus signis, cursum suum peragit; superi, cum partem Zodiaci ambit æstivam." *Macrob. Saturnal. lib.* i. *c.* 19.

(2) "Sol *superus* et clarus est AMMON. Sol cæruleus et *inferus* est, ut mihi persuadeo, SERAPIS." *Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 235. *Francof.* 1750.

(3) See the observation of Julian upon Serapis, as before cited. See also *Cyrill. Alexand. adversus Julian. p.* 13.

(4) "Scriptores plerique, ubi ad *Serapidem* eorum deflectit oratio, eum ferè semper *Plutonem* interpretari soliti fuerint." *Jablonski, ubi supra, p.* 236. See also the authors by him cited. *Diodorus, lib.* i. p. 22. *Clemens Alexandr. in Protreptico, passim. Eusebius, Præparat. Evang. lib.* iii. *c.* 11. *p.* 113. *Porphyrius Julianus, Imp. Orat.* 4. *p.* 136. *Cyrill. Alexandr. lib.* i. *in Julian. p.* 13. *Aristides, Oratione in Serapim, passim.*

colours[5]; one being *white*, as typical of *Ammon* or the *supernal sun*; the other *blue*, to denote *Serapis*, or the sun's descent into *Hades* during winter, when it received the appellation of *infernal*[6]. It is a very curious circumstance, that the distinctions of colour mentioned by Macrobius may be noticed in all the mythological paintings of the Tartars, the Chinese, and the people of Japan, where an image of the sun is introduced; but with this difference, that the colours, instead of being *white* and *blue*, are *white* and *red*[7]. The inhabitants of some parts of India, as it is well known, who are worshippers of the Sun, revere the *invisible* as well as the *visible* luminary; the former of which answers to the ΑΪΔΗΣ and ΑΟΡΑΤΟΣ of the Egyptians and the Greeks[8]. This notion of Jablonski concerning Serapis is

(5) Vid. Macrob. Saturnal. ubi supra.

(6) Hence, perhaps, the very antient superstition of the *blue* colour of flame at the approach of departed spirits, coming from *Hades*. One of the Witches in Macbeth begins her incantation, "*Blue spirits and white!*" *&c.*

(7) The reader may see such representations in the engravings made from the sacred Pictures of the Calmuck tribes. (*Part* I. *of these Travels, p.* 244, *second edit.*) In three of those pictures, this double representation of the Sun is introduced; although the plate has not been coloured, and the minutiæ of the distinction were little attended to by the engraver. In the original drawings, one orb is *red*, and the other *white*. The author at first supposed they were intended for the *Sun* and *Moon*.

(8) Φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν ἰάω,
Χείματι μὲν τ' ἀΐδην, Δία δ' εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο
Ἥλιον δὲ θέρευς.—
Dic Deorum omnium supremum esse *Iao*,
Quem hyeme *orcum* vocant, ineunte autem vere *Jovem*,
Æstate porro *Solem*.——

"Jam bene intelligitur, quam bene et recte auctor versuum allatorum affirmet, *Solem* ab Ægyptiis, tempore hyberno vocari *ἀΐδην*, *eum, qui non videtur*, quoniam nempe lux ejus,

CHAP VII.

is by him opposed to an opinion of the Fathers, which maintained that Serapis was a symbol of Joseph: but even admitting it to be true in its fullest extent, it will rather serve to confirm that opinion, if attention be paid to the titles which the Egyptians were accustomed to bestow upon their deified princes. The language of the valuable Inscription on the Rosetta Tablet will set this truth in a very clear point of view: we there find the deceased sovereign mentioned as being[1], "LIKE THE GREAT VULCAN." He is said to be EVEN AS THE SUN, THE GREAT KING OF THE UPPER AND LOWER REGIONS[2], and his successor is called SON OF THE SUN[3]. If therefore the SUN in *Hades*, according to the most antient mythology of Egypt, was called SERAPIS, Joseph having descended *thither*, and being "EVEN AS THE SUN," according to a style of deification which was invariable in Egypt, where the customs of the country were almost as unalterable as its climate, would receive the appellation of SERAPIS, after the same manner in which the name

ejus, illo anni tempore, sub terram demersa est. Eundem PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES dixit *ἀόρατον τοῦ Σινωπίου, invisibilem in Sinopio.* EUSTATHIUS vero, eodem loco allatus, testatur *Serapim in Sinopio Memphi coli.*" *Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *pp.* 236, 238. *Francof.* 1750.

(1) Καθάπερ ὁ Ἥφαιστος ὁ μέγας.

(2) Καθάπερ ὁ Ἥλιος μέγας βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν τε κάτω χώρων. The word χώρων, in this Inscription, has been usually translated *districts*, with reference to the division of Egypt into *upper* and *lower*; but this division is of modern date; and the SUN would hardly be styled "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt.*" The expression seems to be metaphorical, and rather applicable to the antient notions concerning *Sol Superus* and *Sol Inferus*; as mentioned by Macrobius.

(3) Υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου.

name of VULCAN, father of the *Sun*[4], was, so many ages after, applied to Ptolemy, by the priests of Egypt.

Descent into the *Cryptæ*.

We will detain the Reader no longer with such observations; but proceed to a survey of the surprising repositories that have given rise to them, and which received among the Antients the appropriate appellation of the "*City of the Dead.*" Nothing so marvellous ever fell within our observation; but in Upper Egypt, perhaps, works of a similar nature may have been found. The *Cryptæ* of Jerusalem, Tortosa, Jebilee, Laodicea, and Telmessus[5], are excavations of the same kind, but far less extensive. They enable us, however, to trace the connection which antiently existed in the sepulchral customs of all the nations bordering the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; from the shores of Carthage and of Cyrene, to Egypt, to Palæstine, to Phœnicia, and to Asia Minor. An inclination common to man, in every period of his history, but particularly in the patriarchal ages, of being finally "gathered unto his fathers," may explain the prodigious labour bestowed in the construction of these primeval sepulchres. Wheresoever the roving Phœnicians extended their colonies, whether to the remotest parts of Africa, or of Europe, even to the most distant islands of their descendants the Celtæ in the Northern Ocean, the same

(4) See Note (1).

(5) See Chap. XVI. of the former Section of Part II. of these Travels, p. 549, &c. also the observations in Note (4), p. 550, as to the situation of such sepulchres.

CHAP. VII.

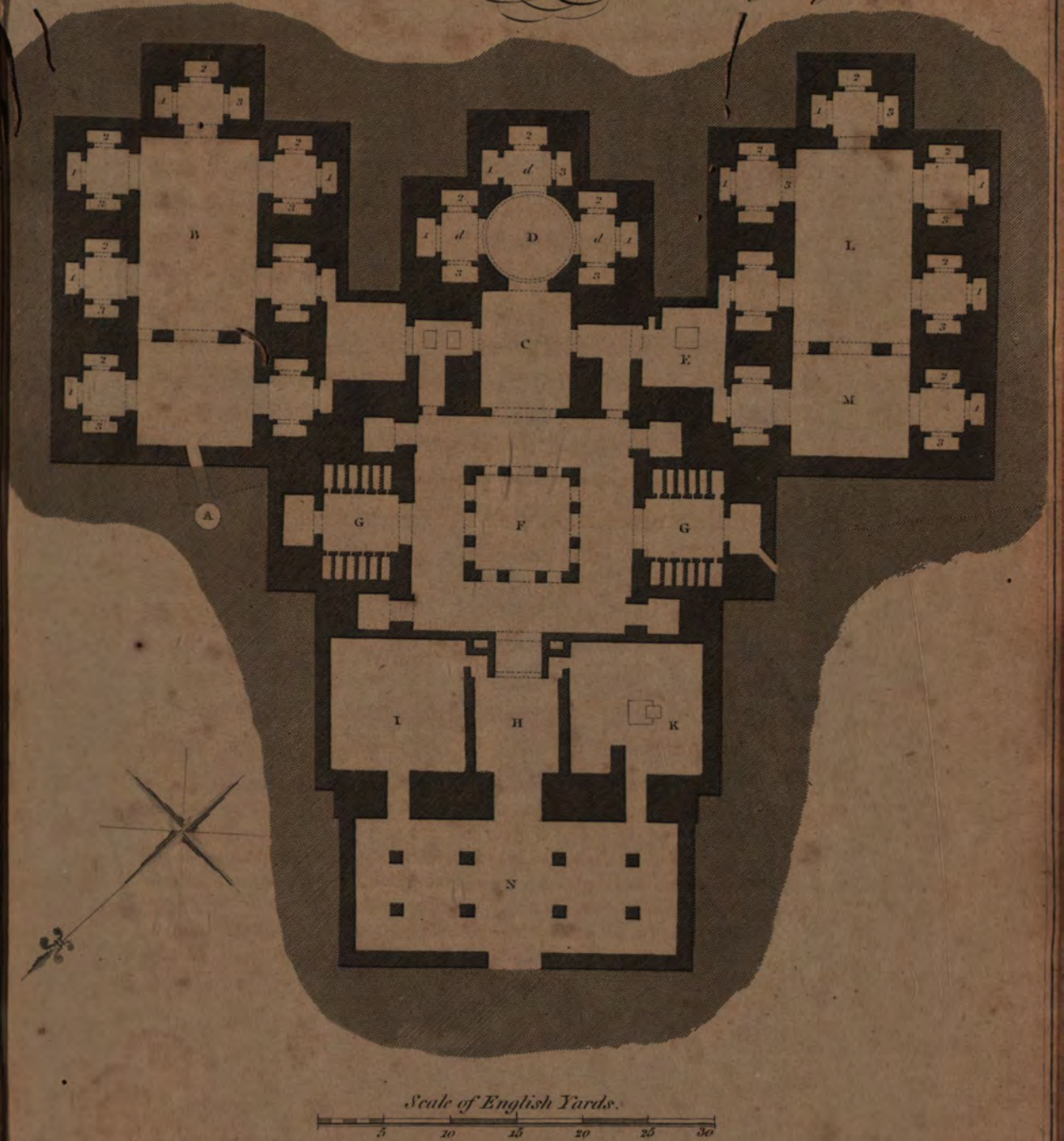
same rigid and religious adherence to this early practice may yet be noticed[1].

The Alexandrian guides to the Catacombs will not be persuaded to enter them without using the precaution of a clue of thread, in order to secure their retreat. We were therefore provided with a ball of twine to answer this purpose; and also with a quantity of wax tapers, to light us in our passage through these dark chambers. They are situated about half a league along the shore, to the westward of the present city. The whole coast exhibits the remains of other sepulchres, that have been violated, and are now in ruins. The name of *Cleopatra's Bath* has been given to an artificial reservoir, into which the sea has now access; but for what reason it has been so called, cannot be ascertained: it is a bason hewn out of the rock; and if it ever was intended for a bath, it was, in all probability, a place where they washed the bodies of the dead before they were embalmed. Shaw maintained that the *Cryptæ* of Necropolis were not intended for the reception of mummies, or embalmed bodies[2]; in which he

(1) Among the Wild Irish, every avocation yields to the paramount duty of conveying a corpse to its destination, whatsoever may be the distance of the place designed for its interment. When the bearers arrive with a coffin, which, in order to fulfil the wishes of the deceased, is to be carried to some distant part of the country, they deposit it in the middle of the first village or town at which they rest, whence it is immediately forwarded by others who become its voluntary supporters.

(2) "The *Cryptæ*, &c. were not intended for the reception of *mummies* or embalmed bodies." *Shaw's Travels, p. 293. Lond. 1757.*

Catacombs of Necropolis at ALEXANDRIA as Surveyed by the French.



he is decidedly contradicted by the text of Strabo[3]. Perhaps he was one of those who had been induced to adopt an erroneous opinion that mummies were placed upright upon their feet in Egyptian sepulchres, and therefore was at a loss to reconcile the horizontal position of the *Thecæ* with his preconceived notions. We shall presently have very satisfactory evidence as to the manner in which embalmed bodies were laid, when deposited within these tombs by the inhabitants of Egypt, before the foundation of Alexandria. The original entrance to them is now closed, and it is externally concealed from observation. The only place whereby admittance to the interior is practicable, may be found facing the sea, near an angle towards the north: it is a small aperture, made through the soft and sandy rock, either by burrowing animals, or by men for the purpose of ransacking the cemetery. This aperture is barely large enough to admit a person upon his hands and knees[4]. Here it is not unusual to encounter jackals, escaping from the interior, when alarmed by any person approaching: on this account the guides recommend the practice of discharging a gun, or pistol, to prevent any sally of this kind. Having passed this aperture with lighted tapers, we arrived, by a gradual descent, in a square chamber, almost filled with earth: to the right and left of this are smaller apartments, chiseled in the rock: each of these contains on

(3) Καὶ καταγωγαὶ, πρὸς ταῖς ταριχείαις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδειαι. *Strabon. Geogr. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1128. *Oxon.* 1807.

(4) See the aperture marked A, in the Plan of the Catacombs.

CHAP. VII.

on either side of it, except that of the entrance, a *Soros* for the reception of a mummy; but owing to the accumulation of sand in all of them, this part of the Catacombs cannot be examined without great difficulty. Leaving the first chamber, we found a second of still larger dimensions, having four *Cryptæ* with *Soroi*, two on either side, and a fifth at its extremity towards the south-east. From hence, penetrating towards the west, we passed through another forced aperture, which conducted us into a square chamber without any receptacles for dead bodies; thence, pursuing a south-western course, we persevered in effecting a passage, over heaps of sand, from one chamber to another, admiring everywhere the same extraordinary effects of labour and ingenuity, until we found ourselves bewildered with so many passages, that our clue of thread became of more importance than we at first believed it would prove to be. At last we reached the stately antechamber of the principal sepulchre, which had every appearance of being intended for a regal repository. It was of a circular form[1], surmounted by a beautiful dome, hewn out of the rock, with exquisite perfection, and the purest simplicity of workmanship. In a few of the chambers we observed pilasters, resembling, in their style of architecture, the Doric, with architraves, as in some of the most antient sepulchres near Jerusalem; but they were all integral parts of the solid rock. The dome covering the circular chamber was without ornament; the entrance to it being

(1) See D of the Plan.

being from the north-west. Opposite to this entrance was a handsome square Crypt with three *Soroi;* and to the right and left were other Cryptæ, similarly surrounded with places for the dead. *Hereabouts* we observed the remarkable symbol, sculptured in relief, of *an Orb with extended wings*[2].

It is to this hieroglyphical sign that allusion was before made; for this seems evidently to represent the *subterraneous Sun*, or SOL INFERUS, as mentioned by Macrobius[3]; and if the latter be *Serapis*, as it is maintained to be by Jablonski[4], we have almost a proof that the circular shrine was the antient *Serapeum* of Racotis, alluded to by Tacitus[5]. All the rest of the history of these Catacombs seems to be involved in darkness, impervious as that which pervades every avenue of the excavated chambers. We endeavoured to penetrate farther towards the south-west and south, and found that another complete wing of the vast fabric extended in those directions, but the labour of the research was excessive.

(2) The author has said "*hereabouts*," from the circumstance of finding it stated in one of Colonel Squire's Letters to his brother, dated Alexandria, Christmas-day, 1801, that he saw "*a Crescent*" over the entrance to the circular chamber, and that it is perhaps on that account vulgarly called "*the Temple of Diana.*" Perhaps Colonel Squire mistook the Orb for a Crescent, by discerning only a part of the symbol above mentioned. The author's description of the interior of these Catacombs was of necessity written from memory; it being almost impossible to make notes while exploring them. He certainly saw the symbol of the *Orb with wings*, as he has described it: but whether it were over the Entrance to the circular Temple, or within the Dome of the Temple over the entrance to the "handsome square Crypt" mentioned above, he cannot positively affirm.

(3) Saturnalia, lib. i. c. 19.

(4) Panth. Ægypt. tom. I. p. 235. *Francof.* 1750.

(5) Tacit. Histor. lib. iv. c. 84.

CHAP. VII.

excessive. The *cryptæ* upon the south-west side corresponded with those which we have described towards the north-east. In the middle between the two, a long range of chambers extended from the central and circular shrine, towards the north-west; and in this direction appears to have been the principal and original entrance. Proceeding towards it, we came to a large room in the middle of the fabric, between the supposed *Serapeum* and the main outlet, or portal, towards the sea. Here the workmanship was very elaborate; and to the right and left were chambers, with receptacles ranged parallel to each other. Farther on, in the same direction, is a passage with galleries and spacious apartments on either side; perhaps the ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΑΙ mentioned by Strabo for embalming the dead; or the chambers belonging to the priests, who constantly officiated in the *Serapeum*. In the front is a kind of *vestibulum*, or porch; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain precisely the nature of the excavation towards the main entrance, from the manner in which it is now choked with earth and rubbish. If this part were laid open, it is possible that something further would be known as to the design of the undertaking; and, at all events, one of the most curious of the antiquities of Egypt would then be exposed to the investigation it merits. Having passed about six hours in exploring, to the best of our ability, these gloomy mansions, we regained, by means of our clue, the aperture by which we had entered, and quitted them for ever.

We have now concluded almost all that relates to our residence in Alexandria, and to our observations in Egypt.

A journey

A journey to the *Oasis* would have been a desirable completion of the African part of our travels; but our friend Mr. Hammer, in whose company we hoped to have made it, had left the country; and neither our health nor the disposition of the Arabs were favourable to the undertaking. We forbear from noticing many interesting objects of curiosity in Alexandria, particularly its prodigious cisterns, which are coëval with the city, because they have so often been described. The difficulty of "knowing when to have done," is perhaps never more sensibly felt, than in a territory so fertile of resources as that we are now leaving. The time is perhaps not distant, when Alexandria alone, a city once so vain of its great reputation and the rank it held among the Pagan states, shall again become the resort, if not the resting-place, of learned men, who will dedicate their time and their talents to a better investigation of its interesting antiquities[1]. So little are we acquainted with its valuable remains, that not a single excavation for purposes of discovery has yet been begun; nor is there any thing published with regard to its modern history, excepting the observations that have resulted from the hasty survey made of its forlorn and desolated havens, by a few travellers whose transitory visits ended almost with the days of their arrival[2]. Scarcely had we felt the importance of more accurate

(1) A local work of this kind, restricted entirely to the Antiquities of Alexandria, might complete one of the most splendid and valuable publications which have yet been added to the archives of taste and of literature.

(2) A very curious instance is afforded by Bruce, who wrote an account of Alexandria, and, literally, did not spend one entire day in the city. He was at sea on the morning

CHAP. VII.

accurate and careful inquiry, than, like our predecessors, we also prepared for our departure. A long track lay before us; and in order to do something *everywhere*, it was necessary to rest *nowhere*. A few days before the French garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, we set out upon a visit to the Capudan Pasha, who was encamped, with the Turkish troops, in the rear of the British army. He had promised us a passage, on board a Turkish frigate, to any part of the Archipelago; and we hastened to receive a letter from him to the Captain, previously to the vessel's sailing for Constantinople. As soon as we reached the Pasha's tent, he asked after the author's brother, Captain Clarke, and desired to see him. Being told that he had sailed with a part of the French army to Marseilles, he solicited that we would oblige him by conveying a verbal message to Sir Richard Bickerton, then in the old port of Alexandria. This message contained nothing less than a request that the Turkish fleet might have permission to enter that port before the surrender of the city to the English army. We had consequently to return back to Alexandria, and give up our own business for the present.

Arriving on board Sir Richard's ship, we delivered our message, and were invited into his cabin to dinner; but being desirous of carrying back his answer that evening, we declined his kind offer. He had before positively refused

morning of the twentieth of June 1768, previously to his landing at Alexandria; (*See Bruce's Travels, vol.* I. *p.* 7. *Edin.* 1790.) and in the afternoon he left that city for Rosetta.

Conduct of the Capudan Pasha.

refused the same request from the Pasha: its renewal was therefore troublesome, and even impertinent; for it was well known to Sir Richard, and to Lord Keith, that it had no other design for its basis than the payment of the Turkish *Galeongies* by the plunder of the city. The Capudan Pasha was a person upon whom no reliance could be placed, although he had not then manifested all the atrocity of his character by the murder of the Beys[1]: however, he received us

(1) This happened soon after our departure. The circumstances are thus detailed by Colonel Squire, who was an eye-witness of the transaction, *in a Letter to his Brother, the Rev. E. Squire, dated Alexandria, October* 31, 1801. None of the real or supposed massacres of Buonaparte can be said to have equalled this in treachery or atrocity.

"We are now engaged in a sort of warfare with the Turks. Before this arrives, you will have heard the cause: but as you may wish to have an accurate account of this horrible affair, I shall detail to you the principal circumstances. The Capudan Pasha, whose encampment was in the rear of the English, wrote to some of the Beys at Çaïro, requesting them to honour him with a visit. They accepted his invitation, although they had been frequently admonished by Sir J. (*now Lord*) Hutchinson, not to engage in too great an intimacy with the Turks. They were escorted from Rosetta to the camp off Alexandria by an English guard, and they remained with the Pasha under our immediate protection. Two days previous to their intended return to Caïro, the Pasha proposed an excursion to Alexandria. During their visit, the Turk had loaded them with every pretended proof of civility and kindness. The very day on which this dastardly assassin perpetrated his black design, he swore by his beard, in presence of the Beys who were breakfasting at his table, and by the holy Koran which was before him, that he was their firm friend and supporter. When the entertainment was nearly concluded, an attendant came into the Pasha's tent, to inform his Highness that a sufficient number of horses and trappings could not be procured for the whole of the retinue. The Pasha, hearing this, pretended to be highly incensed at the messenger—"*However*," said he, "*Gentlemen, we will not be disappointed in our excursion; my boats are in the lake, close to the camp, and we may proceed to Alexandria by water, where your Mamalukes, and my attendants, may meet us in the city.*" The cunning of this is evident: he separates the Beys from their body-guard, that there may be no prospect of an effectual resistance. The poor unsuspecting Beys embarked with the Pasha, and, attended by four or five boats, steered towards the inundation. Scarcely

CHAP. VII.

us with great politeness, but returned this brief and pithy answer, that "*the first Turkish ship which presumed to enter, before*

Scarcely had they advanced a quarter of a mile from the shore, when a boat arrived, with a messenger who pretended to have a particular despatch for the Pasha from Constantinople. The Turk immediately opening the letter, apologized to the Beys, saying that he was obliged to answer the despatch, but that he would afterwards follow them to Alexandria. In this manner he left the Beys, and returned in the small boat to the camp; by this artifice avoiding the exposure of his own person in the scuffle that was to ensue. Shortly after his departure, the boats alter their course, and steer for Aboukir Bay, with an intention of putting the Beys on board the *Sultan Selim*, there at anchorage. The Beys now perceived the whole design of this dark plot. They first remonstrated; then resisted; and, exclaiming they were betrayed, a discharge of musquetry was poured upon them from two or three of the boats. Endeavouring to defend themselves, they were attacked by the crew of the Pasha's boat with swords. Notwithstanding all this, they fought manfully with their poignards. OSMAN BEY TOMBOURGEE, successor to MOURAD BEY, received seventeen wounds. The event of this affair was, that of seven Beys, and a *Cashef*, or *Prime Minister*, two were killed with the *Cashef*, one was most cruelly wounded, and two were drowned. Two only remain, who were made prisoners by the hired assassins of the Pasha. The whole of this transaction being reported to Sir J. (*now Lord*) Hutchinson, he immediately waited upon the Pasha at the head of his troops, and, after calling him, to his face, *liar, coward, villain, assassin*, and using every menace and other opprobrious expression until the mean traitor burst into tears, he demanded the bodies of the Beys; of those who were dead, as well as of the living. Thus intimidated by the spirited behaviour of the English General, the Pasha delivered up the three dead bodies, together with the persons of the living. The three bodies were interred with military honours within the city. Thus the English have taken a very decided part in favour of the Mamalukes, and God knows what will be the event. We are in complete possession of Alexandria: no armed Turk is permitted to enter the town. The same sort of scene has been attempted at Caïro. The Vizier pretended to invite the Beys, and to present them with pelisses: they have all been seized, although I have not yet heard that any violence has been offered to their persons. Sir J. Hutchinson has threatened, it is said, to march an army against the Vizier, if he do not immediately release the Beys from their confinement. Whatever may have been *the policy* of England, OUR GENERAL HAS CONDUCTED HIMSELF WITH HONOUR AND PROPRIETY. He could not have remained an inactive spectator of such base transactions. The Beys were *under his immediate protection*; therefore, by the common laws of hospitality, he was bound to declare himself their guardian. *His own honour, and that of his country, were pledged for their safety.* I saw this INFAMOUS TRANSACTION from our camp. I was witness to the firing

before the city was surrendered, would instantly be sunk." It was towards sun-set when the author reached once more the magnificent Turkish pavilion of audience, stationed on the borders of the Lake of Aboukir, near to the place where the sluices were cut through the Canal of Alexandria, for inundating the old bed of the Lake Mareotis. The Pasha was out on horseback; and the officers of the pavilion, drawn up in two lines, from the entrance of the tent to the rich cushions placed for the Pasha at the upper extremity, were amusing themselves with the tricks of a fool kept by the Pasha, who was mimicking the state ceremonies of his master when giving audience; consequently, one of his frolics was to receive the author as if the Pasha had been present. This unusual facetiousness on the part of the Turks was soon put to flight by the arrival of the great man himself, with his Interpreter; who no sooner heard the answer to his message, than, acting with much less dignity than his buffoon, he *spat* on the ground[1], stamped, and, abruptly quitting the tent, hurried on board a covered boat upon the lake, in which he was accustomed to pass the night, and made his appearance no more on that evening. All hopes of a passage on board the frigate

firing of the musquetry; but not suspecting what was passing, I did not take particular notice of the circumstance." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

(1) The malediction of the Turks, as of other Oriental nations, is frequently expressed in no other way than by *spitting on the ground*, of which an instance will be related in the next Chapter. May not this explain the reason why our Saviour, (who taught to "bless, and curse not," and who, in the annihilation of Heathen superstitions, frequently made the outward sign subservient to opposite purposes of grace and benevolence) when he healed the blind and the deaf, is said to have "*spat on the ground.*" See *John* ix. 6. *Mark* vii. 33. and viii. 23. *See also a Note in Chap.* IX. *Part* I. *of these Travels*, where allusion is made to this custom, as practised at a Russian Christening.

CHAP. VII.

frigate seemed therefore for a moment at an end. But Isaac Bey, the Capudan Pasha's interpreter and secretary, conducted the author to his own tent, and, pleading a sudden indisposition on the part of his master, promised to accommodate matters; begging, at the same time, that his behaviour might not be noticed at head-quarters, and desiring that we would come again upon the sixteenth.

A curious adventure befel us upon our return for the second time this evening, Monday, September the fourteenth, into Alexandria. The English sentinels had advanced from their former stations, close to the gates of the garrison, the first division of the French army having this day embarked at Aboukir. The *word* for the night, as given by the French General for passing the gates, was "*Citoyen.*" As the author rode up to the Rosetta Gate, hearing a distant challenge somewhat indistinctly, and supposing he had passed all the English sentinels, he gave the French *word* as he had been instructed to do. Presently drawing nearer, he was able to discern a soldier levelling his musket at his breast, exclaiming at the same time, with a broad Scotch dialect, "*Wha's that says Citoyen?—gee the richt word, or you're a deed mon!*"—Had this happened during the negotiation for the surrender of the city, the honest Highlander would not perhaps have acted with so much forbearance; but the French and the English sentinels were then standing close to each other, and it was probably nothing more than a vaunt of his patriotism in the presence of his enemy. Some difficulty too occurred at the inner gates, which had never before happened; the sentinels there refusing to lower the drawbridge without a written order from Menou. We offered

to

to shew our passport, signed by General *Réné*, but must have passed the night upon the sands, if one of our party had not resorted to a stratagem, and pretended being the bearer of despatches to the French Commander-in-chief. We were then allowed to enter; and being conducted by a sentinel to head-quarters, were permitted, after explaining what had happened, to return to our lodgings.

The fifteenth was passed chiefly in taking leave of our friends, and in preparations for our voyage in Greece. We obtained permission, through the kindness of Signor Fontossi, from whom we received many civilities, to trace with a pencil a beautiful plan of the Catacombs of Necropolis, which had been finished by one of the chief engineers belonging to the French Institute[1]. A poor Negro girl, who had been sold as a slave[2] to some Frenchman, endeavoured this day to throw herself from a very high window; but being alarmed in the attempt, by the depth below her, held by her hands, and remained suspended in that situation until her cries brought some persons to her assistance.

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(1) It is the same from which the Rev. G. Wilkins completed the drawing of those Catacombs that has been engraved for this work.

(2) The officers of the French army purchased a number of these slaves. The Negro women were particularly in request among them, and many were conveyed to France. The cause of this singular taste has been explained by one of their own *Savans*, in the Appendix to Peltier's Edition of Denon's Travels.

Aboukir, and the Land towards Alexandria.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDRIA TO COS.

Preparations for leaving Egypt—Journey to Aboukir—Cities of Nicopolis, Taposiris Parva, *and* Canopus—*Uncertainty of their topography*—Thonis—*Changes which have taken place upon the coast*—Heraclium—*Aboukir Bay—Turkish Frigate—Persons composing her Crew—Discipline at Sea—Bay of Finica—Meteoric Phænomena—Eastern coast of Rhodes—Lindus—Southern shores of Asia Minor—Bay of Marmora—Rhodes—Cos—Town of Stanchio—Situation of the French Consul—Antient sculpture—Inscriptions*—Asclepiéum—*Votive offerings—Singular article of the Mahometan Law—Population, commerce, and produce of Cos.*

CHAP. VIII.

In the morning of September the sixteenth, we left Alexandria; taking back our horses, &c. to the British camp. A *Chiaoux*, or constable of the Turkish army, rode with us from the gates. This man expressed great indignation that the French were permitted to capitulate for the surrender of the

the place: he said it was very evident that the *Djowrs* (Infidels) were all acting in concert with each other, and that their apparent enmity was a mere device to deceive the Turks. Being asked what the Turks would have done, if the whole management had been left to them, he answered, "*We should have cut off all their heads, to be conveyed to the Grand Signior; or have stripped them naked, and turned them into the Desert.*". In our way through the British camp, we called upon Lord Hutchinson, and endeavoured to express our gratitude for the unceasing patronage bestowed by him, from the moment of our first arrival in Egypt, in the midst of his other important avocations; and we hope that this now disinterested memorial may shew that his kindness has not been forgotten. We then visited a few other friends, who were rejoicing in the prospect of a speedy termination to one of the severest campaigns which British soldiers are likely to encounter—a termination, too, that covered them with glory. The number of the enemy expelled by our army from Egypt, after all the losses he had sustained, was greater than the aggregate of the English combined forces when they were first landed at Aboukir[1]. It was a contest against veteran troops, under every circumstance of privation; a species of warfare to which our soldiers were unaccustomed; carried on against men, who were

(1) "When we landed, the effective force of our army did not exceed 15,000 men. The French, an enemy well established in a country full of resources, embarked from Caïro 13,000; from Alexandria (*mirabile dictu!*) 10,000. We must perhaps deduct 5000, for the civil tribe and the merchants, who followed the army: there will then remain 18,000 for their effective force." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence. Letter dated Alexandria, Oct. 5, 1801.*

CHAP. VIII.

were in full possession of the territory, were inured to the unhealthiness of the climate, and had all the advantages of position. Succeeding generations may indeed exult in the triumph thus obtained for our country; for, so long as the annals of our Empire shall remain, it shall be said, that "lance to lance, and horse to horse," the legions of France, who had boasted themselves to be *invincible*, fled, or fell, before the youth of Britain.

From the British, we went to the Turkish camp; and again had an audience of the Capudan Pasha. He had recovered his composure; and he gave us three letters: one to the Captain of his own ship, the *Sultan Selim;* a second to the Captain of the frigate in which we were to sail; and a third to the Governor of Rhodes, containing, as he said, an order for boats to take us either to Stanchio, or to Scio.

Journey to Aboukir.

Thus provided, we continued our journey to Aboukir, along the sandy neck of land which stretches, in the shape of a ribbon, from the place where our army landed, entirely to Alexandria; having the Lake of Aboukir upon our right, and the sea upon our left. The whole of this tract is a desert, interspersed here and there with a few plantations of palm-trees. The dates hung from these trees in such large and tempting clusters, although not quite ripe, that we climbed to the tops of some of them, and carried away with us large branches[1], with their fruit. In this manner dates are sometimes sent, with the branches, as presents to Constantinople. A ripe Egyptian date, although a delicious fruit, is

(1) The leaves of these trees, when grown to a size for bearing fruit, are six or eight feet long; and may be termed branches, for the trees have no other.

is never refreshing to the palate. It suits the Turks, who are fond of sweetmeats of all kinds; and its flavour is not unlike that of the conserved green citron which is brought from Madeira. The largest plantation occurred about half-way between Alexandria and Aboukir, whence our army marched to attack the French on the thirteenth of March: the trees here were very lofty, and, from the singular formation of their bark, we found it as easy to ascend to the tops of these trees as to climb the steps of a ladder. Wherever the date-tree is found in these dreary deserts, it not only presents a supply of salutary food, for men and camels[2], but Nature has so wonderfully contrived the plant, that its first offering is accessible to man alone; and the mere circumstance of its presence, in all seasons of the year, is a never-failing indication of fresh water near its roots. Botanists describe the trunk of the date-tree as full of rugged knots[3]; but the fact is, that it is full of cavities, the vestiges of its decayed leaves, which have within them an horizontal surface, flat and even, exactly adapted to the reception of the human feet and hands; and it is impossible to view them without believing that HE, who in the beginning[4] fashioned "EVERY TREE, IN THE WHICH IS THE FRUIT OF A TREE YIELDING SEED" as "MEAT FOR MAN," has here manifested one among the innumerable proofs of his beneficent design. The extensive importance of the date-tree is one of the most curious subjects to which a traveller can

(2) The Arabs feed their camels with the date-stones, after grinding them in their hand-mills.

(3) See *Phœnix dactylifera*. Martyn's Edit. of Miller's Dict. *Lond.* 1807.

(4) Gen. i. 29.

CHAP. VIII.

can direct his attention. A considerable part of the inhabitants of Egypt, of Arabia, and Persia, subsist almost entirely upon its fruit. They boast also of its medicinal virtues. Their camels feed upon the date-stones. From the leaves they make couches, baskets, bags, mats, and brushes; from the branches, cages for their poultry, and fences for their gardens; from the fibres of the boughs, thread, ropes, and rigging; from the sap is prepared a spirituous liquor; and the body of the tree furnishes fuel: it is even said that from one variety of the palm-tree, the *Phœnix farinifera,* meal has been extracted, which is found among the fibres of the trunk, and has been used for food[1]. We cut off a few *djerids*[2], and sent them to serve as walking-sticks for some friends in England, as memorials of the heroism displayed by our troops upon the sands where they grew. Beneath these trees, we found some of the smaller cannon-shot used by the French, when driven by our troops along this sandy district. Nothing can exceed the dreary nature of all the prospect between Alexandria and Aboukir, if we except these plantations: yet in this narrow maritime tract[3], the

(1) See *Roxburgh's Plants of Coromandel,* as published by the East-India Company, under the direction of Sir Joseph Banks. *Lond.* 1795.

(2) The name given by the Turks and Arabs to the *midrib,* or *longitudinal stem* of the leaf of the palm-tree. Hence the name of *Djerid,* given to the *equestrian sport* wherein short staves are thrown by the combatants: these were originally *Djerids;* but this name is now common to all short sticks used as darts in that game.

(3) The shape of it may be compared to that of a *band,* or *girdle;* and it is worthy of remark, that Strabo, speaking of the district between the sea and the Canopican Canal, uses the expression στενή τις ταινία: whether with reference to the territory between Alexandria and Aboukir, or not, others may determine.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cities of *Nicopolis*, *Taposiris Parva*, and *Canopus*.

the whole of which may be comprehended in one *bird's-eye* view[4], were situated the cities of *Nicopolis*, *Taposiris Parva*, and *Canopus*, mentioned by Strabo[5]. A person actually surveying the country, considers the fact as scarcely credible; for where, in this confined and desert space, could those cities have been placed? Notwithstanding the very general observation to which the whole district has been recently exposed, nothing is less decided than the locality of any one of those places. Until lately, we had not the smallest idea of the geography of this part of Egypt[6]; and even now, when we are become acquainted with it, it exhibits only a long ridge of sand, extending east and west, for about a dozen or fifteen miles, which seems liable, at every instant, to be washed into the sea[7]. If, as some have supposed[8], Aboukir denote the site of *Canopus*, the ruins engraved by Denon[9] under that name may

(4) See the Vignette to this Chapter.

(5) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διωρυγὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σχεδίαν ἄγουσαν, ὁ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάνωβον πλούς ἐστι παράλληλος τῇ παραλίᾳ, τῇ ἀπὸ Φάρου μέχρι τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος· στενὴ γάρ τις ταινία μεταξὺ διήκει τοῦ τε πελάγους καὶ τῆς διώρυγος, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἥ τε μικρὰ Ταπόσιρις, μετὰ τὴν Νικόπολιν καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον· ἄκρα νάϊσκον ἔχουσα Ἀρσινόης Ἀφροδίτης· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν, καὶ Θῶνίν τινα πόλιν ἐνταῦθά φασιν· κ.τ.λ. "Post fossam, quæ Schediam et Canopum ducit, est navigatio secundum maritimam oram ei, quæ a Pharo usque ad Canopicum ostium perducit, æqualibus semper spatiis opposita: angusta enim quædam fascia inter pelagus et fossam extenditur, in quâ est Parva Taposiris, post Nicopolim ac Zephyrium, et promontorium ac Veneris Arsinoës sacellum habet. Hoc in loco dicunt olim urbem *Thonim* fuisse, &c." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1135. *Oxon.* 1807.

(6) See any of the Maps of Egypt previous to the landing of the English army in 1801.

(7) See the "Survey of the country between Aboukir and Alexandria," *Map facing p. 272 of the last Section.*

(8) See the Notes to the Oxford edit. of Strabo, p. 1135, note 31.

(9) See Pl. 8. Fig. 2. tom. II. of the large Paris edition.

CHAP. VIII.

may have belonged to *Parva Taposiris*[1]; or to the antient *fane*, alluded to by Strabo[2], at the *Zephyrium* promontory, where *Thonis* formerly stood. But, if this be true, where are the vestiges of the channel in which the annual devotees performed their voyage from Alexandria to *Canopus*[3]? It is evident this could not have been the *Alexandrian Canal*, if Aboukir stood on the site of Canopus; for this Canal has no connection with Aboukir. Was it then a *Canal* which, traversing the bed of the new Lake, now called that of Aboukir, communicated with the Alexandrian? All this is very uncertain. Neither the observations made during the time our troops were in Egypt, nor by the French who preceded them, have in any degree elucidated this very difficult part of the antient geography of Egypt. The country itself seems to have been subjected to the most mighty revolutions, from the convulsions of Nature. The present state of *Nelson's Island*, and of the antiquities found upon it, prove that a very considerable part has been swallowed by the waves. The Lake of Aboukir, or *Saïd*, now a very considerable inlet of the sea, is

(1) They were thus alluded to by Colonel Squire. "Three leagues eastward of Alexandria, immediately on the sea-shore, are the ruins of very superb and extensive buildings. It is imagined these formed part of the city of TAPOSIRIS PARVA. Here are also cut out of the solid rock a number of places which have the appearance of baths. Not far from this spot, at a short distance in the sea, may be seen the fragments of several pieces of antient sculpture, granite and marble Sphinxes, a colossal fluted statue with the head of a dog, an *immense granite foot*, and other reliques, plainly indicating the site of a temple." *Colonel Squire's MS. Letters.*

(2) See Strabo, *ubi supra.*

(3) Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1136. *Oxon.* 1807.

is the result of an inundation which happened within the last thirty years. How is it possible, therefore, to settle the topography of places whose remains are, perhaps, at this time, under water? The changes which the coast has undergone will render it no very easy task; and certainly it has not yet been determined. Whenever we undertook the inquiry, our investigation proved fruitless; and it is therefore better to state our uncertainty, than to aim at illustration, when there is so little chance of precision. Perhaps the difficulty may have been increased by considering Aboukir as the antient Canopus[4]. Misled by this prejudice, the traveller is withdrawn from the line of observation marked out by Strabo. His route from Alexandria to Canopus, instead of being in the direction of Aboukir, may possibly have been along the course of the *Alexandrian Canal:* and if this be the ΔΙΩΡΥΞ on which the Canopican festivities were annually celebrated[5], we must look for *Canopus,* and also for *Heraclium*[6], rather in the direction of Utkô and of Rosetta, towards the Delta; or of Rachmanie, rather than in that of Aboukir.

It was about sun-set when we reached the shore near Aboukir. Here we hired a Greek boat to take us to our former

(4) See Chap. X. p. 301. of the former Section.

(5) Ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς Κανωβικῆς πύλης ἐξιόντι, ἡ διώρυξ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ Κάνωβον συνάπτουσα τῇ λιμνῇ. "E Canopicâ portâ exeunti ad dextram est fossa, quæ lacui jungitur, et Canopum fert." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1135. *Oxon.* 1807.

(6) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κάνωβόν ἐστι τὸ Ἡρακλειον τὸ Ἡρακλέους ἔχον ἱερόν· εἶτα τὸ Κανωβικὸν στόμα, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Δέλτα. "Post *Canopum* est *Heraclium,* quod Herculis templum habet. Inde est *Canopicum ostium,* et ipsius *Delta* initium." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1136. *Oxon.* 1807.

CHAP. VIII.

former station on board the *Félicité* merchantman, lying among the transport ships, where we arrived at seven o'clock the same evening. The good old Ragusan Captain gave us a hearty welcome to his cabin, and prepared for us a supper of roasted quails and *pilau*. Lord Keith had sailed about four days before for Malta, which prevented our taking leave of him, and of the officers of his ship, from whom we had experienced many civilities. Dew fell in such abundance, that the decks were wetted as during a heavy shower; nevertheless, from the very *animated* state of the cabin, we preferred passing the night in this damp situation; and experienced from it no inconvenience.

We were detained in the fleet until the twenty-third. Upon the seventeenth, Mr. Schutz, who had been our companion since we left Rosetta, quitted the ship, and set out for Smyrna. During the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth, it blew with such violence from the north-west, that our frequent endeavours to reach the Turkish squadron proved ineffectual. During one of them, the crew being quite exhausted with rowing, and a considerable swell meeting the boat from that quarter, we put about, and hoisted sail. In this manner we were carried unawares so much to the leeward, that we soon found ourselves approaching the surf. The first symptom we had of this was in a wave which broke over our boat. A *djerm*, whose course we had imprudently followed, stood nearer in towards the shore, and gave us notice of our danger, by being stranded in view of us. These accidents happen so frequently to the Arabs, that they are under very little alarm when they occur. It was the second instance we had witnessed

witnessed of the same nature[1]. The crew of the *djerm* were presently seen swimming towards the shore, having abandoned their boat, and its cargo, in the midst of the surf. We saw them all reach the land in perfect safety. In the mean time, having strained every sinew, by dint of hard and continued exertions with our oars, we succeeded at last in extricating ourselves from this perilous situation. The old Ragusan, when we came on board, was very angry with his men; and said he had been watching the boat with his glass, expecting every moment to see her meet the same fate which the *djerm* had experienced. Upon the nineteenth, we had better success, being enabled to reach the English transport ships, and to take leave of several of our friends. We also purchased provisions for our voyage; a little biscuit, some Adrianople tongues, and some English porter: all these were consumed by the Turks, nearly as soon as they were taken on board the frigate in which we were to sail. The porter had been sent as an adventure from Malta, and was sold in bottles, at the rate of thirty shillings per dozen. Many of the Turks are fond of it; and they can drink it without violating the prohibitory laws of the Koran respecting wine. Potatoes, the best of all provisions for a sea voyage, could not be had; rice was very scarce; and tea was not to be purchased. Encouraged, however, by the splendid promises of the Capudan Pasha, who had been so liberal to us upon a former occasion[2], we bestowed very little thought upon our means

(1) See Chap. I. p. 20. of this Volume.

(2) See Chap. III. p. 61. of the former Section.

CHAP. VIII.

means of subsistence; little expecting what befel us in the sequel. The nineteenth was passed in looking over and transcribing the Notes for our Journals; and in buying a few books, taken on board a French prize, which had been destined for the use of the Institute in Egypt. Upon the twentieth, the wind being less violent, we set out for the Turkish frigate, called *Say Yaat Ebarey*, on board a large barge belonging to the *Félicité*. We pulled to windward as far as Nelson's Island, and then hoisted sail. When we arrived on board, we were ordered into the ward-room, where we were permitted to sling our cots. This birth (although contrary to the orders given for our reception, which had assigned us a place in the Captain's cabin) proved an advantageous one to us, as it enabled us to view the interior management of a Turkish ship of war. It was the rendezvous of all the officers on board; two of whom were Ragusans. These men, although entirely under the dominion of the Turks, conversed freely upon the ignorance and incapacity of their masters, and often entertained us with an account of their blunders and imbecility. They told us, that the superannuated Captain of the frigate had never been to sea before his present voyage; that, at the age of seventy, he had espoused a relation of the Capudan Pasha's, and obtained in consequence his appointment to the frigate; that his nephew, a young man, had rather more experience, and held a station similar to that of first-lieutenant on board one of our ships. All the business of steering the vessel was left to the two Ragusans, and to an old pilot who had never consulted a chart in his life; the Captain's nephew having

Turkish Frigate.

having the management of the crew, and the care of the rigging. A few French prisoners were kept in irons, ready to be sent aloft in rough weather. To these were added, a sturdy buffoon, who might be considered as burlesquing the office of boatswain; it was his duty to keep the crew in good-humour by all sorts of tricks and jokes; to promise, and sometimes to distribute, *bachshish*[1], when any additional hands were required in aid of the French prisoners aloft, and when the Turkish sailors refused, as they constantly did, to venture from the deck; an ideot, held sacred as a saint, and kept on board for good luck; a couple of dervishes; an auctioneer, employed daily in hawking commodities for sale between the decks; an immense concourse of passengers, from all parts of the Levant; pilgrims upon their return from Mecca; Tartars, as couriers; sixty Arabian horses, belonging to the Capudan Pasha, with their Arab grooms; venders of coffee and tobacco, who had regular shops established in different parts of the ship;—and, to sum up the whole, a couple of English travellers, with their interpreter, a Greek, who was continually crossing himself at the scene of confusion he witnessed.

The first day after our arrival on board this frigate, we received information that the *Ceres* was stationed at a small distance from the Turkish fleet. We hastened to pay our respects once more to our excellent friend Captain Russel, and to the officers of his ship; but it was to take a last farewell of him. We had the melancholy spectacle of beholding him almost in his last moments. The fever which he had caught

(1) An expression answering to *drink-money* in English.

CHAP. VIII.

caught in Cyprus had scarcely ever left him; and Mr. Hume, the skilful surgeon of his ship, had given over every hope of his recovery. On the twenty-second we received a visit from Captain Culverhouse of the Romulus: returning with him, we spent the day where we had before been so long and hospitably entertained, in company with the captains of other ships then at anchor in the bay. Here we received the news of Nelson's glorious victory at Copenhagen, adding to the triumphs of our beloved country which we had witnessed in Egypt; and the more highly gratifying to us, as, during our residence in Alexandria, the French had industriously circulated a report that Nelson had been defeated. Upon the twenty-third, at day-break, we were under weigh, and soon lost sight of the British fleet. Having thus detailed every particular of our voyage and travels in the most interesting region which it was our fortune to visit, and perhaps more minutely than was often necessary, the remainder of this section, relating to the rest of our observations and adventures in the East, may be given less circumstantially; because they will be found to have reference to countries better known, and where a strict attention to every notice of time and season, if it ever be of consequence, is certainly of little moment.

We had not been long on board the Turkish frigate, before we began to perceive what sort of fare we were likely to expect. Every article of food we had brought with us speedily disappeared among the motley tenants of the ward-room. Muddy coffee, unsophisticated by any ingredient which could add to its nutritive qualities, might be purchased at any time, in small cups, each containing as

as much of the liquid as would fill a dessert spoon, the rest being substantial sediment: this and the fumes of tobacco promised to be the whole of our sustenance. At night, the spectacle on board was perhaps one of the most striking which persons unaccustomed to venture with Turkish mariners can possibly witness. The ship seemed to be left pretty much to her own discretion; every officer of the watch being fast asleep, the port-holes all open, an enormous quantity of canvas let loose, and the passengers between decks, with paper lanterns, snoozing over their lighted pipes; while the sparks from these pipes, with pieces of ignited fungus[1], were flying in all directions. Now and then, an unexpected roll called forth murmuring ejaculations of "Ålla!" or "Mahmoud!" and a few were seen squatted singly, counting their prayers according to the beads upon their *Tespies*[2]. Upon one of these occasions, the weather being somewhat boisterous and the night very dark, a gun was suddenly heard close under the ship's bows, and the snorers were presently in uproar. What had happened, or what was to be done, no soul on board could tell. A message came speedily into the ward-room, ordering the two *djowrs* (infidels) and their interpreter to come with all haste to the Captain. We found him, with his long white beard and flowing dress, surrounded by all the paper lanterns that could be collected, extending his arms upon the deck, and scolding

(1) Commonly called *Amadou*, the *Boletus igniarius*, used over all Europe and Asia as tinder; although rarely applied to that purpose in England.

(2) See Chap. XVI. of the former Section, p. 537, Note (3).

CHAP. VIII.

scolding the buffoon. Before he could articulate a word of his business with us, the report of another gun came like a clap of thunder, and, by the flash which accompanied it, this second discharge seemed to be pointed towards the frigate. He then asked us, with great agitation, what those signals were? and what would be the consequence of his not answering them? We told him we knew not what the signals were; but that if he delayed answering them, it was possible the next would be accompanied with shot. He said he had been ordered to answer *a friend* by four stern lanterns, placed one above the other. We advised him by all means to answer as to *a friend;* and after a general "hue and cry," the old Captain himself ascending the poop, the lanterns were displayed; but whether according to the proper form or not was never ascertained. We heard no further cause of alarm. When tranquillity was somewhat restored, the old Captain, peering to leeward, affected to see what no one else could discern, and called out with great seeming satisfaction, "*Kootchûk! Kootchûk!*" *a little one! a little one!* as possibly it might have been; viz. one of our English cutters, whose crew were perhaps amusing themselves with the aukwardness of our manœuvres, and the panic they had occasioned.

There was no log-book to which we could refer, as in our former voyages, on board English men-of-war; consequently we had little opportunity of adding to nautical observations. The mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, stood, September 27, at 78°, at noon: yet, coming from a warmer climate, we felt chilly, and put on our winter clothing. Towards evening, this day, the weather became squally,

squally, and the old Captain would gladly have made a few reefs in his wide-spreading canvas: the buffoon was accordingly set to work, to have this accomplished; in the mean time the fore-sail went to shivers. Never was there a scene of greater confusion. In the midst of it, one of us attempted to assist, and even spoke to the Captain. His rage upon being addressed by an infidel at this critical moment exceeded all bounds. He spat first upon the deck[1], then into the sea, attributing the accident entirely to our presence on board, and cursing the whole race of Christians, as the authors of all the ill-luck he had ever encountered. The gale increased; but it came on from the north-west with more steady violence, and by taking it in poop, and running before it, according to the invariable practice of the Turks, we were secure as long as sea-room could be found. It continued in this manner during one entire night; and if it had not abated the next morning, Sept. 28th, the ship, being suffered to drive, would have been wrecked upon the first lee-shore that intervened in her course towards the south-east. This day at noon, the author having found an excellent sextant in the ward-room, which had been taken from a French prisoner, made an observation of the ship's latitude; and calculating, as well as he was able, the course she had made, upon a chart belonging to one of the Ragusans, ascertained her position, Lat. 34°. 50', French Longit. 48°. As the pilots on board, being out of sight of land, knew nothing of her situation, he sent the chart, with a respectful message to

(1) The Oriental mode of cursing, by spitting upon the ground. Allusion has been already made to this practice in the former Chapter. *See p. 295, Note* (1).

CHAP. VIII.

to the Captain, telling him the ship's latitude, and her probable distance from Rhodes, Finica Bay, Cyprus, &c. Upon this he was summoned, with the Ragusan, into the cabin, and immediately asked, how he could pretend to know where the ship then was? Having stated that he had ascertained this by means of a sextant found in a drawer of the ward-room, and a calculation of the ship's course, according to the common observations daily made on board English and other ships, the Ragusan was despatched to bring the thing called *sextant* instantly before the Captain. This instrument being altogether incomprehensible to him, he contented himself with viewing it in every direction, except that in which it might be used; and, stroking his long beard, said to the Ragusan, "Thus it is always with these poor *djowrs* (infidels), they can make nothing out without some peeping contrivance of this kind: now *we* Turks require no sextants—*we*, (pointing with his finger to his forehead) *we* have our sextants *here*."

The wind changing, we continued drifting about, with occasional apprehensions of starvation, drowning, or of being blown up by the ship's taking fire. The first land we saw was ascertained to be a part of the mountainous coast of Caramania, or Lycia. Passing in view of the Chelidonian Isles, and *Promontorium Sacrum*, we stood into

Bay of Finica.

Finica Bay, whither the Turkish fleet, lying at Aboukir, had resorted for fresh water from the river *Limyrus*, which falls into the bay, near the village or town of *Finica*, where *Limyra* formerly stood. Here we were becalmed; and being near enough to see the houses on shore, we applied for permission to land, that we might examine the remains of

Limyra,

Limyra, and also of *Myra*, which stood near the mouth of another river, upon the western side of the bay. Our Captain, by the advice of his pilots, acted for once like a true seaman, and would allow no one to land; intending, as he said, to get farther out to sea as soon as possible. As the evening advanced, a land-breeze carried us again from the bay; but before night came on, it blew only in hot gusts; and being upon deck, we were in utter astonishment at the indescribable grandeur of the Lycian coast, and the awful phænomena by which we were surrounded. Stupendous mountains, as the shadows increased, appeared close to the ship, towering above our top-masts; the higher parts being covered with snow, or partly concealed by thick clouds; the air around us becoming every instant more sultry and stagnant. Presently the whole atmosphere was illuminated. The mountains seemed to vomit fire. A pale but vivid lightning darted innumerable flashes over every object, even among the masts and rigging. Never surely was such a scene elsewhere exhibited! The old Greek pilots crossed themselves, but comforted us with the assurance that this appearance of the kindling elements was common upon this coast; and that it denoted favourable weather. We heard little thunder; but streams of living light ran continually from the summits of the mountains towards the sea, and, seeming to separate before they reached the water, filled the air with coruscations. Since, reflecting upon this circumstance as characterizing the coast, it seems to explain a fabulous notion which the Antients entertained of the Chimæra disgorging

Meteoric Phænomena.

CHAP. VIII.

Chimæra of the Antients.

disgorging flames upon the Lycian territory[1], alluded to by Ovid in the wandering of Biblis[2]. It is true, that a volcano might suit the story better; and it is thus explained by Servius, with reference to a burning mountain in the neighbouring region of Caria; the topographical history of the Chimæra being by some writers attributed to Caria, and by others to Lycia; but the existence of this volcano has not yet been ascertained: indeed such is our ignorance of the whole coast of Asia Minor, from CNIDUS to TARSUS, including all the maritime districts of Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, that we have no account either of its ruins or its natural history[3].

Eastern Coast of Rhodes.

Sailing westward the whole night and following day, on the morning of October the first, at sun-rise, we made the eastern coast of the Island of Rhodes, and put the ship's head to the north. During this day we had some pleasant sailing, within twenty miles of the shore: the atmosphere being exceedingly clear, we seemed to survey the whole island in one view, from its southern towards its northern extremity. Coming opposite to Lindus, the weather being calm, the author was enabled to complete an outline of this once-favoured land[4], according to its bearing at the time.

It

(1) "In Lycia igitur, à promontorio ejus oppidum Simena, *mons Chimæra* noctibus flagrans." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* v. *c.* 27. *tom.* I. *p.* 271. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(2) Ovid. Metam. lib. ix.

(3) In the number of English travellers now visiting the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, it is hoped that some one will be induced to explore these regions.

(4) "Pulcherrima et libera Rhodos." (*Plin. Hist. Nat. l.* v. *c.* 31. *L. Bat.* 1635. See also *Lucian.*

Eng.d by Leticia Byrne.

to, bearing at that time, N. W. and Rhodes Point N. E. & by E.

It embraces nearly its whole extent, from north to south; shewing the relative position of Lindus and Rhodes, and the appearance exhibited by its rough, craggy, and broken land, as compared with the features of other islands represented in the former section. The country immediately around Lindus is described by Philostratus as being the most rugged of the Rhodian territory. It was particularly favourable for the cultivation of the vine and the fig-tree, but ill adapted to other purposes of agriculture, and impassable for carts and waggons. In this perhaps it resembled the Land of Judæa, where corn has always been cultivated by means of terraces formed upon the sides of the mountains. From the nature of the land about Lindus, the whole island received the appellation which it bears in Statius[5], of "*the rugged Rhodes.*" Our pilots pointed out to us the eminence on which the remains of antient Lindus are situated. The collection of rarities once dedicated in votive offerings at the shrine of the Lindian Minerva, must have rendered the temple, considered as a museum only, one of the most curious sights to which the inhabitants of Greece resorted. Vessels of antient bronze, military trophies, armour, and weapons, were frequently suspended as donatives in their sanctuaries. But such was the antiquity of some of the gifts in the Lindian temple, that one of them, a bronze caldron, had been presented by Cadmus; and it was distinguished by an inscription in Phœnician characters[6]. An offering

(5) In Equo Domitiani, lib. ii.

(6) Diodorus Sic. lib. ii. Herodot. lib. ii.

CHAP. VIII.

offering of Amasis, king of Egypt, seems to have been regarded as the principal marvel of the temple, notwithstanding the pictures of Parrhasius and of Zeuxis, by which it had been adorned; this was a linen thorax of net-work, each thread consisting of as many filaments as there are days in the year. The Consul Mutianus, says Pliny, had himself unravelled one of these threads, and had borne testimony to the fact[1].

Southern Shores of Asia Minor.

From the eastern coast of Rhodes our Captain stood over once more towards the coast of Lycia and the Seven Capes. In the morning of October the second, we found ourselves in the midst of islands and promontories, placed upon the bright expanse as it were of a mirror without boundary. It is quite impossible to excite, by description, any ideas of such scenery. The impression made upon our minds, who had beheld these sights before, was new again. The immensity of the objects; the varied nature of the territory over all the southern shores of Asia Minor; the prodigious effect of light and shade, in masses extending for leagues; the sublime effulgence and the ineffable whiteness of the snow-clad summits, contrasted with the dark chasms on the sides of the mountains; the bold precipices, and the groupes of numerous islands; the glorious brightness and the intensity of colour diffused over the horizon;—these indeed may be enumerated, but they cannot be described. We continued surveying them, as if we had then seen them only for

(1) "Mirentur hoc, ignorantes in Ægyptii quondam regis, quem Amasim vocant, thorace in Rhodiorum insulâ ostendi in templo Minervæ CCCLXV filis singula fila constare. Quod se expertum nuper Romæ prodidit Mutianus ter Consul, parvasque jam reliquias ejus superesse hâc experientium injuriâ." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xix. *c.* 1. *L. Bat.* 1635.

for the first time. The Turkish practice of keeping near the shore, when land is in view, enabled us to see the whole coast of Lycia and of Caria. As we proceeded towards Doris, the eye commanded in one prospect the whole of that part of Asia Minor, even to the Triopian Promontory, or *Cape Crio*, together with the islands of Rhodes, Syme, Sicklia, Telo, and even Scarpanto, lying at the distance of thirty leagues in the Carpathian Sea[2].

During this day we were employed in crossing the mouth of the Gulph of Glaucus. Continuing our voyage towards the north-west, we found ourselves becalmed near the entrance of the Bay of Marmora, antiently that of Peræa, the memorable rendezvous of our fleet, previous to the Egyptian Expedition. The magnificent harbour it affords has been described by other writers; but as it remained so long unknown, and may always prove an important place of refuge for vessels in these stormy seas, the author again availed himself of the tranquil situation of the ship to sketch the appearance of the coast, and to note the bearing of the land when the view was made[3]. It will shew the mountainous course of the territory

Bay of Marmora.

(2) "Rhodiorum insulæ, *Carpathus*, quæ mari nomen dedit." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* v. *c.* 31. *tom.* I. *p.* 280. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(3) A short extract from Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence will afford the reader a description of this bay; and the curious circumstance of the "*myrtle fascines*," prepared for the attack in Egypt, will not pass without observation. It is taken from a Letter to the Rev. E. Squire, dated "*Marmorice Bay, Jan.* 21, 1801."

"Our present situation is as charming and picturesque as can well be imagined: the bay is completely landlocked, and, from within, appears as a sheet of water, or lake, surrounded by lofty mountains, wooded to the very summit; but here and there divided by deep impenetrable valleys, thick with shrubs of every description; to which a clear, yet constant stream, imparts freshness and verdure. Sometimes one height is separated from

CHAP. VIII.

territory opposite Rhodes; although the features of Nature do not here present so gigantic an appearance as to the eastward of the Seven Capes. The wind afterwards becoming favourable for Rhodes, we stood for the town; and coming close to it, fired a gun, as a signal for a boat to put off to the ship. When the boat arrived, we represented to the Captain the necessity of our landing with the despatches from the Capudan Pasha, which he had charged us to deliver with our own hands to the Governor; but the wary old Turk, apprehending at least the possibility of its being an order for his own execution[1], delivered the despatches to the boatmen, and, without waiting for any answer, made all the sail he could to get away from the island. The Ragusans explained his conduct to us; for it seemed otherwise unaccountable that he should thus wantonly disobey his commanding officer, to whom, at the same time, he was so nearly related.

On the following morning we found that we had made but little progress, being off the Island of *Episcopia*, or *Piscopy*, called *Hellika* by the Turks, and *Telo* by the modern Greeks,

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from another by a large extensive plain, divided into fields, and covered with an abundance of cattle: add to these the little town of Marmorice, with its mosque and minaret, the shipping at anchor, the boats passing to and fro, the tents on different parts of the shore, and the variety of objects, will be found to compose a picture that can never be surpassed. On the *ninth instant*, my brother officers and myself were landed, and encamped with a party of two hundred artificers, for the purpose of making *fascines*, and preparing our particular branch of the service for the ensuing campaign. Would you believe that most of our *fascines* are of the most beautiful myrtle; and that, probably, in a few weeks, WE SHALL BE PLANTING OUR CANNON IN MYRTLE BATTERIES BEFORE ALEXANDRIA?" *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

(1) The grandees of Turkey are sometimes sent to Rhodes, when it is necessary to get rid of them, with an order to the Governor for their own execution.

E.D. Clarke delin.

Etch.d by Letitia Byrne.

Entrance to the BAY of MARMORICE,

bearing North, with the Coast of Caria, opposite Rhodes.

Greeks, antiently *Telos*[2]. Thence doubling again the Triopian promontory, we came once more in sight of Cos, and arrived near the town of *Stanchio*, Sunday, October the fourth. Here a Dervish, who came with us from Egypt, wished to go on shore; and as we had still much to do in Greece, and were very desirous of leaving the Turkish frigate, we renewed our applications to the Captain to enable us to land with the Dervish. He told us not to lose a moment, if such were our intentions, as the small boat which he had prepared was incapable of containing many persons, and it was filling very fast from the port-holes. We committed some of our trunks to his care, to be conveyed to Constantinople; and taking with us as few necessaries as possible, leaped into the midst of the crowd in the boat, at the moment in which it was leaving the ship. Fortunately the sea was perfectly calm; for we soon found that with the smallest motion we should all go to the bottom, the water being already even with the boat's edge; and it required the utmost caution in rowing her three miles from the ship to the shore, to prevent her filling; so deeply was she laden.

Town of Stanchio.

A Greek bishop had arrived in Stanchio since our last visit, to whom we were introduced. He began already to wish for the money which his promotion had cost him; having gained nothing by the bargain, as he himself told us, excepting a fine painted and gilded firmân, from Constantinople, which no one respected. He intended however, as he told us, to reimburse himself

(2) See Plate facing p. 220 of the First Section of Part II.

CHAP. VIII.

himself in his capacity of magistrate; the bishops in the Isles acting as justices of the peace, in all disputes among the Greeks, and generally taking care to be well paid for their trouble. He accompanied us to the Governor, where, having obtained an audience, we produced a letter from the Capudan Pasha, enjoining all persons, as far as the Turkish power by sea extended, to render us assistance upon our travels. We told the Governor, that we had no other favour to ask of him, than to procure for us some vessel which we might hire by the month. He said there was nothing suitable at present in the harbour; but desired our Interpreter to accompany one of his officers to the opposite port of Bûdrûn *(Halicarnassus)*, where it might be possible to find something adapted to our undertaking. To this we agreed, and hired a set of apartments near the bishop's house, where we remained, waiting the return of our messengers.

Situation of the French Consul.

The next day we received a visit from our old friend the French Consul, who came to welcome our arrival, and, poor as he was, to offer his services. He had not received a single sous from his government since he had resided upon the island; nor was there any prospect that the arrears would be paid. While he remained with us, he received information that a transport ship, with French prisoners from Egypt, having separated from the convoy, had put in for water and provisions. We told him, that a proper opportunity now offered of obtaining some supply from his countrymen; as they had been allowed to remove to France the wealth which they had acquired in Egypt by plunder, and, doubtless, had much treasure on board. He smiled at the idea of receiving assistance from any of the "*Heroes of the Republic!*"

Republic!" but allowed us to make the experiment; stating first a memorial of his case in writing, and addressing it to the officers and privates in the transport. With this document we hastened on board; and being conducted into the cabin, found there a General of the French army, who had lost a leg in one of the late actions, and was confined to his cot, surrounded by French soldiers, some of whom were officers, all disputing and talking at once. As soon as we had obtained a hearing, we presented our petition, and endeavoured to urge the suit entrusted to us with all the persuasion we could use. It was to no purpose. The Consul, they said, might be a man of merit; he had served his country faithfully; but there was nothing in their situation, or in his, that could warrant an interposition on their part between the republic and its agents. We contended that it ought not to be considered as an interference in State matters, but as a work of common charity, and as an act of real patriotism: but these terms, *charity* and *patriotism*, as they were to be *paid for*, were not very graciously received. After a few more *appeals* and *repeals*, bows, protestations, and grimaces, we were forced to return without having accomplished the object of our mission.

During four days that we were detained upon the island, we renewed our search after antiquities, and particularly after Inscriptions. We had every reason to believe that remains of this kind might be found within the Castle; but our entrance was, as usual, strictly prohibited. The Consul himself had never obtained admission; so cautious are the Turks in preventing foreigners from inspecting their fortifications. We ventured, however, upon the draw-bridge which crosses the

CHAP. VIII.

Antient Sculpture.

the mote on the land side; and as we drew near to the gateway, observed above the entrance, six masks[1], of the most exquisite sculpture: some of these were represented with beards. We saw also, very distinctly, the letters of a Greek Inscription on each side of the entrance[2].

Inscriptions.

These Inscriptions, notwithstanding the expedition, and the circumspection also, requisite in tracing them, the author believes he has copied with accuracy. The first is a most affecting and beautiful memorial of filial piety in an eminently virtuous woman. It is in the wall, on the left side of the Castle-gate, to a person facing the entrance. It sets forth, that "THE SENATE AND PEOPLE HAVE HONOURED SUETONIA THE DAUGHTER OF CAIUS, WHO HAS LIVED CHASTELY AND WITH DECORUM; BOTH ON ACCOUNT OF HER OWN VIRTUE, AND THE BENEVOLENCE SHE HAS SHEWN TOWARDS HER FATHER." The legend is as follows:

ΑΒΟΥΛΑΚΑΙΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΕΤΕΙΜΑΣΑΝΣΟΥΗΤΩ
ΝΙΑΝΓΑΙΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
ΠΡΕΙΜΑΝΖΗΣΑΣΑΝ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΚΑΙΚΟΣ
ΜΙΩΣΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΝΑΥΤΑΣ
ΑΡΕΤΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΑΝΕΣ
ΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤΑΣ
ΣΟΥΗΤΩΝΙΟΝΕΡΜΙ
ΑΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΤΕΙΜΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

On

(1) A part of the frieze mentioned in the former Section, Chap. VII. p. 213, Note (1). *Broxb.* 1813.

(2) As neither of these Inscriptions has been observed or published by Spon, or any other former traveller, no apology is necessary for their insertion here. It may be

On the right-hand side of the gate, exactly opposite to this, is another Inscription of a similar nature, commemorating the exemplary conduct of a woman towards her husband; purporting that "THE PEOPLE ERECT ANAXINAEA DAUGHTER OF EUAEON, WIFE OF CHARMYLUS, ON ACCOUNT OF HER VIRTUE AND CHASTITY AND BENEVOLENCE TOWARDS HER HUSBAND." This is the order of the legend:

ΟΔΑΜΟΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΑΝΑΞΙΝΑΗΑΝΕΥΑΙΟΝΟΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΔΕΧΑΡΜΥΛΟΥΤΟΥ
ΧΑΡΜΥΛΟΥΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙ
ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΣΠΟΤΙ
ΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΑΥΤΑΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ

What an exalted idea do these records convey of the state of society, in a country where the private virtues of the inhabitants were considered as public benefits, and were gratefully and publickly commemorated by the Senate and the People; where the filial piety and the chastity of its women were thus honoured and rewarded! Even amidst the depraved state of public morals, in the modern cities of Europe, were these virtues estimated at as high a price, each nation would have to boast of an *Anaxinæa* and a *Suetonia*. Let there be only an equal excitement to virtue, and human-nature would be found the same in every age. The sublime and affecting

be said, that a more methodical distribution of the subject of these Travels would have required their introduction into the account of *Cos*, as it was published in the former Section: but in the very beginning of his undertaking (*See Part* I. *p.* 3.) the author promised to make his Work "*as similar as possible to the state in which Notes taken on the spot were made;*" and he is not conscious of having ever deviated from his engagement.

CHAP. VIII.

affecting institution of national honours for exemplary morals would not operate less effectually in this enlightened age than in the best periods of Grecian history; and although "the price of a virtuous woman is far above rubies," yet in such an institution even female virtue would find its value: "her own works would praise her in the gates," and "strength and honour would be her clothing."

We found other Inscriptions in our second visit to this island, but of less consideration. Upon a slab of Cipolino marble, forming a bench near to the old Greek Monastery, we observed an Inscription of some length, relating to one of the vessels employed in a bath; beginning ΗΠΥΑΛΟΣ, and followed by a list of names. Others upon votive altars were numerous. Near to an arch at the entrance of the Market, we saw a beautiful altar of Parian marble, ornamented with bulls' heads, having bands or fillets, as for sacrifice, falling on each side; and supporting festoons of flowers, beautifully sculptured. It had this Inscription:

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ

These, with fragments of porphyry, breccia, and other materials of antient sculpture, lying about the modern town of Stanchio, and already alluded to[1], are all that we noticed upon this occasion. Of the renowned Asclepiéum, mentioned

(1) See Chap. VII. p. 213, of the former Section of Part II. *Broxb.* 1812.

tioned by Strabo[2], we could find no traces; although it is reasonable to expect that the remains of such a building may be here discovered: it was situated in a suburb of the antient city; not of *Astypalea*, the first metropolis of the people of Cos—for that city stood elsewhere[3]—but of *Cos*, a city built upon the point of *Scanderïa*, to the westward; so that its suburbs probably occupied the situation of the modern town. Possibly the Mosque may now occupy the original site of the ASCLEPIÉUM: near to it there was a grove, consecrated to Æsculapius[4]. One of the assassins of Julius Cæsar, Publius Turullius, a Roman senator, cut down almost all the trees for ship timber; but afterwards, being delivered up by his friend Anthony to Augustus, he was put to death. In the uncertainty which prevails with regard to the age of trees[5], and particularly of the Plane-tree, which is known to exist for centuries, perhaps the marvellous tree of *Stanchio*, alluded to upon a former occasion[6], if it be not a venerable remnant of this grove, may, as a spontaneous produce resulting from it, denote its actual situation. The conjecture seems to be warranted by the number of antient altars still remaining about the body of this tree. The ASCLEPIÉUM was filled with

(2) 'ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕΙΟΝ. Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 941. *Oxon.* 1807.

(3) Ἡ δὲ τῶν Κώων πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν Ἀστυπάλαια, καὶ ᾤκειτο ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ. Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 940. Ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

(4) Dio Cassius.

(5) Cowper speaks of an oak which had flourished from the time of the conquest; (*See Hayley's Life of Cowper, vol.* III. *p.* 166. *Chichest.* 1806.) and allusion has been already made to the famous olive-tree in the Citadel at Athens, that had existed from the foundation of the city.

(6) See p. 198 of the former Section. *Broxb.* 1812.

CHAP. VIII.

with the most costly *vows;* and, among the number, the most famous paintings of Apelles—his *Antigonus,* and his *Venus Anadyomene.* Augustus removed the last picture to Rome, and there consecrated it in the shrine of his father[1].

Votive Offerings.

The custom of suspending pictures in churches, representing hair-breadth escapes from casual disaster or disorder, as votive offerings to patron Saints who are believed to have been propitious to the donors, is still common in many countries, particularly where the Greek and the Catholic religion is professed: in the same manner, models in wax, or sculptured representations of parts of the human body, such as the hands or the feet, recovered from disease, are often placed before an image, in small shrines near to the road side, in the defiles of mountains, particularly in the Alps. The most curious fact connected with the practice is this, that it is much older than the time of Hippocrates. Such offerings have been made from time immemorial by the Hindoos[2]: but among the Greeks, it was customary to devote within their temples something more than the mere symbol of a benefit received; inscriptions were added to such signs, setting forth the nature of the remedy that had been successful, or giving a description of the peculiar grace that had been

(1) *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xiv. *p.* 941. *Oxon.* 1807. "Venerem exeuntem è mari Divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Cæsaris, quæ Anadyomene vocatur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxv. *cap.* 10. *L. Bat.* 1635. The same circumstance is also related by Quintilian.

(2) The women, in many parts of India, hang out offerings to their Deities; either a string of beads, or a lock of hair, or some other trifling present, when a child, or any one of their family, has been recovered from illness.

been accorded(3). In the churches of the North of Europe, and particularly in those of Denmark and Norway, the traces

(3) "Among the remains of antiquity which offer themselves to the notice of the traveller in his journey through Greece and Asia, there are some, hitherto, not sufficiently regarded: and yet they are of importance, as being connected with the religious opinions of the Antients, and as being prototypes of a custom existing at this day in Christian countries. I allude to the votive offerings which were presented to some Deities, on the restoration to health, after a bodily complaint or disease. The eyes, the feet, the hands, sometimes* the whole body, were, as soon as health returned to the invalid, formed in marble, earthenware, and other materials, and offered to a presiding Deity. In Italy, and in other Roman-Catholic countries†, this custom still prevails; and in the Greek churches we have witnessed similar representations, in silver, wax, and other substances, dedicated to patron saints.

"A question here arises concerning the antiquity of this practice: In what country, and at what period, did it first commence? On these points we are in possession of an authentic fact, by which we are enabled to answer, in some degree, the question: at least, we are informed by it, that the antiquity of the custom is great; and that it prevailed in the East, and was thence probably introduced into Greece.

"When the Philistines had taken away the Ark of the God of Israel, the hand of the Lord, we read, was heavy upon them; and he smote them. When they determined to send back the ark, they asked their priests what offering they should make to the Lord, that they might be relieved from the disorder which attacked their bodies, and from the other calamity, that of mice, which destroyed the land. The priests answered, 'Ye shall make golden images of your emerods, and images of your mice 'that mar the land; and ye shall give glory unto the God of Israel; peradventure he will 'lighten his hand from off you. And they did so; and they laid the Ark of the Lord 'upon the cart, and the coffer with the mice of gold, and with the images of their 'emerods‡.'

"This, we have no doubt, is the earliest mention of the custom we are considering. We have observed at Phocæa in the antient Lydia, at Eleusis, at Athens, and other parts of Greece, holes of a square form, cut in the limestone rock, for the purpose of receiving these

* In the Island of Santorin there are some singular representations, on the rock. Tomasini gives the votive figure of a man in a dropsical state.

† "Ea quippe licentia, (says Baronius,) quâ Deorum delubra in Ecclesias Christianorum sunt laudabiliter commutata, alii quoque ritus a nobis benedictionibus expiati divino sunt cultui consecrati."

‡ I Samuel vi. 5, 11. "Solebant Veteres, (says Bochart, on this passage,) aliquo metu vel periculo defuncti, præteritorum malorum insignia ac monumenta illis Diis consecrare, a quibus se liberatos putabant." *Hieroz. lib.* xi. c. 36.

CHAP. VIII. traces of this antient custom may yet be observed; the *dona votiva* being often suspended in the form of pictures representing hair-breadth escapes, a deliverance from banditti, or a recovery

these votive offerings: sometimes the offerings themselves, eyes, feet, hands, have been discovered. At Cyzicum there is a representation of two feet on marble, with an inscription; probably the vow of some person who had performed a prosperous journey. The same subject is referred to in the engraving of a tablet published by Tomasini, on which are seen two feet, accompanied with these letters, QVIE IANAE H D, shewing that it was an offering by a person of the name of Jana to Hygeia; and if the word *Quie* be properly explained, *quiescentis*, the whole has reference, as we have observed, to a journey performed with safety.

"Women, after child-birth, made votive offerings; and a representation of the girdle was consecrated to Diana*. Acantherus explains the subject of a marble, in which a person of the name of Laömedon makes an offering to the Lochian Diana, on the safe delivery of his wife.

"All these offerings, which were made either during illness, or after recovery from it, were termed χαριστήρια τῆς σωτηρίας: the words δῶρον, χάρισμα, ἀνάθημα, were also used: and in Latin, *Dona*, and *Donaria*.

"As the temples of Neptune received the votive tributes of those who had escaped the dangers of the sea; so the temples of Æsculapius were adorned with tablets presented by persons restored to health. Invalids were allowed to sleep in the porticoes, and the interior, of the fanes of Isis and Æsculapius; and there, by the way of dream, they received advice concerning the remedies they should use to procure their health. 'Julian (says an old inscription) vomited blood; and was given over: the God told 'him to come and take the cones of a pine-tree, and eat them, with honey, for three 'days. He received his health, and came and returned thanks in the presence of the 'people.'

"'Valerius Aper, a soldier, was blind. The God told him to take the blood of a 'white cock; to mix it with honey, and make an ointment of it; and apply it to his eyes 'for three days. He gained his sight, and came and returned thanks.'

"On these, and similar occasions, we must suppose the votive offerings were presented; many of which are found in Greece and Asia†. They were fixed, as we have observed,

* Called Diana Ἀνείζωνος. *Zonam solvere*, in Latin, has reference to marriage: among the Greeks, it referred to the birth of the first child. *Scaliger on Catullus.*

† The medicine itself was sometimes placed in the temples; as in the case of a goldsmith, who, on his death bed, bequeathed an ointment to a temple, which those who were unable to see the physicians might use.—*Ætius, Tetr.* xi. *Serm.* 4.

a recovery from sickness; and these pictures are frequently inscribed with the particulars of the case thereby commemorated. It was from a list of remedies collected in the

observed, sometimes in the rock, near the sacred precincts of a temple; sometimes appended to the walls and columns of the temples: they were fastened also by wax to the knees, or other parts of the statues of the Gods*.

"When we say, that the offerings were made in the temple of Isis, we must understand, that the honour was paid particularly to Serapis, joint-tenant of the temple, as the God of Medicine. '*Ego Medicinâ a Serapi utor*,' says Varro†. See also Cicero, in his second book, *De Divinat.* Nor did those only who recovered from illness pay their votive tribute of gratitude to the Gods; their friends often united with them in this act of devotion.

"The period of the first introduction into the Christian church of this custom, once so prevalent in Pagan Italy and Greece, cannot be precisely fixed. But Theodoret, one of the Greek Fathers, has a passage in his Therapeutics§, which attests the existence of the practice, in the fifth century, of Christians offering, in their churches, representations of parts of the body restored to health: 'Some,' he says, 'offer up effigies '(ἐκτυπώματα) of eyes; others, of feet; others, of hands; made of gold, and silver.'

"The same spirit of religious feeling which prompted the Pagans to make the offerings we have adverted to, urged them to consider themselves, in every transaction and situation of life, as under the presiding care of some Deity; to whom, consequently, some manifestation of gratitude was due in all successful undertakings. The husbandman, after the harvest, offered up his instruments of husbandry; poets, and men of genius, consecrated their harps, lyres, and volumes, to Minerva and Apollo; conquerors presented some of the spoils won in war‖. The temples of the Greeks were, we know, used by different States, as Banks; to this circumstance was owing, in part, the vast wealth which they contained; and this was increased by the costly offerings‡ in gold and silver, presented on various occasions." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

* Juven. Sat. x. 54. Prudent. contra Symm. lib. i. Lucian. Philop.

† *Varr. Adv. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. "An Æsculapius, an Serapis, potest præscribere per somnium curationem valetudinis." *Cicero de Divin.*

§ Lib. viii.

‖ Of this description is the antient Argive helmet found in the alluvial soil of the Alpheus, at Olympia, by Mr. Morritt; now in the possession of Mr. Knight.

‡ One of the most antient offerings in Greece was that bearing an inscription, in Cadmean letters, on a tripod, at Thebes. *Herod. lib.* v. *p.* 400. Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἰὼν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων. ἰὼν is the emendation of Valguarnera. ἑών is preferred by Villoison, (*Anec.* ii. 129.) with ἀνέθηκε.

CHAP. VIII.

the temples that Hippocrates of Cos framed a regular set of canons for the art of medicine, and reduced the practice of physic to a system[1].

Singular part of the Mahometan Law.

A remarkable cause was tried while we were in Cos; and a statement of the circumstance on which it was founded will serve to exhibit a very singular part of the Mahometan law; namely, that which relates to "*Homicide by implication.*" An instance of a similar nature was before noticed, when it was related that the Capudan Pasha reasoned with the people of Samos upon the propriety of their paying for a Turkish frigate which was wrecked upon their territory; "because the accident would not have happened unless their island had been in the way." This was mentioned as a characteristic feature of Turkish justice, and so it really was; that is to say, it was a sophistical application of a principle rigidly founded upon the *fifth species of homicide,* according to the Mahometan law;* or "*Homicide by an intermediate cause,*" which is strictly the name it bears[2]. The case which occurred at Cos fell more immediately under the cognizance of this law. It was as follows.

A young man desperately in love with a girl of Stanchio, eagerly sought to marry her; but his proposals were rejected. In consequence of his disappointment, he bought some poison and destroyed himself. The Turkish police instantly

(1) "Tunc eam revocavit in lucem *Hippocrates*, genitus *in insulâ Coo*, in primis clarâ ac validâ, et Æsculapio dicatâ. Is, cum fuisset mos, liberatos morbis scribere in templo ejus Dei, quid auxiliatum esset, ut postea similitudo proficeret, exscripsisse ea traditur, atque (ut Varro apud nos credit) jam templo cremato, instituisse medicinam hanc, quæ *Clinice* vocatur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. l.* xxix. *c.* 1. *tom.* III. *p.* 187. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(2) See the communication made to the author by Mr. Keane, as published in Note (4), p. 193, of the former *Section. Second edition. Broxb.* 1813.

instantly arrested the father of the young woman, as the cause, *by implication*, of the man's death: under the *fifth species of homicide*, he became therefore amenable for this act of suicide. When the cause came before the Magistrate, it was urged literally by the accusers, that "*If he, the accused, had not had a daughter, the deceased would not have fallen in love; consequently he would not have been disappointed; consequently he would not have swallowed poison; consequently he would not have died:—but he, the accused, had a daughter; and the deceased had fallen in love; and had been disappointed; and had swallowed poison; and had died.*" Upon all these counts, he was called upon to pay the price of the young man's life; and this, being fixed at the sum of eighty *piastres*, was accordingly exacted.

Population, commerce, and produce of Cos.

The population of Cos had much diminished of late years. There were formerly 20,000 inhabitants; and of this number only eight or ten thousand now remained. Three thousand had been carried off by a severe plague the year before; and great numbers had been draughted, to serve as soldiers in the war. The island contains five villages: it produces corn and cattle. Its fine rich grapes were now selling for less than a halfpenny the pound: pomegranates and melons were in great abundance, and of delicious flavour. Its trade consists in the manufacture of barrels, and in the sale of wine, brandy, raisins, lemon-juice, preserved fruit, &c. Corn sold for four piastres and a half the *Quilot*[3]: the average price was reckoned at seventy or eighty *parâs*.

(3) The *quilot*, according to Tournefort, is a measure of three panaches; each panache is eight oques; and each oque is twenty-five pounds. *See Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom.* II. *p.* 109. *Lyon*, 1717.

CHAP. IX.

COS TO PATMOS.

Messenger from the Vizier—Botanical discoveries—Casiot vessel—Antient custom of singing Vespers—Leria *and* Lepsia—*Arrival at* Patmos—*Critical situation of a part of the French army—Monastery of St. John—Library—Ignorance of the Monks—Manuscripts—Discovery of the* Patmos Plato—*Other valuable Works—Manuscript in the hand-writing of* Alexius Comnenus—*State of the island—Antient Medals—Extensive prospect—Holy Grotto—Dinner given by the French Officers—Barthelemy—Women of the island—Bells—Stratagem for obtaining the Greek Manuscripts—Fruitless attempt to leave the island—View of* Samos—Icaria—*Western port of* Patmos—*Geological phænomena—Plants and animals—Marble* Cippi—*Departure from* Patmos—*Prognostics of Greek mariners.*

CHAP. IX.

ON Tuesday, October the sixth, as we were sitting with the Governor, a Greek officer of the name of Riley, who had been

Messenger from the Vizier.

been interpreter to Colonel, now Sir Charles Holloway, in the Turkish army, arrived from Grand Caïro with dispatches from the Vizier. He brought letters for us from England, which had been sent first to Constantinople, and then to Egypt, and yet reached us with so recent a date as the twelfth of August. When he entered the Governor's apartment, we supposed him to be a Turk: he wore the Turkish habit, and conversed with great fluency in the Turkish language: presently, to our surprise, he addressed us in English; and afterwards gave us intelligence of all that had happened at Caïro since we left that city. A report had reached him after he sailed from Egypt, that the Vizier had been ordered into exile, to *Giddah*, where the air is supposed to be so unwholesome, that the punishment of being banished thither is considered as almost equivalent with death. Hearing that we intended to visit Patmos, he requested a passage thither in our vessel: his wife resided upon that island, and it was his wish to see her, in his way to Constantinople. We readily acceded to his proposal; and a very fortunate circumstance it proved, in the services he rendered to us during a negotiation with the Monks of Patmos for the Manuscripts we afterwards obtained.

Botanical Discoveries.

We employed the rest of our time principally in botanical excursions, and were very successful; having found no less than six non-descript species: although, as we mingled all the specimens collected in this island in March with those which we now gathered in October, we cannot precisely state the time when any particular plant came into flower.

There

CHAP. IX.

There is, however, reason to believe that they principally belong to the autumnal season; as our stay was very short in March, and it was before observed that the plants of this island had not then attained a state of maturity[1]. According to our usual plan, we shall only refer the reader now to the new-discovered species; reserving for a general list, in the Appendix to this Part of our Travels, the names and the localities of others, whether rare or common, which preceding authors have already described[2].

On

(1) See Chap. VII. of the former Section, p. 205.

(2) I. A very curious small species of Plantain (*Plantago Linn.*), of which there is a figure and description in Clusius's "*Plantarum Rariorum Historia*," *lib.* v. *cap.* 16. under the name of *Catanance prima Dioscoridis*; but this has been omitted by Linnæus, and by all the editors of his works. The whole plant is scarcely an inch and a half in height; its leaves are of a narrow lance-shape, and ciliated; the flowers in little round upright heads; and these, together with the short stalks supporting them, are clothed with long soft wool. The species ought to be arranged near the Cretan Plantain (*Plantago Cretica*), to which it is nearly allied; but it may be easily distinguished, either by the leaves, or by the heads of the flowers. We have called it PLANTAGO CATANANCHE. *Plantago foliis lanceolato-linearibus, ciliatis, pilosis; spicâ subrotundâ erectâ, scapo brevissimo bracteisque lanatis. Catanance prima Dioscoridis. Clus. Plant. Rar. Hist.* 2. *p.* 112. *cum tabulâ.*

II. A non-descript species of *Crow-foot Ranunculus*, with slender erect unbranched stems, and single flowers. We have called it RANUNCULUS GRACILIS. *Ranunculus caule simplici, gracili, erecto: foliis radicalibus quinquepartitis tripartitisque, laciniis flabelliformibus sinuato-dentatis; caulinis multipartitis laciniis sublinearibus, glabris. Radices tuberosæ, fasciculatæ. Folia radicalia circumscriptione cordato subrotundâ, diametro pollicario vel parum ultra; petioli longi, pilosi: folia caulina duo seu tres sessilia, superiora subtrifida. Caulis pedalis, teres, pubescens. Calyx glaber, reflexus. Corollâ magnitudine* R. repentis, *flavâ. Petala obovata.*

III. An elegant non-descript species of *Trefoil*, (*Trifolium Linn.*) This we have named TRIFOLIUM ORNATUM. *Trifolium annuum, caulibus ramosis sub-erectis, foliolis obovatis argutissime serratis, mucronatis, glabris; stipulis oppositis; spicis terminalibus,*

On Wednesday, October the seventh, our interpreter, Antonio, returned from *Bûdrûn* with the Governor's *chiaoux*, in

terminalibus, solitariis, subrotundis, basi bracteatis, apice sterilibus; bracteis suboctonis, calycis dentibus subulatis æqualibus. Caules striati pilosi. Folia striata vix semipollicaria, summa opposita. Petioli partiales ciliati, brevissimi. Spicæ pedunculatæ foliis breviores. Bracteæ subcordato-ovatæ, nitidæ. Calyx corollâ dimidio brevior, basin versùs pilosus.

IV. A non-descript herbaceous *Milk-wort* (*Polygala Linn.*) with racemes of pale blue flowers. We have called it POLYGALA ADSCENDENS. *Polygala floribus cristatis, racemis axillaribus, pedunculatis; aliis calycinis corollâ brevioribus obtusis nervosis; caulibus herbaceis adscendentibus; foliis lanceolatis acutis, inferioribus obovatis obtusis. Caules quinque ad octo pollices longi, parùm ramosi. Folia minutè villosa, lineas quinque ad septem longa, inferiora gradatim breviora et obtusiora. Racemi bracteati sex ad decemflori. Bracteæ pedicellis longiores, lanceolatæ, mox deciduæ. Flores* P. Sibiricæ *duplò majores, cœrulei.*

V. A non-descript species of *Hartwort*, (*Tordylium Linn.*) about a span in height, with leaflets notched at the base, and rounded above with a few blunt teeth on their margin. The *Tordylium humile* of Mons. Desfontaines is the species which it most resembles; but from this it differs, in not having the leaflets lobed, and by its flowers, which are four times as large as in that species. We have called it TORDYLIUM INSULARE. *Tordylium foliis pinnatis, foliis cordato-subreniformibus inciso-dentatis, petiolis pilosis; involucri foliolis subulatis brevibus subguinis; involucelli laciniis ciliatis pedicellos excedentibus; floribus majusculis; seminibus crenulatis.*

VI. A very showy non-descript species of *Allium*; varying from about ten inches to above two feet in height; the leaves very thin and delicate, streaked with about twenty parallel lines, and finely fringed; their breadth from about half an inch to three quarters; the umbel of the flowers straight; nearly hemispherical, with the number of rays varying from eight to about twenty, according to the size and vigour of the plants; the petals nearly oval, white. We have called it ALLIUM PULCHRUM. *Allium caule angulato, basi folioso, foliis caule brevioribus lanceolato-oblongis, sub-planis, margine brevissimè ciliatis; umbella laxâ hemispliæricâ; petalis ovalibus staminibus simplicibus longioribus, majusculis; spathâ monophyllâ ventricosâ acuminato-subrotundâ.* This species is allied to the *Allium Neapolitanum* of Cyrilli; to the *Allium subhirsutum* of Linnæus; and to the *Allium ciliatum* of Curtis and Sims. From the first it differs in the form of the umbel, which at once distinguishes it: from the two last the difference consists in the form of the leaves, the few rays which are found in the umbel, the simple sheath, and the large blossoms.

CHAP. IX. Casiot Vessel.

in a small *caique*, manned by a single family of the Island of *Casos*, consisting of four individuals; viz. a young widower, his son, his brother, and a very old man his uncle. Antonio had found no vessel that would suit us in the port of *Bûdrûn;* and was returning in the open boat which conveyed him, when, coming from the harbour, he beheld the Casiot bark, coasting slowly eastward, and within hail. Having boarded this vessel, he found that it was empty, returning to *Casos* for want of a freight. He easily prevailed upon the poor Casiots to steer for Stanchio, in the hope of being hired by us, and we very gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity. The vessel was old, and the large triangular sails were tattered and rotten. It was, in fact, nothing more than an open boat; a man of middle stature, standing in the hatchway with his feet in the hold, had at least the half of his body above the deck: it was impossible therefore to contrive any thing like a cabin in which to stand upright; but by clearing and cleansing this place, we found we could obtain a shelter for the night, and during the day we should of course prefer being upon the deck. Landsmen in harbour, especially during fine weather, are easily reconciled to all chances in preparing to go to sea: without further consideration, we hired this vessel, at the rate of four hundred and fifty piastres per month, engaging to find our own provisions, and leaving the crew to provide for themselves. They fell to work briskly, preparing their vessel for our reception; and by the next evening, at sunset, having every thing necessary on board, we were desired to embark. Mr. Riley went with us to take leave of the Governor,

Governor, from whom we had experienced great kindness and civility: the Greek Bishop, and the worthy French Consul, accompanying us to the shore, and taking leave of us upon the deck of our little bark. At eight o'clock we were under weigh: a land breeze drove us smoothly along; and the Casiots began their evening hymn. This reminded us of a passage in *Longus*[1], who, in the very seas we were now traversing, describes a similar custom: "While they rowed, "one of the crew sang to them; *the rest, as a chorus, at inter-* "*vals joined with him*[2]." The Venetian sailors have a hymn which they sing exactly after the same manner, the crew being all upon deck at the time, and upon their knees[3]. It is, in fact, a very antient custom, and it is still common all over the Mediterranean.

Antient Custom of singing Vespers.

The

(1) Longus, lib. iii. *Paris*, 1778.

(2) Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, καθάπερ χορὸς, ὁμοφώνως
Κατὰ καιρὸν τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς ἐβόων. *Ibid.*

(3) We have preserved the words of a Venetian Hymn, as we heard it sung every evening, when the weather permitted, in the Black Sea, on board the Venetian brig in which we sailed from Russia for Constantinople:

"O santa Barbara, nostra avocata!
Che sei madre de la Maria,
Questa nave, l'artilleria,
Sempre da voi lascia guardata!
CHOR. *O Santa Barbara! &c.*

"O santissimo Sacramento!
Jesu Christo, nostro signore!
Qui che guarda tutti l'hore!
Qui che salva ogni momento!
CHOR. *O Santissimo! &c.*"

CHAP. IX.
Leria.

The next morning, October the ninth, we found ourselves to be opposite to the small Isle of *Leria*, bearing s. w. and by w. distant eight miles, the wind being tranquil, and the sea calm[1]. We saw the monastery and town of *Lera*, as it is now called.

This little island has three harbours, and it is said by Dapper to produce abundance of the wood of aloes, so much esteemed in Turkey as a perfume[2]. Dapper's assertion may be doubted; for the enormous price of this wood at Constantinople seems to prove that it is not found abundantly anywhere so near to that city. The character of the antient inhabitants of *Leria*, who were originally a Milesian colony[3], gave rise to the very antient epigram of *Phocylides*, so often in after ages parodied and imitated, but perhaps never with more success than by our illustrious countryman, Porson[4]:

Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλιδέω· Λέριοι κακοί· ἐχ ὁ μὲν, ὅς δ' οὐ·
Πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέος· καὶ Προκλέης Λέριος.

At

(1) "Lera is nine leagues N.W. and by W. from Stanchio." *Perry's View of the Othoman Empire, p.* 482. *Lond.* 1743.

(2) Dapper Déscription des Isles de l'Archipel. p. 183. *Amst.* 1703.

(3) Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 910. *Oxon.* 1807. Strabo writes the name of this island both Λέρια and Λέρος.

(4) In the following Epigram upon the Greek scholars of Germany, which the author has transcribed from his own hand-writing.

Νήιδες ἐστὲ μέτρων, ὦ Τεύτορες, οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὅς δ' οὐ·
Πάντες, πλὴν ΕΡΜΑΝΝΟΣ· ὁ δ' Ἕρμαμμος σφόδρα Τεύτων.

The Germans in Greek
Are sadly to seek,
Not five in five score,
But ninety-five more:
All, save only *Herman*,
And *Herman's* a German.

At half past eight A. M. we made the Island of Patmos[5]; and afterwards passing between *Leria* and *Lepsia*, Samos appeared most beautifully in view, covered by a silvery mist, softening every object, but concealing none. *Lepsia* is now called *Lipso*. At eleven o'clock A. M. we entered the port of *La Scala*[6], in PATMOS. We were surprised by meeting several boats filled with French soldiers, fishing. In order to prevent our *caique* from being fired at, as a pirate vessel (which she much resembled, and probably had been), we had hoisted an English flag given to us by Captain Clarke, and recommended for our use in the Archipelago. The Frenchmen, seeing this proud distinction upon our humble skiff, called out, by way of taunt, "*Voilà un beau venez-y voir! Le Pavillon Anglois! Tremblez Messieurs!*" They were much too numerous to venture a reply, if we had been so disposed; and as soon as we landed, we found the quay covered with French privates, among whom were some of the inferior officers of the French army. These men were a part of the army which had surrendered to our troops in Egypt, on their passage to France. The transport hired for their conveyance was commanded by an Algerine: this man had put into Patmos, under the pretence of careening his vessel; saying that it was unsafe to continue the voyage until this had been done; but it was feared that he intended to

Arrival at *Patmos*.

(5) "Patmos is six leagues from Lera, N. W. by N." *Perry's View of the Levant, p.* 483. *Lond.* 1743.

(6) Dapper says it received the name of *La Scala* from the quay which has been constructed here; but it may have been so called from the steep ascent to the monastery which begins at the landing-place of this harbour.

CHAP. IX.

Critical situation of a part of the French army.

to seize an opportunity, after landing these Frenchmen, to escape with the ship and all the booty on board. We had been but a short time on shore, when a petition was brought to us signed by the French officers, stating their fears, and begging that we would represent their case to our Minister at Constantinople. They said they had already removed their trunks, and were resolved to return no more on board the Algerine; the rascally Captain having twice attempted to poison their food. All this was uttered in a very different sort of tone from that in which we had been hailed upon our coming into the harbour, and we entered warmly into their cause. Their situation was, to be sure, critical. They had property belonging to some of the French Generals, besides their own effects; and all the cases containing these things were lying upon the open quay. They were forced to appoint a regular guard, day and night; hourly dreading, as they told us, a visit from some of the numerous pirates which swarm around Patmos[1]: besides all this, the mutinous behaviour of their own men made it impossible for them to rely even upon the sentinels set over the baggage, for they were constantly in a state of intoxication with the wine of the island. As Mr. Riley was going to Constantinople, we wrote to the British Ambassador, briefly explaining the event that had taken place: and our letter, as

(1) Patmos has always been exposed to the attacks of pirates. Tournefort relates, that the town was formerly in the port of *La Scala*; but that the pirates compelled its inhabitants to abandon it, and to retire to the heights where it is now situated, close to the Monastery of St. John.

as we were afterwards told, procured them another ship. In the mean time, it was necessary to take some immediate step for the security of their baggage. For this purpose we proposed making an application to the monks of the Monastery of the Apocalypse, which is situated two miles and a half from the quay, upon the top of a mountain, in the highest part of all the island, close to the town of Patmos. Here it might be secure from pirates; for the building is strongly fortified, and it is proof against any attack of that nature[2]. A commissary of the French army proposed to accompany us upon this expedition; and, as the plan was highly approved, we set off without further delay for the Convent. The ascent is steep and rugged, but practicable for asses and mules; and upon the backs of these animals we proposed to convey the trunks. When we arrived at the Monastery, we were quite struck by its size and substantial appearance. It is a very powerful fortress, built upon a steep rock, with several towers and lofty thick walls; and if duly mounted with guns, might be made impregnable. According to Tournefort, it is said to have been founded by Alexius Comnenus, in consequence of the persuasion of St. Christodulus[3]; but Dapper relates, that the saint himself founded the Monastery, having obtained

Monastery of St. John.

(2) "Palmosa, Patmo anticamente detta, insula pesta nell'Arcipelago: sopra loquale: S. Joannis Evangelista scrisse il sacro Apocalypsi essendo stato mandato in exilio da Domitiano Imperat. In memoria delquale, un bellissimo Monasterio del suo nome, da suoi Discipoli fu fabricato: et da caloiri hora habitato: conservandosi da corsari essere offeso." *Martin. Crus. Turco-Græcia, lib.* iv. *p.* 302. *Annot. Epist. Macar. Basil. sine anno.*

(3) Voyage du Levant, tom. II. p. 141. *Lyon*, 1717.

CHAP. IX.

obtained permission to this effect from Alexius, towards the end of the tenth century, when he retired to Patmos, to avoid the persecution of the Turks[1]. St. Christodulus had been Abbot of *Latros*, a day and a half's journey from Ephesus, where he presided over twenty convents[2]. We were received by the Superior and by the Bursar of the Monastery, in the Refectory. Having made known the cause of our coming, we presented to them our circular letter from the Capudan Pasha: this being written in Turkish, was interpreted by Mr. Riley. After a short consultation, they acquiesced in the proposal made for the French officers; and agreed to receive the whole of the baggage at the quay, within their walls; also a single officer to superintend the care of it, until a vessel should arrive from Constantinople, or from Smyrna, for its removal. This business being settled, we asked permission to see the Library, which was readily granted; and while the French Commissary went into the town to hire some mules, the two *Caloyers*, by whom we had been received, conducted us thither.

Library.

We entered a small oblong chamber, having a vaulted stone roof; and found it to be nearly filled with books, of all sizes, in a most neglected state; some lying upon the floor, a prey to the damp and to worms; others standing upon shelves, but without any kind of order. The books upon the shelves were all printed volumes; for these, being more modern, were regarded as the more valuable,

(1) Dapper. Descr. des Isles de l'Archipel. p. 181. *Amst.* 1703.

(2) Ibid.

valuable, and had a better station assigned them than the rest, many of which were considered only as so much rubbish. Some of the printed books were tolerably well bound, and in good condition. The Superior said *they* were his favourites; but when we took down one or two of them to examine their contents, we discovered that neither the Superior nor his colleague were able to read[3]. They had a confused traditionary recollection of the names of some of them, but knew no more of their contents than the Grand Signior. We saw here the first edition of the Anthologia, in quarto, printed at Florence, in capital letters, A. D. MCCCCXCIV. a beautiful copy. At the extremity of this chamber, which is opposite to the window, a considerable number of old volumes of parchment, some with covers and some without, were heaped upon the floor in the utmost disorder; and there were evident proofs that these had been cast aside, and condemned to answer any purpose for which the parchment might be required. When we asked the Superior what they were? he replied, turning up his nose with an expression of indifference and contempt, Χειρόγραφα! It was indeed a moment in which a literary traveller might be supposed to doubt the evidence of his senses, for the whole of this contemned

Ignorance of the Monks.

Manuscripts.

(3) Mons. De Choiseul-Gouffier (*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, tom.* I. *p.* 103.) found only three monks in Patmos who knew how to read. Sonnini speaks of their extraordinary ignorance; but he is mistaken when he affirms that they have no library. "There is no library," says he, "in the Convent: and of what utility would it be among people who, for the most part, cannot read." *See Sonnini's Travels in Greece, &c. ch.* 36. *p.* 473. *Lond.* 1801.

CHAP. IX.

contemned heap consisted entirely of Greek manuscripts, and some of them were of the highest antiquity. We sought in vain for the Manuscript of Homer, said to have been copied by a student from Cos, and alluded to upon a former occasion[1]. We even ventured to ask the ignorant monks, if they had ever heard of the existence of such a relique in their library. The Bursar[2] maintained that he had, and that he should know the Manuscript if he saw it[3]. Presently he produced

(1) See the former Section, Chap. XI. p. 210.

(2) Paul Ricaut has well described the state in which we found the Patmos Library; and also mentions this office of *Bursar*, whose business it is to take care of the books. "Every monastery hath its library of books, which are kept in a lofty tower, under the custody of one whom they call Σκευοφύλακα, who is also their steward, receives their money, and renders an account of all their expenses: but we must not imagine that these libraries are conserved in that order as ours are in the parts of Christendom; that they are ranked and compiled in method on shelves, with labels of the contents; or that they are brushed and kept clean, like the libraries of our Colleges: but they are piled one on the other, without order or method, covered with dust, and exposed to the worm." *Ricaut's State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, p.* 260. *Lond.* 1679.

(3) This Manuscript was afterwards discovered by Mr. Walpole in the hands of a schoolmaster, at the Grotto of the Apocalypse, below the Monastery. Mr. Walpole's observations upon this Library are particularly interesting; because they prove that one of the Manuscripts brought away by the author was known to Villoison; and that the removal of the rest had excited some sensation in Greece, as appears by the inscription over the door.

"There was at Patmos, for many years, a school frequented by the modern Greeks, which possessed a higher reputation than any other in the Levant. This has now yielded the pre-eminence to one established at *Kidoniais*, near Smyrna. A Greek in the Island of Antipares, who accompanied us to the grotto there, told me he had been educated at Patmos; and repeated to me the beginning of the Romance of the Æthiopics of Heliodorus. During our stay at Patmos we visited the lower Monastery, where the grotto is shewn in which St. John wrote the Apocalypse; it is called Θεοσκηπόστι. Here is also a small school: we found the schoolmaster reading a manuscript Homer, with some notes; it was written on paper; and did not appear of great date.

"The

produced from the heap the volume he pretended to recognise: it was a copy of the Poems of Gregory of Nazianzen, written upon vellum, evidently as old as the ninth century. The cover and some of the outer leaves had been torn off; but the rest was perfect. The ink had become red; a circumstance

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"The Monastery on the summit of the island is a very handsome building: from it, we had a most extensive view over the Archipelago, and some of the Greek islands. In the two visits I made to Patmos, I was not permitted to examine, as I wished, the collection of books and papers in the Library of the Monastery of St. John. There was no Greek in the place from whom I could obtain any satisfactory information. On the shelves, in compartments, are arranged Theological works: these Villoison, in his visit to the island, found less injured than the manuscripts of classical writers. The monks told him, that, twenty years before his arrival, they had burnt from two to three thousand manuscripts; *duo vel tria millia circiter codicum combussisse.* Of these *reliquiæ Danaûm*, a copy of the LEXICON OF CYRILL had escaped the flames, and was preserved by the Abbot.

"On one side of the Library is a confused heap of what appears, for the most part, to be manuscript, consisting both of vellum and paper. Here, if an accurate search were made, might be found probably many literary fragments of importance. Over the door of the Library are the following lines; *intended*, doubtless, for hexameter verses: they were placed there, as the date informs us, in 1802.

Δεῦρ', Ἄνερ, κεῖνται ὅσαι φαειναὶ χειρόγραφοι βίβλοι,
Ἀνδρὶ ῥὰ φέρτεραι πινντῷ χρυσίου δοκέουσαι·
Ταῦτ' ἄρα τήρεε φύλαξ σεῖο μᾶλλον βιότοιο,
Τῶν δόμος οὕνεκα ὃς νῦν τοι γίνατο φεγγόβολος γε.
ἐπὶ ἔτους Αωβ' Μήνος Αὐγούστου.

"IN THIS PLACE ARE LYING WHATEVER MANUSCRIPTS THERE ARE OF NOTE: MORE ESTIMABLE ARE THEY TO A WISE MAN THAN GOLD: GUARD THEM, THEREFORE, WATCHFULLY, MORE THAN YOUR LIFE; FOR ON THEIR ACCOUNT IS THIS MONASTERY NOW BECOME CONSPICUOUS.—IN THE MONTH AUGUST, THE YEAR 1802."

Walpole's MS. Journal.

The inscription over the door of the Library has been added since the author's visit; and the *Lexicon of Cyrill*, mentioned by Villoison, is the identical Codex he bought of the Superior, and brought away. For a more detailed account of the *MSS.* of Greece, the Reader is referred to some remarks by Mr. Walpole, in the beginning of this Section.

CHAP. IX.

circumstance alluded to by Montfaucon in ascertaining the age of Greek Manuscripts; and the writing throughout manifested an equal degree of antiquity[1]. What was to be done? To betray any extraordinary desire to get possession of these treasures would inevitably prevent all possibility of obtaining any of them. We referred the matter to Mr. Riley, as to a person habituated in dealing with knavish Greeks; and presently such a jabbering took place, accompanied with so many significant shrugs, winks, nods, and grimaces, that it was plain something like a negotiation was going on. The author, meanwhile, continued to inspect the heap; and had soon selected the fairest specimen of Grecian calligraphy which has descended to modern times. It was a copy of the twenty-four first Dialogues of Plato, written throughout upon vellum, in the same exquisite character, concluding with a date, and the name of the calligraphist. The whole of this could not be ascertained at the instant[2].

Discovery of the *Patmos Plato.*

It

(1) "Quod autem jam in vetustioribus manuscriptis Græcis conspicimus atramentum, a prisco nigrore multum recessit: nec tamen omnino flavum languidumque evasit; sed fulvum rutilumque manet, ut persæpe a minii colore non multùm recedat. Id autem observes in Codicibus permultis a quarto ad duodecimum usque sæculum." *Montfaucon. Palæog. Græc. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *p.* 2. *Paris*, 1708.

(2) This Manuscript, after the author's return to England, remained in the hands of his friend, the late Professor Porson, until his death. It is now, with the other MSS. from Patmos, &c. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. For further particulars concerning it, the reader is therefore referred to the Catalogue of all the MSS. brought from Greece by the author, written by the celebrated Professor Gaisford, and printed at the Clarendon Press in 1812; a work which has impressed every scholar with the most profound admiration of the writer's learning and great critical acumen. Reference may also be made to the observations of ONE, who could best have appretiated Professor Gaisford's surprising talents; namely, of the illustrious PORSON himself; as they are now published in his *Adversaria*, by his successor Professor Monk, and the Rev. Charles Blomfield;

It was a single volume in folio, bound in wood. The cover was full of worms, and falling to pieces: a paper label appeared at the back, inscribed, in a modern hand, Διάλογοι Σωκράτους: but the letters of *Plato*'s name, separated by stars, appeared very distinctly as a head-piece to the first page of the Manuscript, in this manner:

Π * Λ * Α * Τ * Ω * Ν * Ο * C

A postscript at the end of the volume stated that the Manuscript had been "*written by John the Calligraphist, for* "*Arethas, Dean of Patræ, in the month of November* 896, "*the* 14. *year of the Indiction, and* 6404. *year of the world, in* "*the reign of Leo son of Basilius, for the sum of thirteen* "*Byzantine Nummi,*" about eight guineas of our money. The Manuscript mentioned by Dorville on Chariton[3] is one year older.

Discovery of other valuable MSS.

The author afterwards discovered a LEXICON OF ST. CYRILL of Alexandria, written upon paper, without any date, and contained in a volume of Miscellanies. He also found two small volumes of the PSALMS and of GREEK HYMNS, accompanied by unknown characters, serving as *antient Greek musical*

Blomfield; the learned editors respectively of Euripides and of Æschylus. To mention every person who has contributed to the celebrity of this inestimable volume, would be to enumerate the names of almost all the eminent Greek scholars in the kingdom. Of the importance of the marginal notes, and the curious fragments they contained from Greek Plays that are lost, together with a variety of particulars relating to the other Manuscripts here mentioned, the author does not intend to add a syllable: it were presumptive and superfluous to do so, after the observations already published upon the subject. His only aim is, to give a general narrative of the manner in which he succeeded in rescuing these Manuscripts from rottenness and certain destruction in the Monastery.

(3) See Dorville on Chariton, pp. 49, 50.

CHAP. IX.

musical notes. They are the same which the Abbé Barthelemy and other writers have noticed; but their history has never been illustrated. Besides these, he observed, in a Manuscript of very diminutive size, the curious work of PHILE upon Animals[1], containing an account of the *Ibis*, bound up with twenty-three other Tracts upon a great variety of subjects[2]. After removing these volumes from a quantity of theological writings, detached fragments, worm-eaten wooden covers (that had belonged to books once literally bound *in boards*), scraps of parchment, Lives of Hermits, and other litter, all further inquiry was stopped by the promptitude and caution of Mr. Riley, who told us the Superior had agreed to sell the few articles we had selected, but that it would be impossible to purchase more; and that even these would be lost, if we ventured to expose them to the observation of any of the inhabitants of the town. Then telling us what sum he had agreed to give for them, he concealed two of the smaller volumes in the folds of his Turkish habit, entrusting to the *honour* of the two *Caloyers* the task of conveying the others on board our vessel in the harbour. Upon this *honour*, it must be confessed, we did not rely with so much confidence as we ought to have done; but as there was no other method which promised any chance of success, we were forced to comply; and we left, as we believed, the most valuable part of our acquisition in very doubtful hands. Just as we had concluded this bargain, the French Commis-

(1) Τοῦ Φιλῆ περὶ ζώων ἰδιότητος διὰ στίχων.

(2) See Professor Gaisford's "*Catalogus sive Notitia Manuscriptorum*," &c. p. 62. *Oxon.* 1812.

Commissary returned; and finding us busied in the Library, afforded an amusing specimen of the sort of system pursued by his countrymen, upon such occasions. "Do you find," said he, "anything worth your notice, among all this rubbish?" We answered, that there were many things we would gladly purchase. "Purchase!" he added, "I should never think of purchasing from such a herd of swine: if I saw anything I might require, I should, without ceremony, put it in my pocket, and say, *Bon jour!*"

After this, some keys were produced, belonging to an old chest that stood opposite to the door of the Library; and we were shewn a few antiquities which the monks had been taught to consider as valuable. Among these, the first thing they shewed to us was AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS COMNENUS, concerning the establishment of their Monastery, inscribed upon a large roll, and precisely corresponding, in the style of the manuscript, with the fragment preserved by Montfaucon in his Palæographia[3]. Besides this were other rolls of record, the deeds of succeeding Emperors, with their seals affixed, relating to the affairs of the Convent. We calculated the number of volumes in the Library to be about a thousand; and of this number above two hundred were in manuscript. After we had left the Library, we saw upon a shelf in the Refectory the

Manuscript in the handwriting of *Alexius Comnenus.*

(3) "IMPERATORIS GRÆCI EPISTOLÆ INSIGNE FRAGMENTUM." *See Montfaucon, Palæog. Græc. p.* 266. *Paris,* 1708. This Epistle is believed by Montfaucon (from the remains of the signature * * * * TANTINUS) to have been written in the ninth century, by *Constantinus Copronymus,* to *Pepin,* the French king. The style of the writing very much resembles that which is now lying in the Library at Patmos.

CHAP. IX.

the most splendid Manuscript of the whole collection, in two folio volumes, richly adorned: it was called the THEOLOGY OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZEN[1], and purported to be throughout IN THE HAND-WRITING OF THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS[2]. Nothing could be more beautiful. As a singular circumstance, it may also be mentioned, that we saw upon the same shelf, and by the side of this, a Manuscript of the writings of Gregory's greatest admirer, ERASMUS.

State of the Island.

The Capudan Pasha's letter enabled us to order bread from the island for our voyage; and this the monks promised to see provided. The inhabitants import wheat from the Black Sea; and they have twelve small vessels engaged in commerce, with which they trade to different ports in the Euxine and to the Adriatic, bringing corn for their own use, and also carrying it as far as Ancona in Italy. In Tournefort's time there were hardly three hundred men upon the island, and at least twenty women to one man. The population remains nearly the same as it was when he wrote; for, as it is observed by Sonnini[3], "While the monasteries

(1) Cave mentions a work of *Gregorius Nazianzenus* under this title: "*De Theologiâ Orationes* V. *contra Eunomianos et Macedonianos:*" (see Scriptor. Ecclesiast. Hist. Lit. *Sæculum Arianum*, p. 200. Lond. 1688.) but the Patmos MS. being in two large folio volumes, in all probability contains other of Gregory's writings.

(2) This MS. is noticed in the Patmos Catalogue (*See the beginning of this Section*); and the same circumstance is related of the hand-writing of the Emperor Alexius: it is there called, in modern Greek, "*A work of Gregory the Theologian, which is in the hand-writing of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus; his own hand-writing:*" Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου ἕνα βιβλίον τὸ ὁποιον εἶναι γράψιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνήνου, τοῦ ἰδίου γράψιμον. There were, however, two *Calligraphists* of this name *Alexius*; the one wrote the Lives of the Saints in 1292; the other, a MS. of Hippocrates in the fourteenth century. *See Montfaucon, Pal. Gr. lib.* i. *p.* 94. *Par.* 1708.

(3) Travels in Greece, &c. p. 473. *Lond.* 1801.

monasteries swarm with sluggards, the fields become deserts;" and population is consequently diminished. Yet, in the neighbouring isles, Patmos is described as the University of the Archipelago: it is hither that the Greek families send their sons to be educated, by a set of monks unable to read their own, or any other language. After we left the Monastery, we paid a visit to Mr. Antonio Gilly, the Prussian Consul, of whom we purchased several Greek medals. Among these, were a bronze medal of Eleusis, representing Ceres in her car, drawn by two serpents, with a sow on the reverse; and two beautiful gold medals of *Lysimachus* and of *Philip*, in as high a state of preservation as if they had been just issued from the mint. The freshness of their appearance might induce a suspicion of their being a modern fabrication, if it were not a well-known fact that to imitate the best coinage of Thrace and Macedonia is impossible; and therefore in such cases we may defy imposture. The present price of Greek medals, throughout the Levant, is generally the same; unless they be found, as it sometimes happens, in the hands of trading antiquaries and ignorant pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when the most absurd and exorbitant terms are set upon them. The usual rate of selling them, among the poor artificers in gold and silver found in almost all the towns, is this: for gold medals, twice their weight in Venetian *sequins;* for silver, from two *piastres* to five, or six, according to the size; and for

Antient Medals.

CHAP. IX.

bronze[1], about a *parâ* for each medal. Hence it must be evident that, with the exception of the silver (which are generally of the highest antiquity, and always estimated below their present price in England), the medals of Greece may be purchased cheaper in London than in the Levant. Indeed, the Grecian copper coinage is now considered as being of such modern date, that it is little valued by collectors of Greek medals[2]. Roman copper is found in great abundance; and among this may be easily obtained many rare and valuable coins, illustrating the history of Grecian cities, where no medals were struck during the period in which they were governed by their own laws. No medal of Patmos has been discovered; neither is it likely that any ever did exist, as the island was hardly inhabited when the Romans made it a place of exile. The gold medals sold to us by the Prussian Consul were, in all probability, not found upon the island, but brought by its trading vessels: it is a common occurrence to meet with such antiquities in the hands of Greek sailors, who collect them for sale. The medal of *Lysimachus* exhibited, as usual, a fine portrait of the deified Alexander; whose image, "expressed on gold or silver,"

(1) The author has generally used the word *bronze* instead of *brass*, as applied to Grecian antiquities; and for this reason: antient bronze consists of *copper* containing about ten per cent. of *tin*, and therefore differs from brass which is a compound of *copper* and *zinc*; but whether the constituents of antient bronze be found in the Grecian copper coinage has not perhaps been determined.

(2) It has been sold in London for a price equivalent to the weight of the metal.

silver," was so long considered as propitious to its possessor[3]. Concerning the medals of *Lysimachus*, and this image, the author must refer to a former work, rather than repeat what has been already published[4]; but with regard to the gold medals of *Philip*, bearing the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, so much doubt has generally prevailed, that it may be proper to add a few words upon the subject. It has been usual to attribute them to PHILIP THE SECOND, the father of Alexander the Great, simply from the circumstance of the gold mines discovered during his time, and of which he was the possessor[5]. There is, however, much greater probability that they were struck during the reign of PHILIP ARIDÆUS, and for the following reasons: *first*, that some of them have the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, a title not found upon Greek medals before the time of Alexander the Great[6]; *secondly*, that in these medals the art of coining was carried to a degree of perfection unknown in any former period, and to which it never afterwards attained. The medals of the Macedonian kings before the age of Alexander have no resemblance, whether in form, in weight, in substance, or in the style of their fabrication, to those which bear the name of PHILIP: the only

(3) "Dicuntur juvari in omni actu suo qui Alexandrum expressum vel auro gestitant vel argento." *Trebell. Pollio, Quiet.* xiii. *p.* 1090. *Hist. Rom. Script. apud H. Steph.* 1568.

(4) See "*Tomb of Alexander.*" Camb. 1805.

(5) Pellerin Recueil de Médailles de Rois, p. 9. *Paris*, 1762.

(6) Hardouin and Frœlich ascribed all the medals with this legend to Philip Aridæus. Eckhel maintained a different opinion. *See Doctrina Num: Vet. Pars* I. *vol.* II. *p.* 94. *Vindobon.* 1794.

CHAP. IX.

only examples to be compared with them, in relative beauty and perfection of workmanship, are the medals of Lysimachus; and even these are in a certain degree inferior. Many of the medals of Alexander the Great, although remarkable for boldness of execution and for the sharpness of the *die*, do yet betray something of the rude style discernible in the coinage of his predecessors, although the art was subsequently carried to such an extraordinary point of perfection during the reigns of Lysimachus and of Philip Aridæus. In order to form a correct opinion upon this subject, and to be convinced that the gold coinage now alluded to did not belong to the age of Philip the Second, something more is requisite than the examination of a particular medal: it is necessary to view the whole series of the coins of the Macedonian kings, and, by observing the changes introduced into their mint, to become acquainted with the style which denoted the progress of the art at any particular period; from the unfigured reverses and indented squares of Alexander the First and of Archelaüs, struck nearly five centuries before the Christian æra, to the exquisite perfection of design and the elegant fabrication, visible in the medals of Macedon and Thrace, under the immediate successors of Alexander the Great.

A few of the inhabitants came to the Consul's house to see us. Nothing can be more remarkable than the situation of the town, built upon the edge of a vast crater sloping off on either side like the roof of a tiled house. Perry has compared it to "*an asses back;*" upon the highest ridge of

of which stands the Monastery[1]. The inhabitants, therefore, have no space for exercise, either on foot or on horseback: they can only descend and ascend by the rugged path that leads to the harbour. On one of the towers of the Monastery a *look-out* is regularly kept for the pirates; the view here being so extensive, that no vessel can approach the island without being perceived. We returned to enjoy the prospect from this place. The sight was extremely magnificent; as may be conceived by any reader who will judge from the appearance exhibited by the island itself, and by this Monastery, at the distance of six leagues at sea[2]. We commanded the whole Island of Amorgos, which is nearly forty miles from the nearest point of Patmos[3]; and were surrounded by many of the grandest objects in the Archipelago.

Extensive prospect.

As we descended from the great Monastery of St. John, we turned off upon our right to visit a smaller edifice of the same nature, erected over a cave, or grot, where the *Apocalypse*, attributed to that Evangelist, is said to have been written. It can hardly be considered as any other than a hermitage, and it is entirely dependent upon the principal monastery. As to the cave itself, whence this building

Holy Grotto.

(1) Perry's View of the Levant, p. 483. *Lond.* 1743. Tournefort makes the same comparison with reference to another island, that of St. Minas: "Elle est faite en dos d'âne." *Voyage du Levant. tom.* II. *Lett.* x. *p.* 150. *Lyon*, 1717.

(2) See the former Section, Plate facing p. 194.

(3) Thirteen leagues, according to the Chart of D'Anville, published at Paris, October, 1756.

CHAP. IX.

building derives its origin, and to which it owes all its pretended sanctity, it may be supposed that any other cave would have answered the purpose fully as well: it is not spacious enough to have afforded a habitation even for a hermit; and there is not the slightest probability that any thing related concerning it, by the monks, is founded in truth. The reader will find a very accurate representation of it in Tournefort[1], shewing the crevices in the stone through which it is pretended that the Holy Spirit conveyed its dictates to the Apostle. It affords another striking proof, in addition to many already enumerated, that there is no degree of absurdity too gross for the purposes of *altarage* and superstition. There seemed to be something like a school held in the building erected about this cave; but the only monk who shewed the place to us, and who appeared to superintend the seminary, was not much better informed than his godly brethren in the parent monastery[2].

Dinner given by the French Officers.

Descending from this place towards the Port of *La Scala*, we were met by several of the Frenchmen, coming with the Commissary to invite us to dinner; so grateful were they for the attention paid to their request, and the consequent safety of their baggage, that each seemed to strive with the other

(1) Voyage du Levant, tom. II. p. 145. *à Lyon*, 1717.

(2) Mr. Walpole, who arrived afterwards, has mentioned in his Journal that the schoolmaster *was able to read.* He found him reading a Manuscript of the Odyssey of Homer. *See the Extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal, in a preceding page of this Chapter.*

other who could render us the greater civility. We accepted their invitation; and were conducted into a warehouse near the quay, where a large table was prepared with fish, wine, and biscuit. Here we found several French women conversing with their usual gaiety, and we all sat down together. During dinner, the conversation turned upon the events that had happened in Egypt; and, as each began to boast of his personal prowess in the late campaign, some contradictions took place, and a most turbulent scene of dispute ensued. In the midst of this, a figure entered the warehouse, whose appearance silenced the whole party, and was particularly gratifying to our curiosity. It was *Barthelemy*, the famous Greek pirate, who engaged in the French service under Buonaparté, and was chief of a regiment of Mamlukes in Egypt. His figure was uncommonly martial and dignified: he wore the Mamluke dress, and carried a large knotted club as a walking staff. Placing himself at the table, he began to complain, in a very hoarse voice, of the treatment he had experienced, which he stated to be contrary to the most solemn stipulations; contrary to his deserts; and highly dishonourable to the French army, for whom he had fought so many battles, and made such important sacrifices. They made free, it seemed, with his women; of whom he had many that he was conveying as his property to France. One or two of the principal persons present endeavoured to pacify him, by the assurance that he should not be molested in future; and filling a large goblet of wine, proposed to him to drink "Success to the Republic, and the liberation of Greece."

Barthelemy.

The

CHAP. IX.

The wary old Corsair did not appear to relish the toast; and had probably, by this time, both heard and seen quite enough of Gallic emancipation.

We remained near a week at Patmos. The next day we revisited the Monastery, and were again admitted to the Library. We found it would be impossible to purchase any other Manuscripts than those for which we had stipulated; for upon this and every subsequent occasion some of the inhabitants of the town thought proper to accompany us into the Convent. The Superior took occasion to assure us, that both he and the Bursar were willing enough to part with the χειρόγραφα; but that if it were known to have brought them any gain, the people of Patmos, acting as spies for the Capudan Pasha, would make it the cause of a very heavy imposition upon the Monastery. We could not procure a catalogue, either of the Manuscripts or of the printed books[1]. This day we dined with the monks, and afterwards went again into the town. The

Women of the Island.

women of the island, here collected as it were upon a single point, are so generally handsome, that it is an uncommon sight to meet with any who are otherwise. Their houses are kept very clean: it is customary with them to raise their beds,

(1) The Marquis of Sligo afterwards visited Patmos, and obtained the Catalogue alluded to in a preceding Note; it is written in modern Greek, and contains a List of all the Books in the Patmos Library. This Catalogue his Lordship kindly presented to the author. Nothing is said in it as to the editions of the different authors, nor a syllable concerning the age of the Manuscripts: the reader is, however, referred to it for more detailed information concerning the latter; and to the Dissertation by Mr. Walpole, in the beginning of this Section.

beds, at least ten feet from the floor, and they ascend to them by steps. Dapper mentions several villages in Patmos, existing at present only in his work[2]. The island produces very little wheat, and still less of barley: even the corn consumed in the Monastery is brought from the Black Sea. There are several bells at the Monastery, which the monks are frequently ringing. The enjoyment of this noise is considered as a great indulgence; bells being prohibited by the Turks. Dapper says, that, excepting upon Mount Libanus, Patmos is the only place in all the Turkish empire where bells may be heard[3]: in this he is however mistaken, for Naxos has the same privilege.

Bells.

The whole of Sunday, October the eleventh, was passed in great anxiety, being the day on which the Superior of the Monastery had engaged to send the remaining Manuscripts purchased by the author from the Library. Mr. Riley had left Patmos for Constantinople; and we began to fear, as the evening approached, that his absence might become the pretext for a breach of contract on the part of the monks. Towards sun-set, being upon the deck of our caïque, and looking towards the mountain, we discerned a person coming down the steep descent from the Monastery towards the port: presently, as he drew near, we perceived that he had a large basket upon his head, and that he was coming towards the quay, opposite to the spot where our vessel was at anchor. Upon his arrival, we saw him making signs for

(2) Dapper, Déscription des Isles de l'Archipel. p. 181. *Amst.* 1703.

(3) Ibid. p. 180.

CHAP. IX.

Stratagem for obtaining the Greek Manuscripts.

for a boat; and we sent to him the little skiff belonging to our caïque. As he came along-side, he said aloud that he had brought the bread ordered for us in consequence of our letter from the Capudan Pasha; but coming upon deck, he gave a significant wink, and told us the Superior desired that we would "empty the basket ourselves, and count the loaves, to see that all was right." We took the hint, and hurried with the precious charge into our birth, where, having turned the basket bottom upwards, we found, to our great joy, the Manuscript of PLATO, the POEMS OF GREGORY, the work of PHILE, with the other Tracts, and the volume of Miscellanies containing the LEXICON OF ST. CYRILL: these we instantly concealed beneath a mattress in one of our cots; and making a grand display of the loaves, returned with the basket upon deck, giving a handsome present to the porter, and desiring he would inform the Superior, with our most grateful acknowledgments, that "*all was perfectly right.*" Having set him again on shore, we gave orders to our Captain to have every thing ready for sailing the next morning, and to stand out of the port as soon after sun-rise as possible, intending to leave Patmos.

In this design we were, however, disappointed; but as the delay which ensued gave us an opportunity of discovering some curious geological phænomena, we had no reason to regret that we were thus detained.

Fruitless attempt to leave the Island.

At seven o'clock the next morning the wind served, and we hoisted sail. Steering east out of the harbour, and then putting the head of our caïque towards the north, we endeavoured to double the north-eastern point of the island.

Tournefort,

Tournefort, who is always accurate, published, a century ago, a better map of Patmos than can be found in any other work[1]. Such is often the inaccuracy of Dapper, notwithstanding the industry shewn in his compilation relative to the islands of the Archipelago, that he describes the harbour of *La Scala* as on the western side of the island, opposite to the Isle of Naxos[2]; perhaps confounding it with Tournefort's *Port de Merica.* Patmos has many ports; and from this cause it is so much infested by pirates, who resort to the port of *La Scala* to careen their vessels, and for fresh water. During the last war maintained by the Venetians against Candia, *La Scala* was the wintering-place of their fleet: there are many ruined buildings near the quay. The most contradictory accounts have been published of the island; some describing it as the most barren rock of the Archipelago[3], and others extolling its fertility[4]. From all that we could collect upon the subject, it is as capable of repaying the labours of husbandry as any other of the neighbouring isles, were it not for the danger to which property

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter, taken from the edition of Lyon, 1717, tom. II. p. 140; and engraved with little addition.

(2) " Le meilleur port de cette île et tout l'Archipel est au devant de la ville de *Patino;* du côté *d'occident,* vis-à-vis de l'île de *Naxos.* Il est généralement connu parmi les mariniers sous le nom de *La Scala.*" (*Déscription des Isles de l'Archipel. p.* 179. *Amst.* 1703.) To such mistakes a compiler may be liable; but when he undertakes to explain the legends upon Greek medals, the reader is little prepared for an interpretation like the following: " ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ, c'est à dire, *Conon des Cypriens.* Ce *Conon* étoit apparemment le fondateur du temple"!!! *Ibid. p.* 523.

(3) Tournefort, tom. II. p. 142. *Lyon,* 1717.

(4) Dapper, p. 179. *Amst.* 1703. Georgirenez, *&c.*

CHAP. IX.

property is exposed, from the continual incursions of the pirates. Its harbours render it an important station as a place of commerce: but the circumference of the whole island does not exceed eighteen miles, although Pliny makes it equal to thirty[1]. It seems to have been hardly known before the Christian æra. Strabo merely notices its situation as one of the Sporades, near to Amorgos, Lebinthus, and Leria[2].

View of Samos.

As we sailed to the northward of the island, we were surprised to see Samos so distinctly in view. It is hardly possible that the relative situation of Samos and Patmos can be accurately laid down in D'Anville's, or any more recent chart; for keeping up to windward, we found ourselves to be so close under Samos, that we had a clear view, both of the island and of the town[3]. This island, the most conspicuous object not only of the Ionian Sea, but of all the Ægean, is less visited, and of course less known, than any other: it is one of the largest and most considerable of them all, and so near to the main land that it has been affirmed persons upon the opposite coasts may hear each other speak[4]. The generality of Greek authors describe its circumference as equal to eighty-seven and a half of our miles.

Strabo

(1) Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 12. tom. I. p. 224. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(2) Πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Πάτμος, κ. τ. λ. Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 712. *Oxon.* 1807.

(3) The relative position of these islands seems to be more accurately delineated in the old Map of Antient Greece, by William Delisle, dated Paris, October, 1707.

(4) Dapper, p. 190. *Amst.* 1703.

Strabo considers it as somewhat less: but its surprising elevation and relative position, with regard to the lower islands of *Fourni* and Nicaria, make it a land-mark all over the Archipelago[5]. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetes, any very lofty place was called *Samos*[6]. The name of KATABATH was antiently given to the terrible rock which forms the cape and precipice upon its western side, as collecting the clouds, and generating thunder: *Jupiter the Thunderer* being also called Καταβάτης Ζεύς[7]. One of the monasteries is called Παναγία βρονδά, *Our Lady of the Thunder.* There are four nunneries upon the island, and above three hundred private chapels; yet the population does not exceed 12,000 men; which is explained by Tournefort, who says, that the island is entirely in the hands of churchmen, possessing seven monasteries. The swarm of *Caloyers* and Greek *Papas* have made a desert of this fine island, where all the qualification necessary to become a priest, and live by the industry of others, is the talent of being able to repeat mass from memory. The bishop of Samos, who is also bishop of Nicaria, enjoys an annual income of two thousand crowns; and derives, besides, a considerable revenue from the *important services* he renders to the islanders,

(5) A fact has been disputed, which the author is still disposed to maintain; viz. that the *Boccaze* of Samos may be seen from the summit of Hymettus in Attica.

(6) See also Tournefort, tom. II. lett. 3. *Lyon*, 1717.

(7) Καταβάτης Ζεὺς, παρὰ τὸ καταβιβάζειν τὸν κεραυνόν. *Suidas. Jul. Poll. lib.* i. *cap.* 1. *Libanius, Legat. ad Julian. Pausan. Eliac. prior Pharnutus in Jovis cognominibus,* speak of Jupiter Καταβάτης, *who darts the thunder.* See also *Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom.* II. *p.* 105. *Lyon*, 1717; whence this note is taken.

CHAP. IX.

islanders, in blessing for them their water and their cattle in the beginning of May. All the produce of the dairies on that day belongs to him: he has also two beasts out of every herd[1]. In such a state of affairs, we cannot wonder at the change that has taken place between the antient and the modern population of Samos: its fertility in former ages made it the subject of proverbial admiration and praise[2]. It is related in Athenæus, that the fruit and rose-trees of the island bore twice a year[3]. Tournefort says, that Samos is infested with wolves; and that tigers sometimes arrive from the main land, after crossing the little Boccaze[4]; thereby confirming an observation made by the author in the former section, with regard to the existence of tigers in Asia Minor.

Passing across the great Boccaze, between Samos and Icaria, we were much struck by the extraordinary intensity of the deep blue colour of the sea; and this, which is as much a distinguishing characteristic of the Archipelago as the brightness of its sky, has been noticed by no writer, excepting our enchanting bard, now so deservedly the theme of general praise[5].

As

(1) *See Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom.* II. *p.* 107. *Lyon*, 1717.

(2) Ὅτι φέρει καὶ ὀρνίθων γάλα; καθάπερ που καὶ Μένανδρος ἔφη. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xiv. *p.* 914. *Ed. Oxon.*

(3) Athen. Deipn. lib. xiv.

(4) Voyage du Lev. tom. II. p. 112. *Lyon*, 1717.

(5) "He that has sailed upon the *dark blue* sea,
"Has viewed at times, I ween, a full fair sight."
Byron's "Childe Harold," p. 69. *Lond.* 1812.

Armorgos, at Sun set Oct. 12 bearing S.W. and by W. distant 30 Miles.

View of the Boccaze of Samos, bearing N.E. & by E. distant 15 Miles, with Samos, Fourni, and Nacari, taken from the North Coast of Patmos.

View of the Boccaze, or Passage between Andros and Tenos, bearing N.E. & by E. distant about ten Miles.

Published May 4 1814 by T. Cadell & W. Davies Strand London.

As evening drew on, we took the bearings of the principal headlands then in view, and found them to be accurately as follow:

Fourni	N.
Samos	N. N. E.
Asiatic Coast	E. N. E.
La Scala, Patmos Port	S. E.
Groupe of small Isles	S. and by W.
Island called Anguaro	S. W.
Amorgos	S. W. and by W.
Naxos	W. and by S.
Cape of Icaria	N. W. and by W. and W. N. W.

Whenever it is practicable to make these observations at sunset in the Archipelago, surrounded as a vessel always is by land, they ought to be carefully noticed.

After sunset, we were becalmed off the Point of *Icaria*, and remained, during part of the night, in a state of great apprehension, owing to the fears of our mariners with regard to the pirates. Some fires were exhibited on shore; first one, and then another above it, until we saw five burning at the same time. These our Captain maintained to be signals made by corsairs on the island, who were collecting to attack our vessel; consequently we extinguished every light on board, and began to row with all the energy in our power, drawing off towards Naxos. Icaria is at present one of the grand resorts of these predatory rovers, who are always upon the watch for ships passing the Boccaze of Samos. Small vessels, unfortunately becalmed near to their haunts, have but little chance of escaping.

Icaria.

Icaria

CHAP. IX. Icaria is at present hardly known: it once gave name to the Icarian Sea[1], and had two towns in the time of Pliny[2]. These must have been the small towns mentioned by Strabo[3], of *Œnoe*, and *Drepanum;* called, in the Doric dialect, *Dracanum*. No traveller has sought for any antiquities upon Icaria; yet we are further informed by Strabo[4], that it had a temple of Diana, called *Tauropolium;* and Goltzius has preserved a medal of the island, with the legend IKAPIΩN, representing Europa passing the sea upon a bull, with the effigy of Diana armed with a bow, and accompanied by a hound, upon the reverse. It received the name of Icaria from the story of the flight of Icarus from Crete, whose body, fabled to have been cast upon this island, after falling into the Ægean, was buried by Hercules[5]; and this antient name it retains to the present day[6]. The Italians, but more particularly the French, have introduced a number of appellations for the islands of the Archipelago, which do not exist among the Greeks: thus Icaria has been often called *Naccari*; Cos, *Stanchio*; and Crete

(1) Νῆσος ἡ Ἰκαρία, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ Ἰκάριον πέλαγος. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xiv. *p.* 915. *Oxon.* 1807.

"Icarus Icariis nomine fecit aquis."

Ovid. Trist. lib. iii. *El.* 4. *v.* 22.

(2) "Cum oppidis duobus, tertio amisso." *Hist. Nat. lib.* iv. *cap.* 12. *tom.* I. *p.* 223. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(3) Strabon. Geog. ubi supra.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Pomp. Mela, ii. cap. 7. Ptolem. 5. cap. 2. Strab. ubi supra.

(6) Tournefort made the same observation: "Nicaria n'a pas changé de nom, elle s'appelle *Icaria*, tout comme autrefois." *Voy. du Lev. tom.* II. *p.* 96. *Lyon*, 1717.

Crete almost always bears the name of *Candia*. Our Casiot mariners, in their common conversation, called these islands severally, Icaria, Cos, and Crete; never using the words *Naccari*, *Stanchio*, and *Candia*.

After labouring for several hours, the wind began to come in squalls from the south-west, directly contrary to our course for Naxos; the sky at the same time lowering, with flashes of lightning, to windward; a never-failing indication of violent gales in these seas. Our Captain proposed that we should run for the first port on the western side of Patmos: to this we gladly consented; and especially because he declared himself to be well acquainted with the entrance to a small harbour on that side of the island. As the daylight began to appear, we found ourselves close under some very high cliffs, in the face of which appeared a dark chasm, the narrow mouth of this port. Through this passage we entered; and, having brought our vessel to anchor, perceived that the harbour in which we were now stationed was opposite to that of *La Scala*, being separated from it only by a small isthmus. It proved to be a fine, clear day. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood, at noon, at $75\frac{1}{2}$. Soon after coming to anchor, the author landed, with a view of examining the cliffs; as the ports of the island have the appearance of craters, and substances resembling lava are common among the fragments of its rocks. The Monastery of St. John is situated upon the highest verge of a crater of this description; and the harbour of *La Scala* owes its origin to another. Perhaps there is not a spot in the Archipelago with more of the semblance of a volcanic

Western port of *Patmos*.

CHAP. IX.
Geological Phænomena.

origin than Patmos. The cliffs exhibit no form of regular strata, but one immense bed of a porous black rock, in which are numerous nuclei of a white colour, as large as a pullet's egg, in the form of crosses. Those crosses are, of course, considered by the ignorant inhabitants as so many miraculous *apocalyptical types:* and it is singular that the monks have not, as is usual in such cases, some marvellous tale to relate of their origin. The rock itself, upon a nearer examination, proved to be a very curious porphyry: the *nuclei* were all of them intersecting crystals of *feldspar*, imbedded in decomposing *trap*[1]. Among the geological phænomena of the Archipelago, it is perhaps impossible to point out any that are more worthy of observation than those which are exhibited in the cliffs surrounding this remarkable harbour; and there has never been exhibited specimens of *porphyry* where the crystals

(1) We succeeded in detaching some of those twin crystals tolerably entire: their intersection had taken place obliquely in the direction of their lateral planes, the major diameter of each crystal being parallel to that of its associate. Owing to this intersection, the appearance of a cross was exhibited whenever the nuclei; by *weathering*, had been worn away transversely, so as to become level with the superficies of the rock in which they were imbedded. This relative position and their colour give them some resemblance to *leucite;* differing from *leucite* otherwise in the size and shape of the crystals. *Leucite* is, however, so nearly allied to *feldspar*, that were it not for the very minute portion of lime which is found in the latter, their chemical constituents would be nearly the same, and in the same proportions; and possibly the double cleavage observed by Haüy in the former, which caused him to bestow upon it the name of *amphigene*, may be owing to some circumstance of intersection which so commonly characterizes the crystals of *feldspar*. At all events, it may be proposed as a mineralogical query, "Whether, if *leucite* be found before it has sustained the action of fire, it do not prove to be a variety of *Adularia?*"

crystals of *feldspar* are in any degree comparable in size with those which are now mentioned[2].

Plants.

This day, Tuesday, October the thirteenth, we observed, in a small garden near this harbour, a *Karob*-tree (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) in bloom. A few shrubs grew among the rocks, but we could procure no specimens of plants worth collecting for our herbary.

Animals.

The island abounds in goats, rabbits, and partridges. In the evening we amused ourselves in fishing, and caught some red mullets. The harbour appeared as literally swarming with the most beautiful fishes, of all colours. We perceived some that were green, others that were blue, and again others that were striped. Our sailors taught us to use small shell-fish for our baits; and as we lowered these to the bottom, the water being as clear as crystal, the fish, tempted from their haunts among the marine plants that covered the rocks, were seen distinctly whenever they took the snare. The Greeks are very expert fishermen, and our sailors caught many more than we could do; they had also a curious method of luring the fish out of the spiral shells which we found here, by a continued and gentle tapping of the shell with the point of a knife, accompanied by a tremulous whistling. We found several kinds of shell-fish; and could discern some large scollops lying upon the rocks beneath

(2) Martin Crusius, in his annotations upon an Epistle of Macarius (abbot of Patmos) to the Greek Patriarch, in 1579, has cited a work printed at Venice, which states that the island is metalliferous. "*La quale insula, è montuosa, et di vene di metalli copiosa.*" Vid. Turco-Græciæ, lib. iv. p. 302. *Basil*, sine anno.

CHAP. IX.

beneath the clear still water, but they were out of our reach. Very fine spunges might also be gathered from the same rocks, all around the bay. It continued calm all the next day. The author went early on shore, to see if any antiquities might be found between the two ports; and was fortunate enough to discover two Greek Marbles, the first of which, a bas-relief with an inscription, he purchased and brought away. It was found by a peasant upon a small rocky isle near to the mouth of the harbour of *La Scala*. The sculpture had not much merit; but any relique is worthy of notice which exhibits an example of Grecian sculpture at Patmos, where no antiquity of this kind has hitherto been discovered. This marble is a *sepulchral tablet*, or CIPPUS, as distinguished from the STÉLÉ, and it is now deposited in the Vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge[1]. The subject represented is the DEATH-BED of "ARISTEAS SON OF ZOSIMUS." *A dog* is introduced into the design, apparently watching for the moment of dissolution. This figure, denoting the *Anubis* of the Egyptians, and *Hermes* of the Greeks, commonly appears upon sepulchral monuments, as a symbol of Mercury the conductor of the souls of the dead. Beneath the bas-relief is this inscription:

Marble *Cippus*.

APICTEAC
ZOΣIMOY

The

(1) See "*Greek Marbles*," No. XIII. p. 11. *Camb.* 1809.

The other marble was also a *cippus*, nearly of the same form, with an inscription almost as brief as the preceding:

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ
ΧΡΗΣΤΕ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

The meaning of the word χαίρε upon a *cippus* will hardly admit of dispute. It is the common form of salutation, "*hail, and farewell,*" upon almost every Grecian tombstone. But those who are curious to learn its various significations, when used in conversation by the Greeks, may consult Lucian himself, who, when apprentice to his uncle the sculptor, had often employed his chisel in carving the letters of a word on stone, which he afterwards used as the subject of one of his critical dissertations[2].

Departure from *Patmos*.

This being the evening of the sixth day since our first arrival in Patmos, and perhaps being as well acquainted with it as if we had spent a year in its examination, we became impatient to leave it; and began to fancy, that as our *caique* was hired by the month, its owners would create as much delay as possible, and loiter in port when they might safely venture out. Accordingly, after midnight, having roused the Captain, we told him that it was a fine night, and that we wished he would put to sea. This man was one of the most experienced pilots of the Archipelago, and as worthy a Greek as ever navigated these seas; but we had not at that time learned to place the confidence in him which

(2) Vid. Luciani Opera, tom. III. p. 186. "*Pro lapsu in Salutando.*" Edit. Reitz. *Bipont.* 1790.

CHAP. IX.

which he highly deserved. He was very poor; and having become a widower in an early period of his life, had suffered his beard to grow, according to the manner of mourning in his native Isle of *Casos*, wearing at the same time a black turban. Without making any answer to our proposal, he continued for the space of a minute looking up attentively, with his eyes fixed towards the zenith. Presently he shook his head; and pointing upwards, with his arm extended, asked us, How we liked the sky? As it seemed to be very clear, and there were many stars visible, we replied that there was every sign of fair weather. "Do you not see," said he, "some small clouds, which now and then make their appearance, and instantly afterwards vanish?" We confessed that we did; but rather hastily insisted that instead of peering after signs in the sky, he should get the vessel out of harbour as speedily as possible. His only comment upon this order, so inconsiderately given, was a summons to his companions to heave the anchor, and hoist the sails. We had barely light enough to steer through the narrow channel at the entrance, without running against the rocks; and we had no sooner cleared the port, than it fell a dead calm. A prodigious sea tossing our vessel in all directions, soon convinced us of the nature of the birth for which we had exchanged our snug station but a few minutes before. Surrounded as we had been by the lofty cliffs of the island, we had not the most distant conception of the turbulent sea we should encounter. Our steady helmsman endeavoured in vain to keep the prow of his vessel to any particular point; and calling

Prognostics of Greek mariners.

calling to our interpreter, bade him notice what he termed in Greek "*the belching of the deep.*" This happens during the roll of a calm, when a wave, lifted to a great height, suddenly subsides, with a deep and hollow sound, like air bursting through a narrow channel. Our apprehensions had already got the better of our indifference to such observations; and in a very different tone of voice from that in which we had ordered him out of port, we asked the Captain, What that noise denoted? He calmly replied, that it was generally considered as a bad omen; but that he more disliked the appearance which he had desired us to notice before we left the harbour. Being by this time heartily sick of our usurped authority, we begged that he would be guided in future by the dictates of his own experience, and further requested that he would put back into port. This he affirmed to be impossible; and that he would not venture towards a lee-shore during the night for any consideration. We prepared therefore to suffer, as we had deserved, for our extreme folly and rashness, and, strange as it may seem, not without many an anxious thought for the antient Manuscripts we had on board. The crew lighted a wax taper before a small picture of some Saint in the foreship, as we occupied all the after-part of the hold with our cots and baggage. Here, when we endeavoured to lie down for rest, we were over-run by swarms of stinking cock-roaches[1]; we remained

(1) BLATTA ORIENTALIS. *Linn.* The modern Greeks call it *Katsarida.* According to Sonnini, they consecrate the festival of St. Gregory to these disgusting and troublesome insects. *Trav. in Greece, p.* 185. *Lond.* 1801.

CHAP. IX. remained therefore sitting upon some planks that we had placed to serve as a floor, with our heads touching the roof which the deck afforded, sustaining the violent motion of the vessel, and anxiously expecting the coming of the morning.

CHAP. X.

PATMOS TO PAROS.

Gale of wind—Vessel driven to the south of Naxos—Panormo—Independent Shepherds—Appearance of the island—Minerals—Naxian Boccaze—Town of Naxos—Manuscripts—Inhabitants—Population—Antiquities—Inscriptions—Sculpture—Medals—Gems—Colossal Statue—Temple of Bacchus—Other Ruins—Smeriglio—*Arrival at Paros*—Parechia—*Castle—Inscriptions—Ship stranded—Antiparos—Grotto—its possible origin—mode of descent—description of the interior—Nature of the Stalactites—manner of their deposition—Paradoxical Phænomena—Crystallization of Alabaster*—Arragonite—*Visit of the French Ambassador*—Oliaros—*Antient Quarries of Parian Marble*—Marpessus—*Cause of the prevalence of Parian Marble in Grecian Sculpture—Marvellous skill of the Antients in working the Quarries—Bas-relief—Explanation of the Inscription—Origin of the work—Evidence it affords—Theory of Crystallization.*

FOR some time after leaving the port, we endeavoured, by hoisting canvas, to avail ourselves of the short gusts of land-

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X.

land-wind that came from the east during the calm; a heavy and unsteady sea rolling. Afterwards, a light breeze prevailing from that quarter, we were enabled to stand over to *Icaria;* where we were entirely becalmed: and the usual alarm taking place, as to pirates upon the coast, we hauled off with our oars. Towards morning, a fresh wind sprung from the north-west, accompanied by flashes of lightning; and we directed the prow of our caique towards Naxos. As the sun rose, the sky bore a very angry aspect; the horizon being of the deepest crimson, interspersed with dark clouds. We soon perceived that the prediction made by the Casiot master of our vessel would be fulfilled, and that we should encounter a storm. The high land of *Icaria* sheltered us until we got farther towards the south-west; when the gale freshened, and came upon us with such violence, that we could not keep our course. All our endeavours to beat to windward, so as to weather the northern point of Naxos, and bear down the strait between that island and Paros, were ineffectual: we fell fast to leeward; and getting among some rocks upon the eastern side of Naxos, the foresail was carried away. The first notice that we received of this accident, came with a wave, which broke over the caique, and almost filled our birth: it was fortunate that those upon deck were not washed overboard. We made our way up as well as we could, expecting every instant that something more serious would happen. The waves ran mountains high, and the caique would not answer to her helm. During the delay caused by getting the foresail repaired, we shipped water continually;

Gale of wind.

continually; and being obliged to take the gale *in poop*, such a sea followed us, that there was reason to fear, if the mainsail gave way, the vessel would founder. When matters were somewhat rectified, we steered for a narrow channel between some high rocks and the eastern side of the island: it seemed rather like flying than sailing: our little caique ran over the curling tops of the highest waves, without shipping any more water. This was remarked by our undaunted Captain, stationed with his crew at the helm, who exclaimed, "Let us see one of your frigates in such a sea as this: there is not one of them could weather it like my little caique!" We passed like lightning within a cable's length of some dreadful rocks, over which the sea was dashing as high as our mast head; until getting under the lee, to the south of Naxos, we ran the vessel aground, close to a small creek, upon some white sand.

Vessel driven to the south of Naxos.

Within this creek another small bark had taken shelter; the crew of which, seeing our situation, came to assist our Captain in getting his caique off the sand, and in hauling her farther up the creek, in which they happily succeeded. We then cast anchor, and began to examine the state of our baggage. Like true shipwrecked mariners, wet to the skin, and without a dry thread on board, we opened all our stores upon the rocks, to expose our clothes in the beams of the sun. Every article of our linen was completely soaked; but, to our great joy, the Manuscripts had escaped, and were safe. We had put them into a small, but stout wooden box, in the stern of the vessel; and had covered this with every article of canvas, &c. that could be collected.

The

CHAP. X.

The gale continuing from the same quarter, and with the force of a hurricane, we were detained here during this and the following day. It is surprising for what a length of time, and how often, the north-west rages in the Archipelago. It prevails, almost unceasingly, through the greater part of the year. After sunset there is generally a calm, which is succeeded by light breezes from the land, especially from mountains surrounding gulphs; but at sun-

Panormo.

rise the north-west begins again[1]. The little creek in which our vessel found shelter is called, by the islanders, the Bay of *Panormo*, and there are some insignificant ruins upon the

Independent Shepherds.

rocks above it, which they call *Panormo Castle*[2]. The only inhabitants we saw were parties of men leading uninterruptedly a pastoral life, without paying any tax, either to the island or to the Turkish government: we found them tending their sheep and goats in this wild part of Naxos, like a race of primeval shepherds[3]. They brought us some sheep soon after

(1) Mr. Spenser Smith, brother of Sir Sidney Smith, informed the author that he was an entire month employed in endeavouring to effect a passage from Rhodes to Stanchio: the north-west wind prevailed all the time with such force, that the vessel in which he sailed could not double Cape Crio.

(2) Tournefort mentions this little harbour, under the name of PANORMO. (*Voy. du Levant, tom.* I. *p.* 248. *Lyon*, 1717.) None of the ports of Naxos are proper for the reception of large vessels, and therefore it is that Tavernier says the island has no ports.

(3) According to Herodotus, the most antient inhabitants of Naxos were a race of *Ionians*. Aristotle relates, that the most wealthy of them lived in the town, and that the rest were scattered about, among the villages, in different parts of the island. A very antient Inscription found near the base of *Zia* (ΔΙΑ), the principal mountain, which is preserved by Spon and by Tournefort, will prove that the pastures of Naxos had invited shepherds in a very early age. It consists only of three words, ΟΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΛΩΣΙΟΥ, "*Mountain of Jupiter, Guardian of Flocks.*" The title of *Shepherd*, as applied

after our arrival; descending the rocks with their bare feet, and wearing upon their legs the *cothurnus*, in its most antient form, made of the undressed skins of their goats, with the hair on the outside. Whence they came, or who they were, we could not learn; for they said they had little connection with any of the villages of the island, nor any settled place of residence; that they had neither wives nor houses; sleeping at night behind some bush, in the open air, and labouring merely for subsistence, without a thought of riches. They had all the same kind of clothing: it consisted of a woollen jacket, and short trowsers, of their own manufacture, partly concealing the *cothurnus* of goat's hair upon their legs. They cover their heads with a red scull-cap, which is manufactured at Venice[4]. Reckoning their goats and sheep together, these independent shepherds have five or six hundred animals in each flock. They shear their sheep twice

applied to the Deity, is of great antiquity. It is often found in Scripture. "GIVE EAR, O THOU SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL!" (*Psalm* lxxx. 1.) "THE LORD IS MY SHEPHERD —HE MAKETH ME TO LIE DOWN IN GREEN PASTURES: HE LEADETH ME BESIDE THE STILL WATERS." *Psalm* xxiii. 1, 2.

(4) This part of the modern Greek and Albanian dress is the most antient: it may be observed upon a *Bas-relief* of the highest antiquity, near to Orchomenos in Bœotia: it is still worn throughout Albania, and among all the Grecian Isles, as it was by their ancestors, and by the Byzantine Emperors. It is common also to the Turks, from the Grand Signior to the meanest slave, who wear it beneath the turban: and the portrait of Manuel Palæologus (exhibiting this cap with the addition only of ornamental gems about it) which was engraven as a Vignette to the First Chapter of the former Section, was placed there expressly to shew, that the Turks in their domestic habits (when it is sometimes usual for them, as destitute of ceremony, to take off their turban) do exhibit a costume precisely corresponding with the appearance presented by that portrait. Persons who have never seen the Turks except upon occasions of ceremony, when their heads are covered by high calpacks and by turbans, and

CHAP. X.

twice a year; putting the rams to the ewes in May, and removing them when the latter begin to lamb. They speak the modern Greek language; and perhaps recruit their numbers from the race of Albanians which is scattered over all Greece. They told us that they made three or four hundred piastres annually, out of a flock of five hundred sheep and goats: and this sum they spend in the few necessaries or indulgences they may require. We killed and dressed one of their sheep: the mutton had a very bad flavour.

Appearance of the Island.

The island has no port on its eastern side: it is there mountainous, but the soil is black and barren. The rocks in this part of it consist of alternate strata of schistus and limestone. We noticed a stratum of primary limestone, surmounted by schistus; and above that was a layer of a soft kind of Cipolino marble, striped blue and white. The next day, October the sixteenth, we landed to collect plants, and to examine the traces of buildings above this little bay, which may be called *Panormo Creek*, for it merits no higher consideration. We found the remains of walls, built above precipices, in which cement had been used; and noticed a door, with a small room that had once been stuccoed. In a rude chapel, which the shepherds had constructed of loose stones, we observed the fragment of an antique marble; but, upon the whole, these works had much more the appearance

and who do not therefore remark the antient and common covering for the head which is below these, will not perceive any resemblance between the figure of a modern Sultan and the portrait of Manuel Palæologus; although nothing can be more striking; for they have the same characteristic aquiline features, the same length of visage and of beard, and the same covering of the crown on the head.

appearance of buildings hastily constructed by pirates, than by any people acquainted with architectural science. We noticed some caves near the shore; and it is probable that this obscure and almost unknown retreat has offered an occasional asylum to some of the numerous corsairs of the Archipelago. After this, our botanical excursions led us a short distance into the interior, over a barren district, "*fitter*," as Tournefort said of the whole island[1], "*to inspire sadness than joy.*" We saw neither fixed inhabitants, nor any mark of cultivation[2]. The high rocks above the creek were covered with the blossoms of a species of *Cyclamen*, probably the *autumnale* of Ray[3]: we collected a great number of these, and several bulbous-rooted plants, particularly one with a small and very elegant white flower, which we thought was new, but the specimens were afterwards injured or lost. We could not find Tournefort's *Heliotropium humifusum*[4]; we had seen it often in the Holy Land, and wished to observe the change that might be effected by such a difference of situation. The mineralogy of this island promises to be highly interesting, when an opportunity is offered to any naturalist for its investigation; but where there

Minerals.

(1) "Elle nous parut d'abord plus propre à inspirer de la tristesse que de la joye." *Voyage du Levant, tom. I. p. 254. Lyon, 1717.*

(2) Count de Choiseul Gouffier gave a very different description of the north part of the island. "Si l'on avance dans les terres, on trouve des vallées délicieuses, arrosées de mille ruisseaux, et des forêts d'orangers, de figuiers, et de grenadiers. La terre par sa fécondité semble prévenir tous les besoins de ses habitans; elle nourrit un grande quantité de bestiaux, de gibier. Le blé, l'huile, les figues, et le vin, y sont toujours abondans. On y recueille aussi de la soie." *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, p. 41. Paris, 1782.*

(3) Raii Hist. 1206.

(4) Tournef. ibid. p. 265.

CHAP. X.

there are no mines, the mere traveller, examining only those excavations which Nature carries on, has little chance of adding greatly to his stock of knowledge. The Geologist, attending only to *aggregation*, may fare better in the midst of the compound masses which are everywhere presented to his view. A species of *breccia* was found here, called *Ophites* by the antient Greeks, which may have been the *Verde antico;* it is described as of a green colour, spotted with white. From the position of the strata, as before noticed, this compound may frequently occur, where the layers of schistus and marble meet, and where the *schistus* is either of a green colour itself, or contains *green serpentine.* It has been also pretended that gold ores exist in the island, but that the inhabitants carefully conceal the secret of their locality, through fear of being compelled by the Turks to work those ores. The famous *Emery* of Naxos is situated in an opposite part of the island, towards the north-west: the author has ever since regretted that his rough treatment at sea entirely banished from his recollection all thought of this important part of the natural history of Naxos; and he has the more regretted his inattention to it, as we are entirely ignorant of the geological position, association, and matrix of *Emery.* Since the celebrated Tennant has discovered its relationship to *Corundum*[1], independently of its consequence in a commercial view, and of its connection with antient history, it is peculiarly entitled to notice. The matrix of the *Corundum* of the *Carnatic* is a stone of a peculiar

(1) See the Communication read to the Royal Society, July 1, 1802, on the composition of Emery, by Smithson Tennant, F. R. S.

peculiar nature, resembling the Naxian marble[2]. The crystals of Corundum are dispersed in it in the same manner as those of feldspar are disposed in porphyry[3]. The author has succeeded in obtaining, by the accidental fracture of the *compact emery* of Naxos, as regular an hexagonal form as that which may be noticed in the *Corundum* of the Mysore: nor is it unreasonable to infer, as a probability, that *Telesia*, or perfect *Corundum*, under the forms exhibited by the *Oriental sapphire* and *Oriental ruby*, may be found by future travellers in the mines of *emery* at Naxos. Tournefort relates, that in his time those mines were situated at the bottom of a valley, beyond a place called *Perato*, in the territory of the French Consul; but that the inhabitants find *emery* as they plough the earth, and carry it down to the sea coast, where the English did often ballast their ships with it; and it was so cheap, that twenty-eight hundred weight of it might be purchased for a crown[4]. Dapper says, that a cape on the north-west side of the island takes its name from this stone. Almost all the *emery* of commerce comes from Naxos. The island has been celebrated for ages in being the peculiar deposit of this remarkable mineral. Pliny, in the description he has given of a *green stone* which the

(2) "It is similar," says the Count de Bournon, "to the kind of marble known by the name of Coarse-grained Saline Marble." (*See Bournon on the Corundum Stone, p.* 50. *Lond.* 1802.) This description answers to the marble of Naxos.

(3) See Bournon, &c. as above.

(4) Tournef. Voy. du Levant, tom. I. p. 263. *Lyon*, 1717.

(5) *Capo Smeriglio*; the Italians calling emery, *Smeriglio*, or *Smerillo*. See *Dapper, Isles de l'Archipel. p.* 350. *Amst.* 1703.

CHAP. X.

the Antients called *topaz*, says it was the only gem that admitted the impression of a file; that all other gems were polished by means of the *grinding-stones of Naxos*[1]: and, in a preceding part of his work, he speaks of *Naxium* as used in polishing marble and gems[2]. The shepherds told us that wild honey is found in great abundance in this island: the children set out in parties to collect it, as in the other islands of the Archipelago. From the rocks above *Panormo* Creek, we had a fine view of the great cluster of islands lying towards the south-east.

Naxian Boccaze.

On Saturday, October the seventeenth, at sun-rise, we got under weigh, with a light breeze from the north-west, and steered for the south of the *boccaze*, or strait, between this island and Paros. In passing up the channel, we were obliged to use our oars; but by ten o' clock A. M. we came to anchor in the port, close to the town of Naxos, having nearly completed the tour of the whole island. We found only a few boats in the harbour. The Greek sailors still preserve the custom, mentioned by Homer, of hauling their vessels on the shore, with the prows resting upon the beach: having done this, they place the mast lengthwise across the prow and the poop, and spread the sail over it, so as to form a tent; then beneath these tents they sing their songs, drinking wine freely, and accompanying their voices with the lyre or three-

(1) "Eadem sola nobilium limam sentit: cæteræ Naxiis cotibus poliuntur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvii. *c.* 8. *tom.* III. p. 542. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(2) "Signis è marmore poliendis, gemmisque etiam scalpendis atque limandis *Naxium* diu placuit ante alia." *Ibid. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 7. *tom.* III. *p.* 478.

three-stringed viol: such a concert greeted our arrival. Being told that a Latin archbishop resided in the place, we paid him a visit. The town makes a neat appearance from the harbour, but has altogether the character of an antient Greek city when it is entered; the streets being irregular, deep, narrow, and dirty. We found upon the mart, near the shore, large heaps of the most enormous green citrons we had ever seen, ready to be removed on board some boats waiting to convey this kind of freightage to Constantinople. They are valued principally for their very thick rind, of which a green sweetmeat is prepared: but we could hardly have credited an account of the size to which this fruit here attains. Some of these citrons were as large as a man's head, and of the most singular forms; consisting almost wholly of the rind, with very little juice in any of them. The archbishop received us very politely, and prepared a dinner for us; but we begged to make the best use of our time, and therefore declined his invitation. By his kindness we were admitted to the churches, which have the privilege of being furnished with bells, as at Patmos. A Greek priest, in answer to our inquiry for Manuscripts, produced from beneath an altar, lying upon the damp pavement of one of the sanctuaries, a quarto Codex of selections from the Gospels, written upon vellum for the use of the Greek Church: this, as usual, had been condemned as soon as a printed copy had supplied its place. We easily contrived to purchase it; and afterwards obtained, for a small sum, by means of the same priest, a similar Manuscript, apparently of the same age,

Town of Naxos.

Manuscripts.

CHAP. X.

age, from one of the Greek families in the place[1]. In this manner antient copies of the Gospels may be procured in the Archipelago, by persons who will be at the pains to seek for them; as, in our own country, the rarest English editions of the Scriptures may be found in counties at a distance from the metropolis, where they have either been banished from the churches to make way for more modern Bibles, or laid up in store-rooms as waste paper in private families, being too antiquated and inelegant in their appearance for the taste of the owners[2].

The want of a proper port for large shipping has saved Naxos from many a visit on the part of the Turks. We

Inhabitants.

were told that not a single Mahometan could be found in the whole island, and that many of the inhabitants of the interior had never seen a Turk; but they sometimes experience the honour of a call from their masters, *en passant;* and then, "upon the arrival of the meanest commander of a galliot," says Tournefort[3], "neither Latins nor Greeks ever dare appear but in red caps, like the common galley-slaves, humbling themselves before the pettiest officer." As soon as the Turks have left them, nothing is to be heard but tables of their genealogy; some deducing their origin from

(1) These are the same Manuscripts mentioned by Professor Gaisford, Nos. 47, 48. p. 100. of his Catalogue. *Oxon.* 1812.

(2) The author has seen old black-letter Bibles discarded in the chests of country churches; and once found a copy of *Miles Coverdale's* revised translation of the Scriptures in the hands of a Welch housekeeper who was preparing to use it in covering preserves.

(3) Tournef. Voy. du Levant. Lett. V. tom. I. p. 257. *Lyon,* 1717.

from the *Paleologi*, or from the *Comnenii*; others from the noblest Venetian families[4]. The island was for three hundred years the residence of princes appointed by the Venetians as Dukes of the Archipelago; from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Emperor Henry gave this title to *Marco Sanudo*, until the expulsion by the Turks, under Selim the second, of *Giacomo Crispo*, the twenty-first and last duke. It is owing to this circumstance that the Venetian costume still exists among the Latin ladies. That of the Greek women is very remarkable; but it has been already described and accurately represented in Tournefort's Travels[5]. We were unable to resist the hospitable importunity with which some of the inhabitants invited us into their dwellings; and might have sacrificed the whole of our time in going from house to house, to be regaled with lemonade and sweetmeats. Some of the ladies were very anxious to be informed how the women of our island passed their time; and whether the rich dresses of the Naxian women accorded with the habits of English females of distinction. We told them that English ladies of elevated rank aimed only at simplicity in their dress; that, in our commercial country, wealth was very often on the side of low birth; and, consequently, that expensive habits and costly ornaments, so far from being the distinguishing characteristics of high breeding, were generally considered as marks of vulgarity; that the wives and daughters of our nobility wore the plainest, and

(4) Tournef. ibid.

(5) Ibid. p. 228.

CHAP. X.

and generally the cheapest, apparel. Still their curiosity was not satisfied: they wished we would tell them of what materials the dresses consisted; and whether any thing of the kind could be had at Malta, or Constantinople: and in the evident desire which they betrayed of imitating the London mode, we were amused in thinking what sort of a metamorphosis would be effected by the arrival of an English woman of rank at Naxos: what discarding of brocade, and coloured velvet, and embroidered vests, for British muslin and stuffs: what scrambling for a few pieces of crape and cambric, if such merchandize should arrive in the midst of the revolution: how all the old family wardrobes, which had been handed down in form and substance from the *Justinianis*, the *Grimaldis*, and the *Summaripas*[1], would give place to the simplest English costume. As we had a variety of other business to claim our attention, during the short stay we intended to make, we put an end to a chain of inquiries that redoubled after every answer, by promising to send all the latest modes by the earliest opportunity, either from Paris or London.

Population.

The population has not been altered since Naxos was visited by Tournefort: that of the whole island, including the women, may be estimated at eighteen thousand persons: about three thousand of this number are Latins, and the rest are Greeks. During war, they pay forty purses as a tax to the Turkish Government, each purse being equivalent to five

(1) See Tournefort, p. 257. tom. I. *Lyon*, 1717.

five hundred piastres. In time of peace very little impost is levied. Their wine maintains its pristine celebrity, and we thought it excellent. The Latin families live together in the castle, or fortress, separated from the Greeks, not only by situation, but by numberless petty feuds and jealousies. We found fragments of a red porphyry here, much resembling lava. In the evening it rained, which was quite a novel spectacle to us at that time. The archbishop had again prepared his table for us; and, as we had refused his dinner, we went to sup with him. He had also provided beds and every other necessary convenience for our accommodation; but as the impossibility of making any adequate return for such civilities is often a painful reflection upon these occasions, we determined to rough it out, as usual, in our caique. The Greek houses of every description, it is true, swarm with vermin; but we could not pique ourselves upon the superiority of our accommodation on board, even in this respect, from the swarms of cock-roaches by which we were infested: and some rats, the *athletæ* of their kind, during the last night that we remained in Panormo Bay, actually carried off, not only the author's book of plants, filled with specimens, but also a weighty Turkish poignard, tied up within it, used for the double purpose of digging roots, and as a weapon of defence.

Antiquities.

Early the next day we landed to seek for some remains of the antient city, which was nearly in the situation of the modern town. The antiquities of Naxos relate almost exclusively to the worship of Bacchus. The inhabitants are still much addicted to drinking, and every medal and gem

of

CHAP. X.

of the island prove how prevalent the rites of Bacchus once were. This god is represented bearded upon all the Naxian coins and signets. We obtained several, which we shall presently describe. Below the window of a house belonging to the Chancellor of Naxos, we found an Inscription, upon the capital of a column, of an order in architecture unknown to us. It was discovered by a monk, who was digging for building materials among the remains of the antient city: he found the shaft of the column near to it, and a small antique lamp of terra-cotta. The pillar itself was, in all probability, a sepulchral *stélé*. The inscription is hardly worth preserving, as it contains only a few names; but one is unwilling to neglect the preservation of any Grecian relique, and especially where few are found.

Inscriptions.

ΧΑΙΗΤΟΣΚΑΙ
ΗΡΟΔΟΥΚΑΙΣΕ
ΛΕΥΚΟΥΚΠΟΛΧΡ
ΟΥ

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙ
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ

ΠΡΟΚΛΟΣΠΡΟ
ΚΛΟΥΚΑΙΑΛΕ
ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΚΑΙ
ΣΩΣΙΜΟΥ
ΣΥ

We

We were afterwards shewn, upon the top of a house below the walls of the fortress, a small slab, rather of Parian than of Naxian marble (the grain being finer than in the latter) containing an inscription of great antiquity: the letters were small; and they were exceedingly well cut, like some of the inscriptions which have been found in Troas, of the age of the Seleucidæ. The names of *Aristotle*, *Socrates*, *Theocritus*, and *Alexander*, inscribed upon the same marble, somewhat excited our curiosity; but, after all, we did not find a single fact stated in this inscription: it consists only of a list of names; and many of these are lost, owing to the injury the stone has sustained.

ΕΠΙΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΑΠΟ . . . . . .
ΚΑΙΥΠΟΓΥΜ . . ΟΥΣΕΚΑ . . . ΟΣ . . . .
ΥΓΙΕΙΝΟΥΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΟ . . . . ΤΟΥ . . . . ΗΦΗΒ . . .
ΣΙΝΟΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ . . . ΦΑΝΟΣΣΩΣ
ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ . ΝΙΚΑΙΟΣΜ . . . . ΤΟΥΘΕΟΓΕΙ . . .
ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥΠΟΛΛΟ . . . ΑΡΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ . . . ΣΙΛΕΩΣΦΙΛΟΙ . .
ΠΟΠΛΙΟΣΑΡΕΛΛΙΟΣΣΚΡ . . ΞΙ . . . ΝΑΧΕΗΣΝΕΟΤΕΡΟ
ΕΥΤΥΧΟΣΡ . . . ΝΑΙΟΥΠΥ . . . Π . . . . . ΜΑΚΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΝ
ΘΕΟΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΝΕΜΕΚ . . . ΙΤΟΕ . . . . . ΗΣΤΟΣΠΕΡΙΤΟ
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣΘΕΟΚΛΕΙ . . . . . ΜΩΝΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ
ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ . . . . . ΕΜΩΝΝΙΚΑΙΟΥ
ΚΛΕΩΝΥ . . . . . ΠΟΥΗΜΕΡΟΣ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΙ . ΗΡΑΣ . . . . . ΣΙΝΟΙ . . ΑΥΛΟΣ
ΚΑΙΔΙΚΙΟΣΑΓΑ . . . . . ΟΔΟΣ . . ΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥΜΑΡΚΟΣΠΟΛΛΙΟΣΜΑΡΚΟΥΔΕΚΜΟΣ
ΑΥΦΙΔΙΟΣΣΠΟΡΙΟΥΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣΝΙΚΙΟΥ
ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΑΥΛΟΣΣΟΛΦΙΚΙΟΣ
ΑΥΛΟΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ
ΣΕΞΤΙΛΙΟΣΣΠΟΡΙΟΥΤΡΥΦΩΝΧΑΡΜΙ
ΔΟΥ . . Υ . . ΗΡΕΤΗΣΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ

CHAP. X.

We copied this inscription with difficulty, being continually interrupted by the exorbitant demands of the woman to whom the house belonged. She positively refused to sell the marble, having a superstitious notion that it prevented evil spirits from coming to her dwelling: after insisting upon a payment of thirty piastres for a sight of it, she allowed us to copy it for a hundred parâhs, but not without continual interruption, and the most clamorous entreaty for more money.

Sculpture.

We had sufficient employment afterwards, among many valuable antiquities. Every fragment of the antient sculpture of Naxos denoted the most splendid æra of the art; but Bacchus was all in all. The fragment of a marble bust of the God, crowned with vine leaves, was shewn to us, of the most perfect sculpture; but the price set upon every thing proved our approximation to western countries, and that the intercourse between this island and Italy had taught them how to appretiate the works of Grecian artists. An antient weight had been dug up, of an oblong square form, with its handle, neatly cut in marble: this we brought away: it weighs exactly four pounds, seven ounces and a half. A Greek had recently

Medals.

discovered a vessel of terra cotta, containing some small bronze coins of Naxos, of the finest die, exhibiting the head of the bearded Bacchus in front, and a *diota* on the reverse, with the legend ΝΑΞΙΩΝ: we bought ten of these. The author had also the good fortune to procure a silver medal of the island, of such uncommon rarity, that it is believed there is not a duplicate of it in any collection in Europe. It has on the front a bearded head of Bacchus; and for reverse, the *diota*, with the letters N A. It is wonderful, considering the wealth

wealth and population which the testimony of Herodotus proves the Island of Naxos to have possessed, that its coins should be so scarce, and generally so paltry; while those of its Sicilian colony, so much less noticed in history, are by no means uncommon; and for size and workmanship the latter are among the finest examples of art extant.

Gems.

Visiting as usual the working silversmiths, we found among them several gems. The first was a carnelian with the figure of a goat, a symbol of Bacchus: the second, which we could not obtain, represented a whole length figure of the God, reeling, decorated with vine-leaves and grapes, and followed by a dog; he held a *thyrsus* in one hand, and a *diota* in the other turned bottom upwards, as a proof that he had emptied the contents of the vase. Upon another gem, which we were also unable to purchase, we observed an altar, supporting a bust of Bacchus crowned with vine-leaves, in a very singular attitude, with its mouth open, as if making a libation of the effects of intoxication: around it appeared the letters of his name, ΥΟƆΥΝΟΙΔ, written, in very antient characters, from right to left. At the house of the Chancellor, from whom we experienced the most hospitable attention, we saw the hand of an antient statue, executed in the best style of Grecian sculpture, and certainly not inferior to any thing yet discovered. Also, near to his house, the torso and bust of a military figure, with a robe over the shoulder, of the most exquisite workmanship. The *sculpture* of the island appeared to be generally of the sort of marble called Parian, whether found in Paros or in Naxos; and the remains of works in

archi-

CHAP. X.

architecture to have been executed in the splendid, broader-grained, and sparry marble, which is more peculiar to the Naxian quarries: but neither the one nor the other exhibited the smallest appearance of that false lustre and glittering surface which has sometimes, and very improperly, been supposed to characterize works of art executed in the marble of these islands[1]. Age had given to all a warm and beautiful tint of a yellow colour: and, to the eye, every fragment seemed to possess the softness and consistency of wax or of alabaster. The Chancellor told us, that in the interior of the island, at the distance of three hours from the town, near to some antient marble quarries, there yet remains an unfinished colossal statue, as he said, of Apollo, but evidently of Bacchus, with a *bearded* countenance, sixteen feet in length[2]. A public fountain near to the town is still considered by the inhabitants as THE FOUNTAIN OF ARIADNE, and it is called by that name. Some traces of antient works which may yet be discerned near to this fountain shew that it has long been held in more than usual consideration.

Colossal Statue.

Being unable to undertake a journey into the interior, we next visited the ruins of a Temple of Bacchus, upon an insular rock on the north side of the port. The portal of that temple

Temple of Bacchus.

(1) " Le marbre Grec est à gros grains crystallins, qui font de faux jours, et qui sautent par petit éclats, si on ne le menage avec soin." *Tournef. Voy. du Lev. Lett.* V. *tom.* I. *p.* 241. Lyon, 1717.

(2) Mr. Hamilton, author of *Ægyptiaca*, with his companions, afterwards visited Naxos, and saw this statue of Bacchus. It is of such enormous size, that Mr. Hamilton's party spread a cloth upon the beard, and made it serve as their table for breakfast.

temple has been long famous, and an account of it is given in every book of travels where Naxos is mentioned. We shall therefore not detain the Reader with any dissertation as to the probable history of the temple, but simply describe what we saw. It is asserted, that the isle was once connected with Naxos by means of a bridge and an aqueduct: the author of the "*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*" says that its vestiges are yet visible[3]: we did not observe them, when we were upon the spot. It is an error to suppose, as many have affirmed, that nothing remains of the temple but this portal, although it be true that little else can be seen. Considering the pains that have been lately bestowed by many of our English travellers in making excavations in different parts of Greece, it is rather extraordinary that no person has been induced to lay open the site of this remarkable building, where there are no Turks to interfere with the workmen, and where there is almost a certainty of reward for their trouble. For our part, we had not the means of carrying on such works; but we uncovered a part of the soil, and discovered a beautiful capital of a Doric pillar, thereby ascertaining the order of architecture observed in the building. We were struck with admiration at the massive structure and the simple grandeur of that part of the temple which still remains standing: it consists of three pieces only of the *Naxian* marble, two being placed upright and one laid across. Below these are large square masses, which belonged to

(3) Voy. Pittor. tom. I. p. 43. *Paris*, 1782.

CHAP. X.

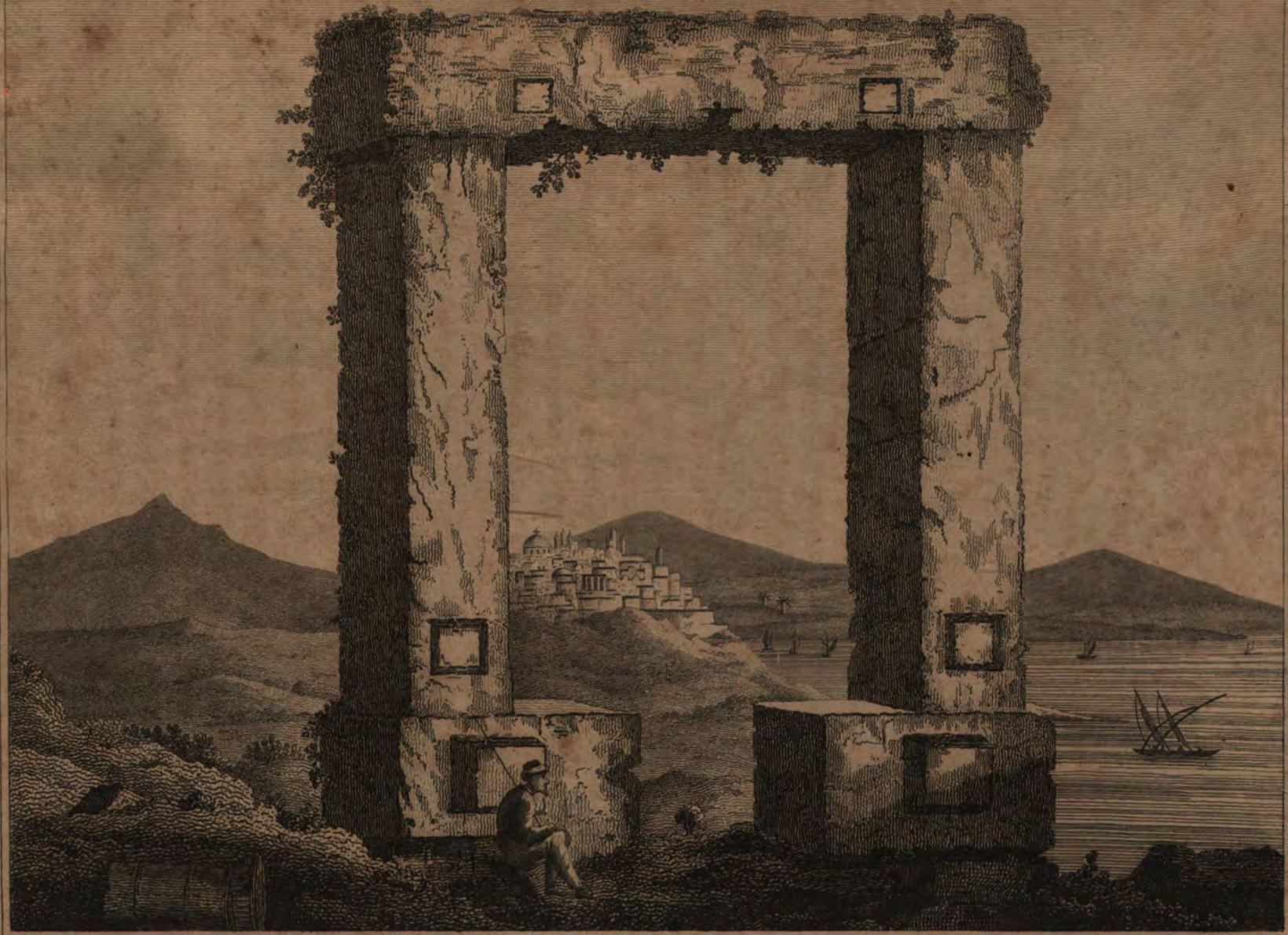
to the threshold; and this consisted of three pieces only[1]. The view through this portal, of the town of Naxos with its port, and part of the island, is very fine. We endeavoured, by a sketch made upon the spot, to preserve a memorial of the scene; and it has been since rendered more perfect, without interfering with the fidelity of the representation[2]. The mountain seen to the left is probably ΔΙΑ, now called *Zïa*, whence the island was formerly named. We brought away some large specimens of the marble which lies in fragments near the portal: it is so much softer and more laminary than the Parian, that the difference between the two kinds is easily to be recognised by fracture. It is singular that no account of a building of such magnificence should be preserved in any author. Ptolemy, as it is observed by Tournefort, seems to mention an antient city upon which it is probable that the modern town of Naxos is built[3]: but no allusion to this small isle and its temple occurs in any antient description of Greece, notwithstanding all that has been said of Naxos, by Herodotus, by Appian, and by other writers. From this isle we returned to conclude our researches in Naxos.

The citadel was constructed under Marco Sanudo, the first

(1) Tournefort ascertained the dimensions of the portal: according to him, (*see tom.* I. *Lett.* V. *à Lyon,* 1717.) it is eighteen feet high, and eleven feet three inches broad; the lintel is four feet thick; the two uprights are four feet thick, and three feet and a half broad. All the parts, he says, were cramped with copper, for he found small pieces of that metal among the ruins.

(2) See the Plate annexed, from a drawing by Mr. H. Wright of Magdalen College, Cambridge.

(3) Νάξου Νήσου ἡ πόλις. *Ptol. Geog. lib.* iii. *cap.* 15.



Henry Wright del.

Etch.d by Edw. Byrne.

Other Ruins.

first duke of the Archipelago; and the antient palace of his successors was the large square tower which is now remaining within this circular fortress[4]. Near to a small chapel beneath its walls, we found a Cippus, representing two female figures, in bas-relief. There is not a house in the town that has not some relique of this kind near to it; and similar remains in the interior are very common. The inhabitants told us, that there are two places where ruins and inscriptions are found; the one called *Apollonon*, and the other a village which bears the name of *Philotes*. They spoke of ruins at two hours distance from Naxos, towards the east, and offered to conduct us to them: but the journey would have detained us another day; and we were afraid of loitering at this season of the year with such a vessel as ours upon a doubtful speculation, and therefore refused to go. Nothing happened to us more extraordinary than our almost unaccountable neglect in not visiting the *Emery* mines: this arose partly, as has been stated, from the alarm into which we had been thrown upon our first coming to the island, which made us forget to inquire after them; and also in some degree from not rightly comprehending the meaning of the term *Smeriglio*, when the exports were stated to us: we would willingly have bartered the time which we spent in copying, and in procuring permission to copy, an imperfect and unintelligible inscription, for the opportunity of making a few observations upon the *Naxian Corundum*, of which they have two varieties, very different in their qualities. They find also

Smeriglio.

(4) Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. I. Lett. V. *Lyon*, 1717.

CHAP. X.

also abundance of *Marcasite*, or *sulphuret of iron*: this was mentioned to us by the Chancellor, but we were not told what use they made of it. Formerly it was employed in the manufacture of ear-rings and bracelets in England; and buttons are yet made of it in Birmingham, which have for a short time almost the lustre of real brilliants.

Arrival at Paros.

At eight o'clock A. M. October the 19th, we found our vessel entering the harbour of *Naussa*[1], at the northern extremity of the Isle of Paros; having availed ourselves of the land breeze in the night to leave Naxos. This is the principal port for large vessels; but as our object was to

Parechia.

get to *Parechia*, the chief town, we ordered our men to bear

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter. This must be the *Porto Ausa* of Dapper. (*Déscript. des Isles de l'Archipel, p.* 261. *Amst.* 1703.) Tournefort mentions *Nausa*, or *Agousa* (*tom.* I. *Lett.* V. *p.* 241. *Lyon*, 1717): and an author who accompanied Mons. de Nointel, during his Voyage in the Archipelago in 1673, writes it *Agosa* (*L'Etat present de l'Archipel de Monsieur* M.D.L. *Cologne*, 1678. *p.* 57.). "Πάρος ἐχὺ κάστρα δύο, καὶ χώρα μία. 1. Παρήκια, ἐπισκοπάτο. 2. Κέφαλος, κάστρο. 3. Ἀγόστα. Ins. Paros habet castra duo, et unam civitatem. 1. Parikiam, episcopatum. 2. Kephalon, castrum. 3. Augustam." (*Vid. Martini Crusii Annotationes in Epistolas Doctorum, p.* 207. *Turcogræciæ. Basil. sine anno.*) Sonnini calls it *Naussa*. (*Trav. in Greece, p.* 454. *Lond.* 1801.) These particulars are noted, because Paros may hereafter excite the notice of our Government. It was in this port that the Russians established the depot of their forces, when they promised to restore liberty to Greece, and became the scourge of the inhabitants; desolating the finest works of antiquity wherever they went. There is no harbour in Greece better calculated for a national establishment. Fleets may lie there in perfect safety, and in the very center of the Archipelago. The Turks make no use of Paros themselves: and, viewed only with regard to the abundance of its valuable marble, it ought to be considered as an island of importance to a nation vain of its distinction in the Fine Arts. A very fine Chart of this harbour has been engraved in the "*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*," with all the soundings, &c. as it was surveyed by *Kauffer* in 1776; shewing the situation of the Russian magazines and fortifications. *See Pl.* xxxi. *p.* 70. *tom.* I. *Paris*, 1782.

bear down the western side of the island. This island is surrounded by harbours, and that of *Naussa* alone is said to be capable of containing a hundred vessels.

A contrary wind soon after met us; in consequence of which we landed, and walked about three miles; meeting in the first Greek we saw a proof of that hospitality which is so common in the Archipelago. He was the owner of a house in Paros to which he invited us; saying that his son should be our guide to the marble quarries, and that he would shew us all the antiquities in the neighbourhood. We accompanied him; and made a hearty meal upon salted olives, grapes, boiled pumpkins, and Parian wine. Our boat did not arrive until ten at night. *Parechia* is a wretched relique of the antient and famous PAROS. Every building in the place, but particularly the Castle, bears some evidence of its pristine splendor, and of the havoc that has ensued.

October the 20th, the *Waiwode* of Paros, who is a native of *Tenos* sent as Governor to collect the taxes, but not constantly resident, came to visit us, and offered to shew to us the Castle. In the walls of this building we saw some columns which had been placed horizontally among the materials used in building it; and their butt-ends, sticking out, were singularly inscribed with the letter A, placed close to the cavity intended for the reception of the iron instrument called by modern architects the *Louis*[2]; either as a mark

Castle.

(2) The name of this *dove-tailed* instrument is in general use among architects; but it is not found in any English Dictionary. Its origin is very uncertain: the French call the same instrument *Louve*. Piranesi, in his third volume of the "*Magnificenza di Romà*," mentions having found stones in antient buildings in which there were cavities for an instrument of this *dove-tailed* shape.

CHAP. X.

mark by which to adjust the several parts of the shaft, or as a curious method of preserving the initial of the architect's name; so that it could not be seen until the building became a ruin. An instance of a similar nature occurred at Telmessus, where the name of *Hermolycus* had been carefully inscribed, but in such a manner as to be concealed from observation when the building was entire: this *letter* may therefore possibly relate to *Amphilochus*, "the glory of whose art," in an inscription found at Rhodes[1], was said "to reach to the mouths of the Nile, and to the utmost Indus." The entrance to the interior is of very singular form, being as wide as one entire side of the Castle. It is truly lamentable to view the wreck of beautiful sculpture, visible not only in the construction of this fortress, but all over the town of *Parechia*, the wretched remnant of a city famous for the birth of Phidias and of Praxiteles. We copied part of an inscription yet existing in the Castle wall:

Inscriptions.

ΛΗΡΩΣΑΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΑΡΧΩΝΤΟΣΙΛΙΕΝ

Also near to a windmill we found inscribed, "NICIRATUS SON OF ALCÆUS:"

ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ
ΑΛΚΑΙΟΥ

It may be said, perhaps, that these inscriptions are hardly worth preserving; but instances have occurred in which even such scraps have not been without utility, in adding to the general stock of literature. We afterwards found an inscription of greater length: it was in the left-hand door-

(1) See the former Section, Chap. VIII. p. 228.

door-way of the Chapel of St. Nicholas, in the Church of St. Helen, the stone being placed in an inverted position. It states that "THE SON OF THEOCLES, WHO HAD CONDUCTED HIMSELF WELL IN THE OFFICE OF AGORANOMOS, TWICE, IS CROWNED WITH A GOLDEN CROWN." The legend requires a little restoration, which is here marked by dotted letters.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΙΜΗΣΕΝ
ΚΑΙΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΕΝΧΡΥΣΩΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ
ΝΩΝΓΩΡΥΤΟΝΘΕΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΑΓΟ
ΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΔΙΣΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙ
ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣΚΑΤΕΤΟΥΣΝΟΜΟΥΣΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΑΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΠΑΣΙΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ

In a wall of the court we observed a *Lectisternium*, in bas-relief; but it had been whitewashed, and this made it difficult to copy an inscription upon the marble. In one part of the stone there appeared, in small characters:

--------ΤΟΕΤΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
--------ΙΡΟΜΟΙΡΩΣΕΞΙΩΣΑΣ

Below this were some figures in a reclining posture; and then followed, in larger letters:

ΣΩΧΑΡΜΟΥΠΑΡΑΙ
ΕΠΙΚΑΙΕΣΦΘΙΜΕΝΟ
ΕΙΓΑΡΚΑΙΠΑΥΡΑΣΕΠ
ΑΞΙΟΣΑΙΝΕΙΣΘΑΙ
ΟΡΦΑΝΑΜΕΝΜΟΡΑΙΤ
ΚΕΙΣΘΩΠΑΙΣΙΧΡΟΝ

The four last lines in this inscription were evidently in metre, as we may judge from the beginning of each:

Εἰ γὰρ καὶ παυρᾶς
Ἄξιος αἰνεῖσθαι
Ορφανὰ μὲν - - - -
Κεῖσθω παισὶ χρον - -

Similar

CHAP. X.

Similar imperfect remains may be observed in all parts of the town, which have been used for building materials, and generally white-washed. Near the house of the Imperial Consul, facing the street, we saw this inscription in the wall: "DIONYSIUS, SON OF EUSCHEMON, FAREWELL:"

ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC
ΕΥCΧΗΜΟΝΟC
ΧΡΗCΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Two forms of the *Sigma* are observable in this inscription. That the C and Σ were used promiscuously in very antient times, has been frequently shewn. The C was of the highest antiquity, and certainly in use prior to the æra of the first Punic War[1]. The C appears on coins and marbles of very antient date[2]. Somewhat farther on, in another street, we found an inscription relating to "A DAUGHTER OF AGATHEMERIS:"

ΖΩCΑΡΙΝ . . ΟΠΑ - - - Α - -
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΔΕ
ΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΔΟC

It is impossible to assign any date to these inscriptions; in which not less than three different forms of a single letter may be observed: but this want of uniformity is no proof of the age of the writing.

This day, as the Governor offered to accompany us to see the

(1) Torremuzza Inscript. di Palermo, p. 237.

(2) See *Paciandi's Observations* on Medals, bearing the legend CAΞIΩN and ΟΡΘΩCIΕΩΝ. Mon. Pell. 34.

the famous Grotto of Antiparos, and as our host had prepared mules and guides for the expedition, we set off at eight A. M. and rode by the side of a mountain, through corn fields, until we came to the narrowest part of the channel, between Paros and Antiparos. Paros seemed to be in a higher state of cultivation than Naxos. The island produces excellent oil, and abundance of wine. Its ripe olives are highly esteemed by the natives as an article of food, after being salted for one day: this sort of diet has been often deemed, by inconsiderate English travellers in Italy and Greece, very hard fare for the poor inhabitants: but it is one of their greatest luxuries; and we became as fond of it as the people everywhere seem to be from one extremity of the Mediterranean to the other. As soon as we reached the shore from which we were to pass over to Antiparos, we observed a large Turkish merchant ship, laden with soap, and bound from Crete to Constantinople, stranded in the middle of the strait. The master of the vessel, without any compass, and with the usual fatality attending his countrymen in their sea voyages, had relied upon an ignorant pilot, who had persuaded him that this was the greater *boccaze* between Naxos and Paros, and the ship in consequence was driven upon the shallows. We went on board, and found the master squatted within his cabin, smoking, and listening to a duet performed by two of his crew upon a drum and a lyre, while the rest were gone in search of people to assist in hauling the vessel off the rocks. Nothing could exceed his perfect *Moslem* indifference; for although it seemed to be doubtful whether his vessel would ever move again, or, if she did, whether she would

Ship stranded.

CHAP. X.

would not go to the bottom in consequence of the damage she had sustained, he would not stir from the seat where he had remained from the moment the accident happened.

Antiparos.

We landed upon the barren island of Antiparos, and were conducted by the Governor to a small village: here we found a few inhabitants, who were described to us as the casual legacies of different vessels, and principally Maltese, taken by corsairs, and left on shore to shift for themselves. Some of them provided us with mules, ropes, and candles for the grotto, which is situated near the summit of the highest mountain of Antiparos, in the south part of the island. As we rode along, our beasts were terrified by the attacks of the gad-fly, an insect which infests every one of the Cyclades.

Grotto.

Having reached the top of the mountain before mentioned, we came to the mouth of this most prodigious cavern, which may be described as the greatest natural curiosity of its kind in the known world. The entrance to it has nothing very remarkable: it is beautifully represented in the *Voyage Pittoresque* of De Choiseul Gouffier[1]; but no book of travels ever did or ever can pourtray the beauties of the interior.

Its possible Origin.

As to its origin, it may possibly have been a very antient mine, or a marble quarry, from the oblique direction of the cavity, and the parallel inclination of its sides. The rock immediately above it consists of the following substances. The upper surface or summit of the mountain is a stratum of limestone, inclined very considerably from the horizon: beneath

(1) See Plate xxxvi. p. 72. tom. I. *Par.* 1782.

beneath this is a layer of schistus, containing the sort of marble called *Cipolino*, that is to say, a mixture of schistus and marble: then occurs the cavity which forms the grotto, parallel to the dipping inclination of the superior strata, and this cavity was once probably occupied by a bed of marble, succeeding in regular order to the superincumbent schistus; but this is mere hypothesis; and any traveller who enters the grotto will soon perceive, that all the theories he may form have been set at nought by Nature, in the darksome wonders of her subterraneous laboratory. We may therefore come at once to the practical part of the inquiry. The mode of descent is by ropes, which on the different declivities are either held by the natives, or they are joined to a cable which is fastened at the entrance around a stalactite pillar. In this manner, we were conducted, first down one declivity, and then down another, until we entered the spacious chambers of this truly enchanted grotto. Having visited the stalactite caverns of the Gulph of *Salernum* upon the coast of Italy, those of *Terni*, and many other places, the author expected to find something similar here; but there is nothing which resembles this grotto. The roof, the floor, the sides of a whole series of magnificent caverns, were entirely invested with a dazzling incrustation as white as snow. Columns, some of which were five and twenty feet in length, pended in fine icicle forms above our heads: fortunately some of them are so far above the reach of the numerous travellers who, during many ages, have visited this place, that no one has been able to injure or to remove them. Others extended from the roof to the floor, with diameters equal to that

Mode of Descent.

Description of the Interior.

CHAP. X.

that of the mast of a first-rate ship of the line. The incrustations of the floor, caused by falling drops from the stalactites above, had grown up into dendritic and vegetable forms, which first suggested to Tournefort the strange notion of his having here discovered the vegetation of stones. Vegetation itself has been considered as a species of crystallization[1]; and as the process of crystallization is so surprisingly manifested by several phænomena in this grotto, some analogy may perhaps be allowed to exist between the plant and the stone; but it cannot be said that a principle of life existing in the former has been imparted to the latter. The last chamber into which we descended surprised us more by the grandeur of its exhibition than any other; and this seems to have been the same which Tournefort intended to represent by the wretched view of it given in his work[2]. Probably there are many other chambers below this, yet unexplored, for no attempt has been made to penetrate farther[3]: and if this be true, the new caverns, when opened, would appear in perfect splendor, unsullied, in any part of them, by the smoke of torches, or by the hands of intruders; for although, in the general whiteness of the grotto, as it now appears, the partial injuries its beauty has sustained be not

(1) See Patrin, Hist. Nat. tom. III. pp. 130, 146. *Par.* An 9. Lamethérie, &c. &c.

(2) Voyage du Levant, tom. I. p. 227. *à Lyon*, 1717. A better idea of it may be formed by seeing the beautiful Plate engraved by *Tilliard*, from a drawing of the interior by *Hilair*, in the *Voyage Pittoresque*, *tom.* I. *p.* 74. *Paris*, 1782.

(3) Tournefort mentions an opening of this kind: "A côté de cette tour se voit un trou par où l'on entre dans une autre caverne, mais personne n'osa y descendre." *Voy. du Lev. tom.* I. *p.* 231.

not at first perceived, there are proofs that, in the course of time, by the increased frequency of the visits paid to it, and the damage caused by breaking the stalactites to remove as curiosities, the splendid effect produced by the whole must be diminished. After this general description, it will now be proper to give a more philosophical detail of our observations upon its natural history.

Nature of the Stalactites.

The substance itself which is thus deposited is purely *alabaster;* that is to say, it is a concretion of *carbonated lime* which was employed by the Antients in the manufacture of their unguentary vases[2]; and it is distinguished by its chemical constituents from the *alabaster* of modern times, or *gypsum*, which is a *sulphat of lime.* The formation of the *carbonated* alabaster by the stalactite process is now so well known, that its explanation may be comprehended in very few words. Nothing is more common than the presence of carbonic acid in water; and when a superabundance of this acid is present, the fluid is capable of sustaining, in solution, a portion of *lime carbonate;* but upon the slightest agitation, or division, or exposure to atmospheric air, or change of temperature, the carbonic acid makes its escape, and the fluid, thus losing its solvent power, necessarily lets fall the lime. All this is very simple, and very easily comprehended. The

(2) "THERE CAME UNTO HIM A WOMAN HAVING AN ALABASTER BOX OF VERY PRECIOUS OINTMENT." (*Matthew* xxvi. 7.) The author found among the ruins of the city of Saïs, in Egypt, the fragment of one of the unguentary vases of the Antients: it consists of white *carbonated alabaster*. Pliny says, that the best alabaster was of the colour of honey, and that it was a defect in the stone to be white and translucid. The alabaster of Antiparos is of a honey colour, like to that which comes to us from Gibraltar in a manufactured state.

CHAP. X.

Paradoxical Phænomena.

The paradox remains now to be stated: it is this; that these enormous stalactites, thus formed during a series of ages by the slow and gradual deposition of lime-water, filtering drop by drop from the roof of the cavern, offer concentric layers only towards their superficies; their interior structure exhibiting a completed crystallization, which separates by fracture into semi-transparent rhombs, as perfectly formed as if they had resulted from a simultaneous instead of a continued process. Almost every mineralogist may have noticed a rhomboïdal termination of the small translucid stalactites which are found at Castleton in Derbyshire; but there the operation has been carried on in water, a globule of which has remained constantly suspended at the point of each stalactite; but in this grotto, crystallization has been the result of a modification sustained by the whole interior of a mass of *alabaster*, subsequently to its original deposition. That the cavern has neither been filled with water, nor with any other fluid than atmospheric air, is very evident, by the formation of the stalactites, which could not otherwise have existed as they now appear. Every thing belonging to them, and to this cavern, will tend to perplex and to confound the naturalist; and many proofs of this are yet to follow. In the different cavities, and between the interstices of the stalactites, we had the satisfaction to discover, what no one has hitherto noticed,—THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF ALABASTER, in distinct groups of large rhomboïdal primary crystals, upon the exterior surface of the several concretions: and that these crystals were gradually accumulating in size, until they met together and constituted one entire mass, was evident,

Crystallization of Alabaster.

evident, because, upon a diligent examination of all parts of the grotto, we found, that where the stalactites were small, and in an incipient state, the crystals upon their surface were exceedingly minute; where they were large, the crystals were also large, some of them exceeding two inches in diameter. Another surprising fact is, that although the outer crust of these crystals be opaque, and similar to the exterior incrustation of the concretions themselves, the crystals, when broken, are, each and all of them, integral parts of the stalactite upon which they have been formed. We carefully detached a great variety of specimens, to illustrate and to confirm these observations; and although the Waiwode who accompanied us, like a child craving the toy which amuses another, insisted upon having the finest specimen, under the pretext of presenting it to his ignorant patron the Capudan Pasha, we had the good fortune to bring many of these specimens to England, and to the University of Cambridge, where they have been annually exhibited during the Mineralogical Lectures. It was in that University, when the author was engaged in shewing them to the celebrated Tennant, now Professor of Chemistry there, that the Professor noticed among the stalactites one which was remarkably distinguished from the rest by its fascicular structure, by its superior hardness, and by the appearance of rays diverging from a common centre towards the circumference[1].

Its

(1) A similar formation was noticed by Tournefort: "*Distinguez par six cercles concentriques, dont les fibres vont du centre à la circonference.*" (Voy. du Lev. tom. I. p 228. *Lyon*, 1717.) It is remarkable that the same writer denies the dropping of water in the grotto—"*Il ne tombe pas une seule goutte d'eau dans ce lieu.*" Ibid.

CHAP. X.

Its fracture is not rhomboïdal: and its dispersion into a powder, by heat, exhibits the still mouldering appearance of *arragonite*,—and not the decrepitation of such particles of carbonated lime as contain water, of which specific nature are the generality of the stalactites in this grotto. From all these circumstances Professor Tennant had no doubt of its being ARRAGONITE, and in the STALACTITE FORM, which has never before been noticed. Indeed the mineral itself has hitherto been so rare, that were it not for the attention shewn to it, and the interest excited, in consequence of its being the only anomaly in Haüy's theory of crystallization, very little of its real history would be known; nor can there be a greater inducement now offered to naturalists to visit the Grotto of Antiparos, than the discovery thus made of a new locality of this curious mineral. Another singular circumstance in the history of the grotto is, that the incisions made by persons who have formerly inscribed their names in the *alabaster*, have not only been filled up, but the letters so marked have since protruded in relief from the surface of the stone; and this has hitherto received no explanation. Some Greek inscriptions near the entrance, also noticed by Tournefort, prove that the grotto was visited in a very early period. One of them, which he has preserved very entire, mentions that a number of persons, whose names are subscribed, "came thither during the administration of CRITON."

Arragonite.

ΕΠΙ
ΚΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ
ΟΙΔΕΗΛΘΟΝ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΣΟΧΑΡΜΟΣ
ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ
ΙΠΠΟΜΕΔΩΝ
ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ
ΦΙΛΕΑΣ
ΓΟΡΓΟΣ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ
ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΟΝΕΣΙΜΟΣ

Visit of the French Ambassador.

Monsieur de Nointel, French ambassador to Constantinople, seems to have flattered himself that he was the first person who had ever ventured into this cavern[1]. During Christmas, in the year 1673, he caused mass to be celebrated in the grotto, at midnight; remaining here three entire days, accompanied by upwards of five hundred persons. The cavern was then illuminated by four hundred lamps, and one hundred large wax flambeaus; the elevation of the host was accompanied by the music of trumpets, hautboys, fifes, and violins, as well as by the discharge of artillery placed

(1) "Monsieur le Marquis de Nointel, ayant entendu dire, qu'il y avoit dans l'autre isle voisine, nommée Antiparos, une grotte où personne n'osoit entrer, y voulut descendre la veille de Noël. Je m'offris à l'y accompagner, &c." *L'Etat present de l'Archipel. de Mons. M. D. L.* à Cologne, 1678. *p.* 65. *Première Partie.*

CHAP. X.

placed at the entrance of the cavern. Two Latin inscriptions yet record this *subterranean solemnity*, which may be considered as ascertaining the epocha of the first visit paid to the grotto in modern times. In the words which the Ambassador caused to be inscribed upon the base of the *stalagmite* which supplied him with an altar for the occasion, we have a striking example of the Roman-Catholic faith, as to the miraculous presence of the Messiah in the consecrated wafer:

HIC · IPSE · CHRISTVS · ADFVIT
EJVS · NATALI · DIE · MEDIA · NOCTE
CELEBRATO · MDCLXXIII.

The channel between the two islands is not more than a mile wide: but it is two leagues from the port of Antiparos to that of Paros. It was this distance which convinced Tournefort that Antiparos is the island called *Oliaros*, or *Olearos*, by the Antients. We returned to Paros highly gratified by our very interesting expedition, and carefully packed the specimens we had collected.

Oliaros.

Antient Quarries of Parian Marble.

Wednesday, October the twenty-first. This day we set out upon mules for the antient quarries of the famous Parian marble, which are situated about a league to the east of the town, upon the summit of a mountain, nearly corresponding in altitude with the situation of the Grotto of Antiparos. The son of our host, a young married man, accompanied us. We rode through several olive plantations in our ascent: the fruit of these trees was the sole topic of conversation with our worthy guide, who spoke of a ripe olive as the most

most delicious dainty which Heaven had vouchsafed to man upon earth; giving him greater strength, vigour, and agility, than any other kind of food. "Oh!" said he, smacking his lips, "how we feast at my father's, when olives first come into season." The mountain in which the quarries are situated, now called *Capresso*, is believed[1] to have been the *Marpessus* mentioned by Servius[2] and by Stephanus Byzantinus[3]: there are two of those quarries. When we arrived at the first, we found, in the mouth of the quarry, heaps of fragments detached from the interior: they were tinged, by long exposure to the air, with a reddish ochreous hue, but, upon being broken, exhibited the glittering sparry fracture which often characterizes the remains of Grecian sculpture; and in this we instantly recognised the beautiful marble which is generally named, by way of distinction, the *Parian*, although the same kind of marble be also found in *Thasos*[4]; and it is remarkable that the inhabitants of Thasos were a Parian colony[5]. The marble of *Naxos* only differs from the *Thasian* and *Parian* in exhibiting a more advanced state of crystallization. The peculiar excellence of the Parian

Marpessus.

(1) See Tournefort (*Voy. du Lev. tom.* I. *p.* 239. Lyon, 1717.) and the following authorities by him cited.

(2) "Marpesos mons est Pariæ insulæ." *Servius in Æneid.* vi.

(3) ΜΑΡΠΕΣΣΑ ὄρος Πάρου ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λίθοι ἐξαίρονται. *Stephanus Byzantinus. L. Bat.* 1694.

(4) For this remark the author is indebted to Mr. Hawkins, the publication of whose *Travels in Greece* has long been anxiously expected by all who know the industry of his researches and the superior accuracy of his observations.

(5) Ὑπὸ δὲ Παρίων ἐκτίσθη Θάσος. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* x. *p.* 711. *Oxon.* 1807.

CHAP. X.

Parian is extolled by Strabo[1]; and it possesses some valuable qualities unknown even to the Antients, who spoke so highly in its praise[2]. These qualities are, that of hardening by exposure to atmospheric air (which however is common to all homogeneous limestone,) and the consequent property of resisting decomposition through a series of ages,—and this, rather than the supposed preference given to the Parian marble by the Antients, may be considered as the cause of its prevalence among the remains of Grecian sculpture. That the Parian marble was highly and deservedly extolled by the Romans, has been already shewn; but in a very early period, when the Arts had attained their full splendor in the age of Pericles, the preference was given by the Greeks, not to the marble of Paros, but to that of Mount Pentelicus; because it was whiter; and also, perhaps, because it was found in the immediate vicinity of Athens. The *Parthenon* was built entirely of Pentelican marble. Many of the Athenian statues, and of the works carried on near to Athens during the administration of Pericles, (as, for example, the *Temple of Ceres* at Eleusis,) were executed in the marble of Pentelicus. But the finest Grecian sculpture which has been preserved to the present time is generally of Parian marble. The *Medicéan Venus*, the *Belvidere Apollo*, the

Cause of the Prevalence of Parian Marble in Grecian Sculpture.

(1) Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πάρῳ ἡ Παρία λίθος λεγομένη, ἀρίστη πρὸς τὴν μαρμαρογλυφίαν. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* x. *p.* 711. *Oxon.* 1807.

(2) "Paros, cum oppido, ab Delo xxxviii mill. marmore nobilis; quam primò Pactiam (*MS.* Plateam), postea Minoida vocârunt." *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib.* iv. c. 12. L. Bat. 1635. *tom.* I. *p.* 223.

the *Antinous*, and many other celebrated works, are of Parian marble; notwithstanding the preference which was so early bestowed upon the Pentelican: and this is easily explained. While the works executed in Parian marble retain, with all the delicate softness of wax, the mild lustre even of their original polish, those which were finished in Pentelican marble have been decomposed, and sometimes exhibit a surface as earthy and as rude as common limestone. This is principally owing to veins of extraneous substances which intersect the Pentelican quarries, and which appear more or less in all the works executed in this kind of marble. The fracture of Pentelican marble is sometimes splintery, and partakes of the foliated texture of the schistus which traverses it; consequently it has a tendency to exfoliate, like *Cipolino*, by spontaneous decomposition.

We descended into the quarry, whence not a single block of marble has been removed since the island fell into the hands of the Turks; and perhaps it was abandoned long before; as might be conjectured from the ochreous colour by which all the exterior surface of the marble is now invested. We seemed therefore to view the grotto exactly according to the state in which it had been left by the Antients: all the cavities, cut with the greatest nicety, shewed to us, by the sharpness of their edges, the number and the size of every mass of Parian marble which had been removed for the sculptors of Antient Greece. If the stone had possessed the softness of potter's clay, and had been cut by wires, it could not have been separated with greater nicety, evenness, and economy. The most evident care was every-

Marvellous skill of the Antients in working the Quarries.

CHAP. X.

where displayed that there should be no waste of this precious marble: the larger squares and parallelograms corresponded, as a mathematician would express it, by a series of *equimultiples* with the smaller, in such a manner that the remains of the entire vein of marble, by its dipping inclination, resembled the degrees or seats of a theatre. It was impossible to view such a source of materials which had exercised the genius of Grecian sculptors, without fancying that we could ascertain the different works for which the several masses had been removed. "Here," said we, "were slabs for *Metopes* and *Triglyphs;* there, were blocks for *altars* and *Doric capitals;* here was an *Apollo;* there, a *Venus;* that larger cavity may have supplied a mass for a *Laocoön;* from this place they perhaps removed a *Soros;* the columns taken hence had evidently *divided shafts,* there being no cavity of sufficient length to admit the removal of *entire pillars.*" These and similar observations continually escaped us; but who shall explain the method used by the Antients in hewing, with such marvellous precision, and with such apparent ease, the interior of this quarry, so as neither to leave one casual fracture, nor any where to waste its produce? They had very little knowledge of machinery; but human labour was then of little value, and the most surprising works may always be referred to ages when this was easily obtained.

We quitted the larger quarry, and visited another somewhat less elevated. Here, as if the Antients had resolved to mark for posterity the scene of their labours, we observed an antient bas-relief upon the rock. It is the same which

Bas-relief.

Tournefort

Tournefort describes[1]; although he has erred in stating the subject of it. It is a more curious relique than is commonly supposed. The French have twice endeavoured to remove it, by sawing the marble behind; but perceiving that it would separate into two parts if they persisted, owing to a fissure in the stone, they had the good taste to abandon the undertaking. The subject is literally a Grecian Caricature. It represents, in three departments, a festival of *Silenus*, mistaken by Tournefort for *Bacchus*. The demigod is figured in the upper part of it as a corpulent drunkard, with ass's ears, accompanied by laughing satyrs and dancing girls. A female figure is represented sitting, with a fox sleeping in her lap. A warrior is also introduced, wearing a Phrygian bonnet. There are twenty-nine figures; and below is this inscription:

ΑΔΑΜΑΣ
ΟΔΡΥΣΗΣ
ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

Explanation of the Inscription.

which may be thus rendered into English, "ADAMAS ODRYSES TO THE LASSES," for by *Nymphs* were intended unmarried women[2]. Chandler, in his Travels in Greece, describes the *Nymphæum* near *Vary* in *Attica*, and gives three inscriptions[3], one of which purports that "*Archidamus made the Cave for the Nymphs.*" In another inscription, found in the same *Cave of the Nymphs*, the latter part, whether designedly or

(1) Voy. du Lev. tom. I. p. 239. *à Lyon*, 1717.

(2) See Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. lib. iii. Animad. ad Stat. part 2. Also Tournefort, tom. II. p. 240. *Lyon*, 1717.

(3) See Inscript. Antiq. p. 76.

CHAP. X.

or not, is an Iambic trimeter[1]. In the Corycian Cave, the existence of which was discovered by the author in a subsequent part of these Travels, although he did not then visit the place[2], some of his friends found an inscription to *Pan and the Nymphs*[3]; therefore this kind of dedication was common in Greece. The marble in both these quarries was excavated by the light of lamps; and to this circumstance Pliny attributes one of its names, *Lychnites*[4]. The same appellation occurs also in Athenæus[5]. With regard to the image of *Silenus*, in the bas-relief, it has never been observed that Pliny mentions it as a natural curiosity, and one of the marvels of Antient Greece. The figure of *Silenus* was accidentally discovered, as a *lusus Naturæ*, in splitting the rock; and, of course, all the other parts of this piece of sculpture had been adjusted by *Odryses* to the natural representation, when he dedicated his work to the young women of the island. Such a method of heightening and of improving any casual effect of this kind has been very common in all countries, especially where the populace are to be deluded by some supposed prodigy: and thus the cause is explained why this singular piece of sculpture, so rudely executed, yet remains

Origin of the Work.

(1) Φραδαῖσι Νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἐξηργασται.

(2) See "Tomb of Alexander," p. 153. *Camb.* 1805.

(3) Πανινύμφαις. The inscription was discovered by Mr. Raikes, in company with Mr. Gell, Mr. Dodwell, and others. Mr. Raikes found also a small *terra-cotta* vessel, elegantly formed, which the Antients had left, as an *ex voto*, in the cave.

(4) "Omnes autem candido marmore usi sunt è Paro insulâ, quem lapidem cœpere LYCHNITEN appellare, quoniam *ad lucernas* in cuniculis cæderetur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* XXXVI. *c.* 5. *tom.* III. *p.* 468. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(5) Λίθος Λυχνεύς. Athen. Deipn. lib. v.

remains as a part of the natural rock; whence it would be an act of worse than Gothic barbarity to remove it. "A wonderful circumstance," says Pliny[6], "is related of the Parian quarries. The mass of entire stone being separated by the wedges of the workmen, there appeared within it AN EFFIGY OF SILENUS." In the existence of this *bas-relief* as an integral part of the natural rock, and in the allusion made to it by Pliny, we have sufficient proof that these were antient quarries[7]; consequently they are the properest places to resort to for the identical stone whose colour was considered as pleasing to the Gods[8], which was used by Praxiteles[9] and by other illustrious Grecian sculptors, and celebrated for its whiteness by Pindar

Evidence it affords.

(6) "Sed in Pariorum mirabile proditur, glebâ lapidis unius cuneis dividentium solutâ, IMAGINEM SILENI intus extitisse." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 5. *tom.* III. *p.* 468. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(7) This curious *bas-relief*, together with the entrance to the quarry which contained it, are represented in the *Voyage Pittoresque* of Count de Choiseul Gouffier, (*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, tome* I. *p.* 68. *Paris*, 1782.) but with more attention to the effect of a beautiful picture than to accuracy of design. The plates in that magnificent work are almost equal in their style of composition, and in their execution, to the engravings of *Audran*, from paintings by *Le Brun*; and that to which allusion is now made is faithful in every thing, except in the detail of this piece of antient sculpture. A reference to the French work will, however, serve to shew its situation in the quarry, and render unnecessary any further attempt at delineation, where the manner of it must necessarily be so very inferior. The antiquity itself is the greatest curiosity in the island; and perhaps, from the circumstance which Pliny has mentioned, it will excite the attention of travellers more than it has hitherto done.

(8) Plato de Leg. tom. II. lib. xii. p. 296.

(9) *Praxitelem Paria vindicat arte lapis.*" Propertius, lib. iii. Eleg. vii. 16. Also Quinctilian. lib. ii. 19. "*Praxiteles signum aliquod e molari lapide conatus est exsculpere, Parium marmor vellem rude:*" &c. See also a curious Treatise of Blasius Caryophilus (*vulgò Biagio Garofolo, Neapolitanus*), entitled "*De Antiquis Marmoribus Opusculum,*" p. 10. Utrecht, 1743: and the numerous authors therein cited.

CHAP. X.

Pindar[1] and by Theocritus[2]. We collected several specimens: in breaking them we observed the same whiteness and brilliant fracture which characterizes the marble of Naxos, but with a particular distinction before mentioned—the Parian marble being harder, having a closer grain, and a less foliated texture. Three different stages of *crystallization* may be observed, by comparing the three different kinds of marble, dug at *Carrara* in Italy, in *Paros*, and in *Naxos*; the Carrara marble being milk-white[3] and less crystalline than the Parian; and the Parian whiter[4] and less crystallized than the Naxian: lastly, as a completion of the process, may be mentioned the *stalactites*, or *alabaster*, of Antiparos; in which the same chemical constituents are perfectly crystallized, exhibiting the rhomboïdal fracture and the specific gravity of the *Iceland spar*, which, in all probability, is also

(1) Vid. Nem. Ode IV. p. 262. *Genev.* 1626.

Στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου
Λίθου λευκοτέραν.

(2) Theocritus (*Idyll.* vi. 38.) compares the *whiteness of teeth* with Parian marble:

——τῶν δέ τ' ὀδόντων
Λευκοτέραν αὐγὰν Παρίας ὑπέφαινε λίθοιο.

(3) Pliny mentions the superior whiteness of the *Carrara* marble, in comparing it with the *Parian*. The quarries of *Carrara* are the *Lunensian* of that author; *Luna* being the name of a city, and *Lunensis* that of a promontory near to the modern *Carrara*. "Multis postea candidioribus repertis, nuper etiam in *Lunensium* lapidicinis." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 5. *tom.* III. *p.* 468. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(4) Although the Parian was not the *whitest* marble known to the Antients, as appears by the preceding Note, yet its *whiteness* was one cause of its great celebrity. It is thus described in the Itinerary of Antoninus:

INSVLA PAROS
IN HAC LAPIS CANDIDISSIMVS NASCITVR
QVI DICITVR PARIVS.

also a stalactite. These phænomena do oppose striking facts to the *Plutonian* theory of the crystallization of carbonated lime by means of *heat* and *pressure:* not that the author wishes to maintain any argument against the possibility of crystallization by means of heat, because all that seems necessary for crystallization is a *separation of particles,* and *a subsequent retreat.* Whether this separation be effected by *solution,* or by *fusion* (which is only another name for solution); and whether the retreating body be an *aqueous fluid,* or *the fluid matter of heat;* a regularity of structure may equally become the result: basaltic forms have been recognised in the bottom of a furnace[5], as well as upon the borders of a lake[6]. The facts now adduced are opposed, it is true, to the Plutonian theory; because they prove the crystallization of carbonated lime by *an aqueous process:* but they affect this theory only as a system which generalizes too much from partial appearances, in explaining the formation of mineral bodies.

(5) A specimen exhibiting a basaltic configuration, as found in the bottom of an iron furnace, is preserved in the Royal Collection at Stockholm.

(6) Witness the lakes in the South of Sweden; the Lake of Bolsenna in Italy; the Lake of Gennesareth in the Holy Land; &c. &c.

E.D.C. del. Etchd by Letitia Byrne

FIRST SIGHT of ATHENS.
in sailing up the Gulph bearing NNE. distant 16 Miles from Cape Vari.

CHAP. XI.

PAROS TO ATHENS.

Voyage to Syros—*Affecting Interview*—*Syra*—*Plants*—*Remains of Antient Customs*—*Gems and Medals*—*State of the Island*—*Voyage to* Gyarus—*Hydriots*—*Wretched Condition of Jura*—*Voyage to* Zïa—*Carthæa*—*Ravages committed by the Russians*—*Ruins of* Ioulis—*Medals*—*Hospitality of the Modern Greeks*—*Antient Dances*—*Produce of Zïa*—*Minerals*—*The Author sails for* Athens—*View near the Mouth of the* Sinus Saronicus—Sunium—*Temple of* Minerva Sunias—*Anecdote of a Naval Officer*—Patrocleïa—*Other Islands in the Saronic Gulph*—Calaurea—*Albanians*—*Elimbó*—*First Sight of Athens*—Zoster *Promontory*—*Doubtful Story of Minerva's Statue*—*Arrival at the* Piræus—*Approach to Athens.*

CHAP. XI.

FROM the quarries of Marpessus we descended again to Parechia; and the next day, the wind being favourable, although somewhat boisterous, we embarked, and set sail for SYROS, now called *Syra*. Our Captain would have steered for *Delos*: but this island, since the visit paid to it

Voyage to *Syros*.

by

by the Russians, has been stripped of all its valuable antiquities; besides this, the gale we had encountered between Patmos and Naxos had somewhat intimidated us; and as our crazy old caïque was not sea-worthy, we resolved to run for the most western port in our course towards the Saronic Bay, now called the *Gulph of Engia* from a modern name of the Island of *Ægina*. We saw the Delian Isles as we passed with a rapidity known only to the *swallows*[1] of the Archipelago, and entered the harbour of *Syra* in the morning of October the twenty-second. Our faithful Greek servant, who had travelled with us as our interpreter ever since we left Petersburg, burst into tears at the sight of a small chapel constructed upon a rock in the port, which he had himself assisted in building some years before. He described it as the votive offering of a party of young Greeks to their patron Saint: but his feelings experienced a severer trial when we landed; for in the person of an old man, established as a wine-seller upon the quay, he recognised his own father, of whose fortunes and situation he had long been ignorant. The islanders bore a part in the joy of this meeting; and their national hospitality was, in consequence, redoubled. All the young people came to express their congratulations, and a party began the *Roméca*[2]. Antonio hastened again on board

Affecting Interview.

(1) This is one of the names given to the boats used for navigating the Archipelago.

(2) The *Roméca*, the most popular of all the dances of the Modern Greeks, is faithfully and beautifully represented in the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* of Count De Choiseul Gouffier, from a drawing by *J. B. Hilair*, engraved by *Martini*. See Plate facing *p.* 68. *vol.* I. of that work, *Paris*, 1782. "The passion of the Greeks for dancing,"

CHAP. XI.

board for his *balalaika*[1], and, joining the festive throng, gave himself up entirely to singing and dancing for the remainder of the day and night. Towards evening we saw him in the midst of a very numerous choir, inviting us to taste of the wine with which his father was making libations to all comers.

Syra.

The town of Syra is built upon the summit of a lofty hill, so remarkable for its conical form that it may be compared to a vast sugar-loaf covered with houses. At the base of this cone is the quay, where there are several warehouses for supplying vessels with the produce of the island, which is principally wine. There are some ruins near the port; and many antient marbles are said to remain buried behind the magazines. We met the English Consul soon after we landed, and accompanied him to his house in the town; where we were regaled with an excellent conserve, highly esteemed by the Greeks, made of the *apples* (as they are called) of a species of Sage, the *Salvia pomifera:* these apples are produced in the same manner as galls upon the oak, and they are owing to punctures made by a species of *Cynips* in the branches of the plant. The common Sage of the Island of Crete has the same excrescencies; which are there carried to market under the name of *sage-apples*[2]. This conserve is said to possess the

dancing," (says Mons. De Guys, *vol.* I. *p.* 208. *Lond.* 1781.) "is common to both sexes; who neglect every other consideration, when they have an opportunity of indulging that passion."

(1) The antient guitar of Scythia and Tartary. *See Part I. of these Travels, Plate facing p.* 244. *Second edit. Broxbourn,* 1811; exhibiting its use among the Calmuck tribes.

(2) Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. I. p. 93. *Lyon,* 1717.

the healing and salutary quality of Sage in general: we perceived in it an agreeable astringent, and somewhat bitter flavour; but as almost any vegetable may be used for conserves, and the savour is often owing to other ingredients, very little of this taste might be owing to the produce of the Sage. The plant itself thrives abundantly upon this island, growing to the size of a small shrub. Sage leaves are collected annually by the Greeks, and dried, to be used medicinally as an infusion: they are very particular in the time and manner of collecting these leaves; they are gathered on the first of May, before sun-rise. The flavour and smell of the Grecian Sage is much more powerful than in the *Salvia officinalis*, so common in the English gardens. We sometimes drank an infusion of the leaves, instead of tea: it had the effect of exciting a profuse perspiration, and perhaps may be useful in those dangerous obstructions to which perspiration is liable in an Eastern climate; but it produces languor, and even faintness, if it be used in any excess. In mentioning the plants of Syra, there is one of so much beauty and rarity that it ought not to pass without especial notice: it is called the *Tree Pink*, DIANTHUS ARBOREUS, and pre-eminently merits its lofty name of ΔΙΟΣ ΑΝΘΟΣ. It grows also in *Seriphos:* but Syra is the only place in all Greece whence we were able to obtain specimens; and we did not find these ourselves upon the island[3]. Perhaps the season was too

Plants.

(3) We were indebted for them to the kindness of Mr. Dodwell, who visited Syra in company with Mr. Gell. The former has since distinguished himself by his indefatigable researches in Greece, particularly by the attention he has bestowed upon the antient sepulchres of the country.

CHAP. XI.

too far advanced to observe this beautiful ornament of the Grecian Isles; for we were unable to find many other rarities which have been described as natives of Syria, although we remained two days in search of them, particularly the plant which produces the Persian *Manna*, mentioned by Tournefort[1], *Hedysarum Alhagi*. The *Dianthus arboreus*, both in Syra and in Seriphos[2], sprouts out of the crevices of the most rugged and otherwise barren rocks. It was raised from seed in the Royal Garden at Paris, in the time of Tournefort; "where," says that author[3], "it has sustained no change by its altered situation, but maintains the honours of Greece amidst an infinite number of rare plants from the same country." No traveller has yet added this very uncommon species of *Dianthus* to the botanic gardens of our island.

There is no other town or village upon the island excepting this which so singularly covers the sugar-loaf hill above the quay; and the number of inhabitants does not exceed four thousand, almost all of whom profess the Catholic religion: yet there is no part of the Archipelago where the traveller will find the antient customs of Greece more purely preserved. *Syros* was the original name of the town, as well as of the island. Some traces of its ruins still exist

Remains of Antient Customs.

(1) *Tournefort. Voyage du Levant. tom.* II. *p.* 4. *Lyon*, 1717. It is the *Alhagi Maurorum* of Rauwolf. Sir George Wheler found it in Tinos. Manna is found on this plant in Mesopotamia and in other Eastern countries. (*See Russel's Aleppo.*) It grows plentifully near *Tauris*.

(2) Tournef. Voy. du. Lev. tom. I. p. 219. (3) Ibid.

exist near the port. The modern town of *Syra* probably occupies the site of the antient Acropolis. The island has been always renowned for the advantages it enjoys, in the excellence of its port, in its salubrity, and its fertility. It is thus extolled by Homer[4]:

Εὔβοτος, εὔμηλος, οἰνοπληθὴς, πολύπυρος.

It produces wine, figs, cotton, barley, and also wheat, although not so plentifully as barley. We saw an abundance of poultry, and a very fine breed of pigs; but the streets of the town are as dirty and as narrow as they probably were in the days of Homer. If the antient Persians have been characteristically described as the worshippers of *fire*, the inhabitants of Syra, both antient and modern, may be considered as the worshippers of *water*. The old fountain, at which the nymphs of the island assembled in the earliest ages, exists in its original state; the same rendezvous as it was formerly, whether of love and gallantry, or of gossiping and tale-telling. It is near to the town, and the most limpid water gushes continually from the solid rock. It is regarded by the inhabitants with a degree of religious veneration; and they preserve a tradition that the pilgrims of old time, in their way to Delos, resorted hither for purification. We visited the spot in search of an Inscription mentioned by Tournefort[5], but we could not find it: we saw, however, a pleasing procession, formed by the young women of the island, coming with songs, and carrying their pitchers on

(4) Odyss. O. v. 405.

(5) Tournef. Toy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 4. *Lyon*, 1717.

CHAP. XI.

on their heads, from this fountain. Here they are met by their lovers, who relieve them from their burdens, and bear a part in the general chorus. It is also the scene of their dances, and therefore the favourite rendezvous of the youth of both sexes. The Eleusinian women practised a dance about a well which was called *Callichorus*, and their dance was also accompanied by songs in honour of Ceres. These "*Songs of the Well*" are still sung in other parts of Greece as well as in Syra. De Guys mentions them. He says that he has seen the young women in *Prince's Island*, assembled in the evening at a public well, suddenly strike up a dance, while others sung in concert to them[1]. The Antient Poets composed verses which were sung by the people while they drew the water, and were expressly denominated "*Songs of the Well.*" Aristotle, as cited by Winkelmann, says the public wells serve as so many cements to society, uniting the people in bands of friendship by the social intercourse of dancing so frequently together around them[2]. This may serve to explain the cause of the variety of beautiful lamps, pitchers, and other vessels of *terra cotta*, which have been found at the bottom of wells in different parts of Greece; as well as to direct the attention of travellers towards the cleansing of dry wells, who are desirous of procuring those valuable antiquities. Among other antient customs still existing in Syra, the ceremonies of the vintage are particularly conspicuous. Before sun-rise, a number of young women

(1) Letters on Greece, vol. I. p. 220. *Lond.* 1781.
(2) Ibid.

women are seen coming towards the town, covered with the branches and leaves of the vine; when they are met or accompanied by their lovers, singing loud songs, and joining in a circular dance. This is evidently the *orbicular choir*[3] who sung the *Dithyrambi*, and danced that species of song in praise of Bacchus. Thus do the present inhabitants of these islands exhibit a faithful portraiture of the manners and customs of their progenitors; the ceremonies of antient Greece have not been swept away by the revolutions of the country: even the representations of the theatre, the favourite exhibitions of the Attic drama, are yet beheld, as they existed among the people before they were removed from the scenes of common life to become the ornaments of the Grecian stage.

Gems and Medals.

Some very fine gems and medals were shewn to us by a native of Syra; but the price he demanded for them exceeded all moderation. One of the gems was of high antiquity. It was an intaglio of red jasper; the subject Pegasus, with wings inflected towards the head, in the most antient style of the art; a boar was also introduced, with the singular representation as of a battering ram projecting from its breast. Among the medals there were two of silver, in good preservation. The first was of Chios: it exhibited in front a winged sphinx, and for reverse the *diota*, with this legend, ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ·ΧΙΟΣ. The other was very small, but of extraordinary beauty; probably it was of *Clazomenæ* in Ionia,

(3) Ἐγκύκλιος χόρος. See De Guys, vol. I. p. 218; and the authors by him cited.

CHAP. XI.

Ionia, and possibly of *Citium* in Cyprus[1]. The head of a youthful Deity appeared in front, in very high relief; and the reverse, equally prominent, exhibited the image of a ram couched. Among all the subjects represented upon Grecian medals, nothing is more rare than the figure of this very common quadruped. Almost every other sacred animal may be observed: but the sheep, so often the object of sacrifice, not only seldom occurs, but when it has been found upon an antient medal, it is always upon one of the highest antiquity, destitute of any legend, and which generally classes, in numismatic collections, among coins of uncertain or of unknown origin. The cause of this has not been explained.

The minerals of Syra are rather remarkable, considering the prevalence of limestone among the Grecian Isles. We found fragments of green steatites and schistus containing garnet. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 75° at noon, on the first day after our arrival, and at 78° upon the second; which is the average temperature of the city of Naples, during the summer months, situated above three degrees nearer to the pole: and as the climates both of Italy and Greece are very regular, this autumnal temperature in Syra is about commensurate to the difference of latitude. There is not a Turk to be found upon the island; its inhabitants are all Greeks; and as they profess the Catholic religion, it might have afforded a comfortable asylum for many of those expatriated Frenchmen who were

State of the Island.

(1) See the Vignette to Chap. XI. Part II. of these Trav. Sect. 1.

were driven by the calamities of their country all over the Levant; some of whom we had seen in places of residence less suited to their circumstances, and where they were exposed to inconveniences which they would not have encountered in this healthy and wealthy island.

Voyage to *Gyarus.*

Saturday, October the twenty-fourth, a light wind tempted us to weigh anchor at three A. M. intending to sail for CEOS, now called *Zïa.* After we left the port, we were becalmed: but about eight, we found ourselves to be near to the Island of TENOS; and at nine, the wind coming aft, we bore away for GYARUS, now called *Jura.* After we had doubled the northern point of Syra, we saw the Promontory of EUBŒA, called *Carpharée*; also ANDROS, *Jura,* and *Zïa.* Jura is only twelve geographical miles from the nearest point of Syra; it is now almost uninhabited, but we were curious to visit a spot alluded to by Juvenal[2] as a place of banishment for Roman criminals: and soon afterwards we landed. The Master of our caïque wished to sail between some rocks into the harbour, and for this purpose desired us to ascend the heights, and point out a passage for the vessel. When we had done this, we clearly discerned the rocks below the surface, and were much amazed at the very great depth in the water which our situation enabled us to view. Being within hearing of the crew, we called to them, and gave them instructions how to steer; by which means the caïque was conducted through a gorge where none but Greek sailors would think of venturing. While we were in this situation,

(2) "Aude aliquid brevibus *Gyaris* et carcere dignum." *Juv. Sat.*

CHAP. XI.

Hydriots.

situation, looking down upon the vessel and the harbour, there came suddenly round the northern point of the island a long narrow open boat, like a dart, filled with mariners, believed by our sailors to be *Hydriots*, to the number of thirty or forty, all plying their oars; who presently landed, removed from the rocks some spars which they had previously left there; and pushing out again to sea, disappeared with the same surprising velocity with which they had arrived. We saw their little bean-cod, as it were instantaneously, reduced to a speck upon the waves: and while we were admiring the dauntless intrepidity with which these men, in a bark that could be compared only to a long canoe, ventured to cross such a dangerous sea, our Captain arrived; who said we might thank our good stars that they did not plunder our vessel of every thing she contained. He added, that there was not a part of the Archipelago which the *Hydriots* would not traverse in such a boat, venturing in all weather, and braving the most tempestuous seas: and the only reason he could give for their not having attacked our caïque was, that he believed they did not see it; for it had not cleared the passage of the rocks before they left the harbour. We remained in the Bay of Jura during the rest of this day, and the following night. The few inhabitants of this desolate spot, believing us to be pirates, were afraid to approach; so that although we saw a few traces, as of human beings, upon the island, not one of them appeared. We collected a few plants and minerals. The mountain around the bay, and especially that part of it which extends in the same line of direction as Syra, consists of schistus, containing

containing masses of quartz, exhibiting a beautiful contrast of colour. We found some quartz crystallized, and also crystals of carbonated lime. Tournefort describes Jura as the most barren and disagreeable spot in the Archipelago, and says its plants are all of them common. It is not more than four leagues in circumference. In the time of Strabo, and indeed in all ages, its poverty and wretchedness were proverbial; and, while a less contemned spot hardly obtains from that author any other notice than the introduction of its name, GYARUS, from the supremacy of its indigence, occupies a more considerable portion of his regard[1]. A mean and miserable village, inhabited solely by fishermen, was the only settlement at that time upon its barren rocks: he mentions their embassy to Augustus, who was at Corinth, after the battle of Actium, praying a diminution of their annual tribute, which they were unable to pay; and he cites the antient poet *Aratus*, to shew how long the poverty of the island had been its only distinction[2]. Tournefort has countenanced the story related by Pliny[3] of the expulsion of its inhabitants by rats, or by *field-mice*; affirming that he saw some large animals

Wretched Condition of Jura.

(1) Vid. Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 708. *Oxon.* 1807.

(2) " Δηλοῖ δὲ τὰς ἀπορίας αὐτῶν καὶ Ἄρατος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ λεπτὸν,

Ὦ Λητοῖ, σὺ μένεις μὲν σιδηρείῃ Φολεγάνδρῳ
Δειλή, ἢ Γύαρον παρελεύσαι αὐτίχ' ὁμοίην.

Paupertatem eorum etiam Aratus sic innuit in minutis:

Te Latona tenet, puto, ferrea nunc Pholegandrus,
Aut Gyaron nihilo meliorem fortè subisti."

Strabon. Geog. lib. x. *p.* 709. *Oxon.* 1807.

(3) Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 29. *De Civitat. et Gent. à minutis animalibus deletæ.* " Ex Gyaro Cycladum insulâ incolas à muribus fugatos," &c.

CHAP. XI.

animals of this kind which were probably of the antient race[1]. Instead of the field-mice, we saw plenty of sheep and goats belonging to the people of *Syra;* yet the existence of the animals mentioned by Pliny is attested by many authors, some of whom pretend that, driven by hunger, the mice have been constrained to gnaw *the iron ore taken from the mines*[2]; a most improbable story: but we perhaps learn from it the reason why exiles were sent hither by the Romans; the labour of *mining* having been antiently, as it is now in many countries, a punishment allotted to state criminals: however, we perceived no traces either of the mineral thus alluded to, or of the works carried on for its excavation.

Voyage to Zïa.

We left Jura for Zïa, October the twenty-fifth, the weather being calm. As we drew near to Zïa, there sprung a fresh breeze, and our sailors endeavoured to steer the caïque into what they believed to be the harbour of the island, at its northern extremity. Fortunately we had a small compass, and a copy of Tournefort's travels, the accuracy of whose maps we had before proved; and, finding that neither our Captain nor any one of the Casiot crew knew anything of the coast, the author undertook to pilot the vessel into a harbour which he had never seen, and actually by the aid of charts which have neither soundings nor bearings

(1) " Nous n'y vîmes que de gros mulots, peut-être de la race de ceux qui obligerent les habitans de l'isle de l'abandoner, comme Pline le rapporte." *Tournef. Voy. du. Lev. tom.* II. *p.* 30. *Lyon,* 1717.

(2) See the Authors as cited by Tournefort: *Antigon. Carist. Narrat. Mirab. cap.* 12. *Arist. lib. de Mirab. Ausc. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib.* V. *cap.* 14. *Steph. Byzant. &c.*

bearings[3]. As soon as we had doubled the northern point of the island, the wind freshened apace; but it came entirely aft, with a heavy sea, which drove us before it with great rapidity down the channel between Zïa and the island lying off CAPE SUNIUM, antiently called HELENA, and now *Macronisi*. Presently the mouth of the port which is on the western side of Zïa, opposite to Helena, began to appear: but we stood on, so as to clear any rocks which might be on its northern side, and to have a full view of the entrance, which is between the *West-North-West*, and *West*; and then we luffed, and stood towards it. In this manner we entered the port, about noon, in perfect safety; and found there a Ragusan ship at anchor. It is a very large and commodious haven, fit for ships of any burden, and even for the largest fleets. It extends, in an elliptical form, from the north towards the south: the best anchorage is upon the southern side, but small vessels may anchor anywhere. The great article of commerce belonging to the island, now exported from this harbour, consists of the acorns of the *Velani* Oak[4], *Quercus Ægilops*, used for dyeing. A kind of cloak made of goat's hair, which is sold in the port, is said by Tournefort to be manufactured in Zïa: but in this he was mistaken; for those cloaks are brought

(3) See Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. II. pp. 14, 21. *Lyon*, 1717.

(4) Tournefort describes this beautiful species of oak as growing to the size of our common oak, the *Quercus Robur*. We never observed the *Quercus Ægilops* but as a shrub; however, the accuracy of such a writer as Tournefort is by no means to be disputed upon a point that he was so peculiarly qualified to determine. The *Velani* acorns which we brought to the botanic Garden at Cambridge, although collected with the utmost care, did not produce a single plant.

CHAP. XI.

brought to Zia from the Isle of *Joura*, pronounced *Zoura*, near *Salonica*. There has been a great defalcation in the sale of the *Velani* acorns: formerly they sold for forty pounds sterling the *quintal;* and when we arrived, the dealers in this article were glad to get fifteen pounds sterling for the same quantity. The produce of the island in these acorns alone amounts annually to fifteen thousand *quintals*.

It being Sunday, we found nobody at the quay, and therefore set off for the town, and the only one upon the island; it is at the distance of three miles from the harbour: we passed through a valley towards it, and afterwards ascended to the hill on which it stands. It is built upon the site of the antient *Carthæa*, after the manner of the town of Syra, but in the form of a theatre, and upon a much higher mountain; the houses being erected in terraces one above another, so that the roofs of a range of dwellings below serve as a street to another range above. Those streets, as at Syra, are beyond description filthy. Such a singular manner of building gives to the place a very novel and extraordinary appearance. The citadel is upon the left, to a person entering by the narrow pass that leads to the town; and here, says Tournefort[1], sixty Turks, armed only with two muskets, defended themselves against the whole Venetian army. The ravages committed by the Russians, when their fleet visited this island during the reign of Catharine the Second, were even yet the subject of conversation. The inhabitants told us that their houses were entirely stripped by them.

Carthæa.

Ravages committed by the Russians.

(1) Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 15.

them. The specious promises which they held out to the people of Greece are now seen in their true light by that people, and they will not again become the dupes of any Scythian treaty. Sonnini says they had rendered the very name of *Liberty* so odious at Paros, that the inhabitants would hear no proposals for their deliverance from the power of the Turks; they preferred *Turkish despotism* to *Russian emancipation.* "Armed," says he[2], "in appearance for the purpose of restoring to the Greeks their antient liberty, they (*the Russians*) became their scourge." Surely the examples of national perfidy they have afforded will not be lost upon the Cabinets of Europe. It was not the property of the natives alone which suffered upon this occasion: the Russians removed or destroyed the most valuable antiquities; which could not have been more effectually sacrificed if they had perished, with the plunder of the Parthenon, among the rocks of Cythera[3]. The Fine Arts, who always deprecate their coming as they would another invasion of Alaric, will remember with regret the days they passed in the Archipelago: and when truth prevails over the interests of political intrigue and the prejudices of party zeal, it will be seen that an author has not erred who thus described them[4]: RVSSI INTER CHRISTIANOS BARBAPΩTATOI.

The male population of Zïa amounts to three thousand persons.

(2) Travels in Greece and Turkey, p. 454. *Lond.* 1801.

(3) The memorable fate which attended the spoils of the finest temple Greece ever saw, in Cerigo Bay, A.D. 1802.

(4) Vid. Johannis Lomeieri Lib. de Bibliothecis, cap. xi. p. 358. *Ultraject.* 1680.

CHAP. XI.

persons. Each house pays a tax of ten, twelve, or fifteen piastres, annually. We called upon the English Consul, who promised to send mules for us to the marine, if we would come the next day and dine with him; to which we consented. He informed us of a circumstance before alluded to, but of which we had never till then heard; namely, that the famous *Oxford Marble*, generally believed to have been found in Paros, was in reality discovered among the Ruins of *Ioulis*, in the Isle of Zïa, at four hours distance from the town; and he appealed to some of the inhabitants, well acquainted with the circumstance, for the truth of the fact. Those ruins are little known: Tournefort has briefly noticed them; but it remains for some future traveller to make us better acquainted with the remains of a city not only renowned as the birth-place of many celebrated men[1], of *Simonides*[2], of *Bacchylides*, of *Erasistratus*[3], and of *Ariston*[4], but particularly entitled to a careful

Ruins of Ioulis.

(1) Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰουλίδος ὅ, τε Σιμωνίδης ἦν ὁ μελοποιὸς, καὶ βακχυλίδης ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἐρασίστρατος ὁ ἰατρὸς, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων Ἀρίστων, ὁ τοῦ βορυσθενίτου βίωνος ζηλωτής. Strabon. Geog. lib. x. p. 710. *Oxon.* 1807.

(2) The antient name of *Zïa*, ΚΕΟΣ, called ΚΙΑ by Ptolemy, was sometimes abbreviated, and written ΚΟΣ; and, owing to this circumstance, the country of the Poet Simonides has sometimes been confounded with that of Hippocrates. Stephanus Byzantinus uses the word ΚΟΣ to signify ΚΕΟΣ, in speaking of the city *Ioulis*. Ἰουλὶς πόλις ἐν Κῷ. (*Vid. Steph. Byzant. Geog. L. Bat.* 1694.) Among the Romans, it was also usual to abbreviate *Céos* by writing *Cós*. Pliny says the island had been called *Ceos*, and in his time *Cea*.

(3) The famous physician who discovered, by the motion of the pulse, the love which Antiochus had conceived for his mother-in-law, Stratonice. He was the grandson of Aristotle.

(4) There were two philosophers of this name: the first mentioned by Strabo as a native of Ceos, was a *Peripatetic*; the second was *a Stoic*, and a native of Chios: they have been confounded together, and it has been proposed to read Ἀρίστων Κεῖος for Χῖος.

a careful examination, from the circumstance of the discovery there made of this important chronicle, so long believed to owe its origin to Paros. A place which has been hitherto little regarded, as lying remote from common observation, where the soil has never been turned, nor hardly a stone removed from the situation in which it was left when the city was abandoned by its inhabitants, may well repay the labour and the expense necessary for this purpose. The season was far advanced at the time of our visit, and our eagerness to get to Athens so paramount above every other consideration, that we did not choose to delay our voyage thither, by making a visit to these ruins; which we have ever since regretted. Some notion may be formed of their magnitude, and the degree of consideration in which they were held by Tournefort, from the manner in which he introduces his account of them, after describing the remains of *Carthæa*[5]: and with regard to the valuable chronicle which the present inhabitants of *Zia* maintain to have been found at *Ioulis*, there is something like an internal evidence of the fact in the remarkable records preserved upon the marble, not only with regard to *Simonides* the poet, who was a native of the city, but also of his descendant *Simonides son of Leoprepis*, who explained at Athens the principles of a Μνημονικὸν, or scheme for *artificial memory*, of which he was the inventor. The antient road from *Ioulis* to *Carthæa*, the

(5) " POUR VOIR QUELQUE CHOSE DE PLUS SUPERBE, il faut prendre la route du sud sud-est," &c. *Voy. du Lev. tom.* II. *p.* 15.

CHAP. XI.

the finest thing of the kind, says Tournefort[1], which perhaps can be found in all Greece, yet exists. He traced it for three miles in extent, flanking the sides of the hills, and sustained by a strong wall, of which the coping consisted of immense blocks of a greyish stone, having the property of splitting like the slate used in the Grecian Isles for covering houses and chapels. The remains of *Ioulis* are now called ΠΟΛΙΣ by the inhabitants of Zïa. They cover the top of a promontory, to the south-south-east of the present town; the base of which is washed by the sea, although it was a league distant from it in the time of Strabo. The ruins of the Acropolis are upon the point of the Cape; and somewhat farther from the shore the temple is conspicuous, in the magnificence of its remains: those of the city extend from the hill quite into a valley which is watered by the streams of a fountain whence *Ioulis* received its name. "Never," observes the author now cited[2], "have I seen such masses of marble employed in architecture, as those used for constructing the walls of this city: some of the blocks are more than twelve feet in length." The British Consul told us, that the head of the fine Torso represented in Tournefort's travels was carried away by an Englishman. Strabo relates, that there were once four cities upon this island, *Pœeëssa, Carthæa,*

(1) Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 16. *Lyon*, 1717.

(2) *Ibid.* Tournefort found the remains of an inscription upon a broken marble in a Greek chapel among the ruins, containing the word ΙΟΥΛΙΔΑ.

Carthæa, Caressus, and *Ioulis;* but that in his time the inhabitants of *Pœeëssa* had settled in *Carthæa,* and those of *Caressus* in *Ioulis.* He has preserved from *Menander* an antient and memorable law of the inhabitants of this island[3]: "LET HIM WHO CANNOT LEAD AN HONOURABLE, NOT LEAD A DISHONOURABLE LIFE." Ptolemy mentions three cities, instead of four, *Caressus, Ioulis,* and *Carthæa*[4]. From the ruins of the last of these has originated the present town of Zïa, the only one in the whole island: those ruins may be traced in the valley, the whole way from the harbour to the citadel[5]. The name of this city—written KAPΘAIA by Strabo and by Ptolemy, and consequently *Carthaea* by Latin writers—appears upon its medals KAPΘA, which is probably an abbreviation. We were fortunate in procuring several: but they were all of bronze; nor have we ever seen or heard of a silver medal either of *Ioulis* or of *Carthæa.* Those of the latter city exhibited in front a *laurelled bust;* and for reverse, the fore-quarters either of a *fawn* or of a *dog,* and in some instances with a *bee* below, and *a semicircle of diverging rays* above the head of the animal. Their legends were either K, simply, or

Medals.

(3) Ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλῶς, οὐ ζῇ κακῶς. Thus rendered by Xylander, "*Qui non potest vivere benè, non malè moritur:*" perhaps alluding to an antient custom in Zïa, of putting to death aged and infirm persons. The Editor of the Oxford Strabo has disputed this interpretation, and says the sense should be, "*Qui non benè vitam agere potest, non malè vitam agat.*" Vid. Annot. in Strabon. Geog. lib. x. p. 710. *Oxon.* 1807. Not. 12.

(4) Κία νῆσος ἐν ᾗ πόλεις τρεῖς, Κάρησσος, Ἰουλὶς, Καρθαία. Ptolem. Geog. lib. iii. cap. 15. *Amst.* 1618.

(5) Tournefort speaks of an inscription of forty-one lines in the Chapel of St. Peter, but it was much effaced, and almost illegible.

CHAP. XI.

or ΚΑΡΘΗΑ; but in no instance ΚΑΡΘΑΙΑ. The *bee* evidently refers to *Ioulis*, of which city this was the symbol; as appears by some bronze medals in the French Collection, on which the *bee* appears, with the legend ΙΟΥΛΙ. Possibly, therefore, *Ioulis* was leagued with *Carthæa*, or had become tributary to it, when some of the medals were struck which we brought from the island.

Hospitality of the Modern Greeks.

An amusing adventure befel us the next day, in our search for medals. We have before had occasion to allude to the hospitality of the Greeks, to their love of festivity, and to the sort of sensation excited by the arrival of strangers among them; but perhaps the following anecdote may exhibit these their national characteristics in a more striking manner than has been hitherto done. The Consul having sent his mules to the harbour, we went to visit him, as we had promised to do, and despatched messengers about the town in search of medals and gems. Towards the evening, as we were preparing to take leave of our host, a little girl arrived; who said, if we would follow her, she would conduct us to a house where several antiquities would be offered to us for sale. When we got into the street, we were surprised to meet a young lady very splendidly dressed, who offered to us some medals, and said, if we would accompany her, she would take us to a house where the owner kept a collection of such rarities. Presently we met a second female, nearly of the same age, and similarly habited; who addressed the first, laughing, and then literally seized one of us by the arm, bidding her companion secure the other: and in this manner we were hurried into a crowded assembly, where many

many of the inhabitants had been collected for a regular ball. The dancing instantly began; and being welcomed with loud cheers into the midst of the party, there was no alternative but to give up all thoughts, for the rest of the evening, of returning to our caïque, and contribute to the hilarity of those by whom we had been thus hospitably inveigled. Our conductors proved to be the two daughters of the Ἰδιοπρόξενος, who thus honourably entertained, after the manner of his forefathers, two private strangers whom he was never likely to see again, and from whom he could reap no possible advantage. Every species of Greek dance was exhibited for the amusement of his guests; from the bounding Μονόχορος or *hornpipe*, and the Δίχορος or *rigadoon*[1], to the more stately measures of the *orbicular brawl*[2], and the "*threadle-my-needle*" of the modern *Roméika*[3]. The whole night passed in one interrupted scene of the most joyous vivacity. To us it seemed to exhibit a moving picture of other times; for in the dances we actually beheld the choirs of the antient Greeks, as originally they were led around the altars of Delos, or amidst the rocks of Delphi, or by the waters of Helicon, or along the banks of the Eurotas[4]. When morning dawned, we retired: but we left them still dancing; and we heard their reiterated songs as we descended through the valley towards the shore.

Antient Dances.

The

(1) See De Guy's Letters on Greece, vol. I. p. 149. *Lond.* 1781.

(2) See p. 431 of this volume.

(3) See p. 425, Note (2), of this volume.

(4) "Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros."——
Virg. Æneid. lib. i. Sedan. 1625.

CHAP. XI.

Produce of Zia.

The fertility of Zïa has been mentioned by antient and by modern authors, and it was particularly noticed by us upon the spot[1]. It appeared to be the best cultivated of any of the Grecian Isles. In our way to and from the town, we found among the rocks some very rare plants; particularly the *Verbascum Græcum* of Tournefort, which here flourishes in great perfection. The cotton-plants were in flower; the island produces also abundance of wine, barley, silk, figs, and cattle. The old road from this harbour to the city of *Carthæa* was cut out of the solid rock, and the traces of it are still visible. There was a tradition in the time of Pliny, that Zïa, or, as he writes it, *Cea*[2], had been separated from *Eubœa* by the sea, and that a considerable part of it towards the north had been swallowed by the waves[3]. This event might possibly occur at the bursting of the Thracian Bosphorus; and to this perhaps the antient Greek name of the island, *Hydrussa*[4], may be attributed, rather than to the abundance or excellence of its water, as the same name was common to other isles; for example, to *Tenos*, which may, from its relative situation to *Eubœa*, have had a similar origin. The mountains of Zïa are all of limestone; there

(1) ——"Et cultor nemorum, qui pinguia *Ceæ*
Ter centum nivei tondent dumeta juvenci."
Virg. Georgic. lib. i. *ver.* 14. *Sedan.* 1625.

(2) "Quam nostri quidam dixere *Ceam*." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* iv. *c.* 12. *tom.* I. *p.* 221. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(3) "Avulsa Eubœæ, quingentis longa stadiis, fuit quondam; mox quatuor ferè partibus, quæ ad Bœotiam vergebant, eodem mari devoratis." *Ibid.*

(4) Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. ubi supra.

Minerals.

there are no vestiges of any volcanic operation. The mineral mentioned by Tournefort[5], under the appellation of "*Craie de Briançon*," a variety of *talc*, is found in great abundance near the Monastery of St. *Marine*, or *Marinas*, distant about three hours journey from the town of Zïa: the inhabitants make no use of it. Lead ore is also found near the same place. From hence there are two ways of going to Athens: the first is by landing at a port near SUNIUM, which is called *Dascallió*; two hours from which place is a village called, from the abundance of its *Karob-trees*, *Keratïa*, whence the distance is only eight or ten hours, by land the whole way, to Athens: the other way is by sea, up the *Gulph of Engia* to the PIRÆUS. Our Consul had recommended the former way, as the easiest, the safest, and the best; but we adopted the latter, that we might have the satisfaction of making our first approach to Athens from one of its antient harbours, and of seeing as much as possible of the magnificent scenery which the gulph exhibits.

Departure for *Athens*.

We hired a pilot from Zïa, for the Saronic Gulph; and left the harbour, with a fair wind, October the twenty-seventh, soon after sun-rise.

We passed *Macronisi*, once called HELENA, because *Helen* is said to have landed here after her expulsion from Troy[6]; and we had such a glorious prospect of this island, and of the temple of *Minerva Sunias* standing upon the Cape, together with other more distant objects, that we could

(5) Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 21. *Lyon*, 1717.

(6) See Pausanias, lib. i. c. 35.

CHAP. XI.

could recollect nothing like it: such a contrast of colours; such an association of the wonders of Nature and of Art; such perfection of grand and beautiful perspective, as no expression of perceptible properties can convey to the minds of those who have not beheld the objects themselves. Being well aware of the transitory nature of impressions made upon the memory by sights of this kind, the author wrote a description of this scene while it was actually before his eyes: but how poor is the effect produced by detailing the parts of a view in a narrative, which ought to strike as a whole upon the sense! He may tell indeed of the dark blue sea streaked with hues of deepest purple—of embrowning shadows—of lights effulgent as the sun—of marble pillars beaming a radiant brightness upon lofty precipices whose sides are diversified by refreshing verdure and by hoary mosses, and by gloomy and naked rocks; or by brighter surfaces reflecting the most vivid and varied tints, orange, red, and grey: to these he may add an account of distant summits, more intensely azured than the clear and cloudless sky—of islands dimly seen through silvery mists upon the wide expanse of water shining, towards the horizon, as it were "a sea of glass:"—and when he has exhausted his vocabulary, of every colour and shape exhibited by the face of Nature or by the works of Art, although he have not deviated from the truth in any part of his description, how little and how ineffectual has been the result of his undertaking!

As we passed the southern point of Macronisi, and drew nearer to the promontory, the temple upon the Cape

Cape appeared to the greatest advantage in which it is possible now to view it[1]; for it seemed to be entire, its deficiencies being concealed by the parts which yet remain uninjured. When we had doubled the southern point of the Cape, we anchored in the antient port of *Sunium*, an insignificant bay, lying within the gulph, sheltered by the promontory. Here we landed. The owners of a small boat which we observed coasting, believing us to be pirates, ran their vessel aground, and abandoned her as soon as they perceived our caïque coming round the Cape, making their escape up the rocks near to the shore. We endeavoured, by signs, to convince them of our peaceable intentions; but they betook themselves to some woods, and appeared no more while we remained in the bay. Proceeding towards the temple, we found the rocks covered with evergreens and bushy shrubs, among which we noticed the *Pistacia Lentiscus*, the myrtle, the Velani oak, and some dwarf cedars. We also found some rolled pieces of green trap or basalt, containing a dendritic crystallization; but had not leisure for a due examination of the strata on which this temple stands; our sailors, who had themselves been mistaken for pirates, being very impatient to get under weigh, through fear that some of the real robbers would arrive, who make the bay of Sunium their lurking-place, where they lie-in-wait for vessels going in or out of the gulph. It was with difficulty we could

Sunium.

(1) There is a very accurate representation of Cape Sunium and the Temple, engraved from a drawing by Mr. Gell, in the edition of *Falconer's Shipwreck* published by the Rev. James Stanier Clarke, LL.B. brother of the author of these Travels.

CHAP. XI.

Temple of *Minerva Sunias.*

could pacify the master of the caïque during the time we spent in the examination of the temple. This beautiful building was once adorned with the most exquisite sculpture: its materials were of the whitest marble; it was of the Doric order; and the remains of it are sufficient to prove that, when it was entire, it exhibited one of the most highly-finished specimens of Attic architecture in all Greece. Chandler[1] believed it to have been "erected in the same happy period with the great Temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, in the Acropolis at Athens, or in the time of Pericles, it having like proportions, though far inferior in magnitude." Besides the temple, there was also a *Propyléum* of the Doric order at Sunium. We found fifteen columns yet standing. The surfaces in some of those facing the sea were much decomposed. Several persons had written their names upon the marble; and even those which had been inscribed with pencils remained, with their dates, as fresh as when they were first written. We read the names of the lamented TWEDDELL, and of the Hon. Captain WILLIAM PAGET. The last of these, a gallant naval officer, now buried at Gibraltar, will not want a memorial in Greece. His name will be long remembered,

Anecdote of a Naval Officer.

for the coolness, the intrepidity, and the humanity which he displayed when commander of the *Romney*, a fifty-gun ship, during his memorable action with a French frigate, *La Sibylle*, in the harbour of Myconi. The French officer was an old acquaintance, and one with whom he had lived in habits

(1) Travels in Greece, p. 8. *Oxf.* 1776.

habits of friendship. Captain Paget sent a boat to him, saying he was sorry they had met under such circumstances, but that he must desire him to surrender. He received for answer, that the Captain of *La Sibylle* well knew Captain Paget's force[2], and that he would defend himself to the last extremity. The Frenchman fired first, aided by four armed vessels, which were stationed so as to rake the *Romney*. Captain Paget having observed that, from the situation of his ship, some mischief would ensue to the inhabitants of Myconi, patiently sustained this powerful attack without returning a single shot, until, by getting a spring upon his cable, he had brought the *Romney* into a situation where the cannon might play without doing any injury to the town; then he gave his broadside, with three cheers from his crew. The Frenchman returned the salute; and a warm contest ensued, in which the *Romney* was ultimately victorious. The history of this action is often related in the Archipelago, although it has not been recorded in England: and as the name of the hero appears inscribed with his own hands upon the conspicuous pillars of Sunium, the ΣΤΗΛΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΑΝΕΙΣ, visible from afar, may stand as lasting a monument of his fame, as the glorious sepulchre which chance did assign to the memory of TWEDDELL, when it caused him to be buried in the Temple of Theseus.

Chandler says that the Temple of *Minerva Sunias* was within the wall of the old town[3]. We saw no remains of this

(2) The Romney was short of her complement by seventy-five men.

(3) Trav. in Greece, p. 7. *Oxf.* 1776. See also Wheler's Journey into Greece, Book vi. p. 448. *Lond.* 1682.

CHAP. XI.

this town; but we were induced to believe, from the appearance of some ruins upon an opposite hill, on the northern side of the port, that these were the remains of *Sunium*. The impatience of our mariners prevented our visiting those ruins, although they have been hitherto undescribed. They seemed to be too near to have belonged to *Laurium*. Among the remains of the temple we found the point of an antient lance, and many fragments of *terra-cotta* vessels, those indestructible and infallible testimonies of places resorted to by the antient Greeks. As soon as we had descended to the caïque, our Captain weighed anchor, and set sail for the PIRÆUS, now called *Porto Lione*, distant forty-two miles from the Cape; but we had no sooner entered the channel, between the Island PATROCLEÏA and the coast of Attica, than we were becalmed. This island is now called by at least half a dozen different modern names; it is therefore best to adhere as much as possible to original appellations, for these will be found frequently preserved by the inhabitants of the country. All the barbarous *nick-names* given to places and islands in Greece, and introduced into modern geography, have been principally owing to the Italians. Thus Athens received the strange appellation of *Settines*, although it never lost its old name among its resident citizens, nor ever fell into the state of desolation and desertion which has been falsely ascribed to it. The little Island of *Patrocleïa* still preserved its name in Wheler's time[1]; but it

Patrocleïa.

(1) Wheler writes it PATROCLEA; but Spon, PATROCLEÏA. See *Wheler's Journ. into Greece, Book* vi. *p.* 449. *Lond.* 1682. *Spon, Voyage de Grèce, tom.* II. *p.* 155. *à La Haye*, 1724.

it has been called *Gaitharonesi* (*Asses' Isle*), the *Island of Ebony*, *Guidronisa*, *Garderonis*, &c.; and owing to all these names, it has been sometimes multiplied, and laid down in charts as a cluster of small isles, rather than as one island. Some geographers have believed this island to be the *Belbina* of Strabo[2], from the manner in which he has connected the Βέλβινα νῆσος with the rampart constructed by *Patroclus*[3]; but in a former part of his work he is more explicit as to the situation of *Belbina*[4], describing its situation as farther from the coast, and which some have believed to be the island now called *St. George d'Arbori*, as it is named in a chart by D'Anville[5].

The pilot whom we had brought from Zïa informed us, that ebony still grows upon *Patrocleïa*; and we availed ourselves of the delay caused by our being becalmed, to land in search of it. We collected many rare plants upon this otherwise barren spot; but could not find a single specimen of the *Ebenus*, either *Cretica* or *pinnata*. Our sailors also landed;

(2) See De L'Isle's "*Græciæ Antiquæ Tabula Nova*," as published at Paris 1745.

(3) Πρόκειται δὲ καὶ τούτων τῶν τόπων Βέλβινα νῆσος, ρὺ πολὺ ἄπωθεν, καὶ ὁ Πατρόκλου χάραξ. Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 578. *Oxon.* 1807.

(4) Νησίδια δὲ περίκειται πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ· Βέλβινα δὲ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσα. Ibid. lib. viii. p. 544. *Oxon.* 1807.

(5) See D'Anville's Chart of the Archipelago, published at Paris in 1756. The Editor of the Oxford Edition of Strabo believed *Lavousa* to be the modern name of *Belbina*. "Belbina nunc *Lavousa* dicitur." (*Vid. Not. in Strabon. Geog.* p. 544. *Oxon.* 1807.) This is the island mentioned by Spon, to whose work the reader may be referred for the best, indeed the only accurate, account of the islands in the Saronic Gulph. "Entre Ægina et Coulouri, il y a une petite isle appellée Laousa." *Voyage de Grèce, fait aux Années 1675 et 1676, par Jacob Spon; tom.* II. *p.* 156. *à la Haye*, 1724.

CHAP. XI.

landed; and they caught abundance of *echini*, upon which they fed heartily, both on this and the following day. The name of this prickly shell-fish, if written abbreviated as they pronounced it, would be ἀχὴν, instead of ἐχῖνος. The thermometer, this day at noon, was 80° of Fahrenheit. We were unable to leave our station off *Patrocleïa* before the next day; and being afraid to venture upon the coast of Attica, we contiued upon the island, collecting plants until the evening, and admiring the glorious prospect exhibited on all sides. In this gulph, between the two promontories of *Sunium* and *Scyllæum*, there are not less than twenty islands[1]; but only three of them are inhabited, CALAUREA, ÆGINA, and SALAMIS. At present we shall only speak of the first of these, CALAUREA, because the others will occur in the order of our route. Its situation with regard to the *Scyllæan* Promontory, is the same as PATROCLEÏA with respect to the *Sunian*. Calaurea, rarely visited, and almost unknown, is the island to which Demosthenes fled, when he sought to avoid the fury of Antipater; and where he swallowed poison, in the Temple of Neptune: and although it has been disputed whether the island, now sometimes called *Poros* from a small adjoining peninsula, be the same with the antient Calaurea, an inscription discovered there by Chandler[2] has put an end to all doubt upon the subject. He found, among the ruins of the city and of the temple, an inscription, upon a pedestal, containing an acknow-

Islands in the Saronic Gulph.

Calaurea.

(1) See Spon, tom. II. p. 155. *à La Haye*, 1724.

(2) Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 212. *Oxf.* 1776.

acknowledgment of the services of King Eumenes "TO THE GOD, AND TO THE CALAUREANS, AND TO THE OTHER GREEKS." The monument of Demosthenes remained within the precincts of the temple in the second century[3]. This island is eighteen miles in circumference: it is now inhabited by those descendants of the antient Macedonians who are called *Arnaouts*, or *Albanians*; a people of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak during our travels in Greece, and who have been much vilified, in being often represented, in books of travels, as a lawless set of banditti, and as being, with regard to *terra firma*, what the *Mainotes*, or Lacedæmonians, are upon the waves[4]. We are not so well acquainted with the latter; but have reason to believe that they also have been greatly calumniated in the accounts published of them from the hear-say statements of the Turks and Greeks. As to the Albanians, it was often our good fortune, in our subsequent journeys, to prefer a night's lodging in their cottages to the less cleanly accommodation of more stately dwellings: and this brief allusion to them has been now made, rather by anticipation, that the Reader, finding hereafter an account of them very different

Albanians.

(3) Τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς, καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνῆμά ἐστι. Pausan. lib. ii. c. 33. p. 189. *Lips.* 1696.

(4) "Il demeuroit dans ces cabanes de ces sortes de gens que les Turcs et les Grecs connoissent sous le nom d'Arnautes, et nous autres sous celuy *d'Albanois*. Ils sont en partie originaires de la frontiére occidentale de la Macédoine, proche des villes d'Apolimena et de Sapoza; et en partie de l'Epire, vers les montagnes de la Chymère. Ils sont naturellement braves, déterminez, et infatigables, grands voleurs, et justement dans la terre ferme de Grèce ce que les Magnottes sont sur mer." *Voyage d'Athènes, &c. par le S^t. de la Guilletiere, p.* 88. *à Paris*, 1675.

CHAP. XI.

different from the notions generally entertained of this people, may not be induced to attribute to first impressions a description of their manners which has been the result of repeated experience.

The next morning, we hoisted sail as the sun was rising in great splendor above the mountains; but the wind blew in gusts, and we made little progress. At one time it came with such sudden violence down the side of a high mountain upon the Attic coast, that it nearly upset the caïque. These transitory gales are common in all gulphs surrounded by high land, and they render the navigation precarious for small vessels. The mountain to the east of us was called, by our sailors, *Elimbó*, which is a modern name for *Olympus*; and the latter, perhaps, formerly denoted any very lofty eminence, as it is the appellation which was common to many celebrated mountains; to one in *Pieria*, the seat of the Gods; to another in *Bithynia*; to a third in *Mysia*; a fourth in *Cyprus*; a fifth in *Crete*; a sixth in *Elis*; and a seventh in *Arcadia*. In the course of this day we found ourselves to be accompanied by a few small vessels, sailing up the gulph, with red sails. At four o'clock in the afternoon, being off Cape *Vari*, and upon the look-out towards the N. N. E. we beheld, with great transports of joy, the first sight of ATHENS; its lofty edifices catching the sun's rays, and rendering the buildings in the Acropolis visible to us at the distance of fifteen miles. The reflected light gave them a white appearance. The PARTHENON appeared, first, above a long chain of hills in the front: presently we saw the top of MOUNT ANCHESMUS, to the left of the temple; the whole being backed by a lofty mountainous ridge, which we supposed to be

Elimbó.

First Sight of Athens.

PARNES.

PARNES. All the fore-part of this fine scene was occupied by Cape *Vari* and the Gulph[1]. *Vari*, or *Vary*, is mentioned by Chandler, but in such an uncertain manner, that it is impossible, from his description, to make out its antient name[2]. It may have been so called from the Island *Phaura*, which was situated before one of the Capes between *Phalerum* and *Sunium*; and there is a small island off *Cape Vari*. According to Chandler, *Vari* is only four hours' journey from Athens by land, which nearly agrees with the distance mentioned to us by our pilot. The famous *Grotto of the Nymphs* is only three quarters of an hour distant from *Vari*, inland; it is situated in a part of *Mount Hymettus*, which here stretching out into the sea, forms the promontory once called *Zoster*; and this may be the same now called *Cape Vari*. In this manner, then, we may perhaps settle the geography of this part of the coast; the promontory being *Zoster*, and the island *Phaura*. *Zoster* was so called because it was said Latona had loosed her zone there, in her way to Delos, whither she was conducted by Minerva. On the shore was an altar. A strange notion seems to have been founded upon a passage in Pausanias; namely, that a part of the colossal statue of Minerva in the Acropolis of Athens was visible from the Sunian Promontory. After the

Zoster Promontory.

Doubtful story of Minerva's statue.

(1) The author made a sketch of it at the time, which has been engraved for this Work: it has nothing to recommend it but the fidelity of its outline, to which he paid all possible attention.

(2) Trav. in Greece, pp. 147, 150. *Oxf.* 1776.

CHAP. XI.

the repeated proofs which have occurred of late years, confirming the truth of antient geographers and historians upon many points before doubted, one would not hastily conclude that a thing positively asserted is untrue, because it has not remained to undergo the test of our experience. The distance is forty-two miles, and we barely discerned the Parthenon at fifteen; but the representation of this statue, as it appears upon an antient medal of Athens[1], proves that it was much higher than the Parthenon; and there is no saying what the effect might be, of light reflected from a statue of polished or gilded brass in such an atmosphere, even at the extraordinary distance from which the point of the spear and crest of the helmet are said to have been visible. This gulph has never been accurately surveyed; and the relative situation of the different parts of it appeared to us to be erroneously marked in our best maps. But Pausanias does not say the statue was visible from Sunium: his words are, "*to those sailing from Sunium:*" the situation, and distance, of the spectator are therefore very indefinitely marked[2].

Towards evening we were again becalmed, and anchored near to a Cape which is opposite to a point of the Island of SALAMIS. Here we sent the pilot on shore whom we had brought from Zïa, as he was the only person acquainted with the country, directing him to go to Athens and hire

(1) See "*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*" Tab. XXVII. Fig. 1. *Paris*, 1790.

(2) Τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνους, ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσίν ἐστιν ἤδη σύνοπτα. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 28. p. 67. *Lips.* 1696.

hire horses to meet us at the Piræeus on the following day. Soon after midnight a breeze sprung up; and our impatience getting the better of all apprehension, we resolved to steer for the Piræeus, without any other pilot than the stars, which shone with great brightness. We knew that our course was due north; and therefore pointing out the polar star to the master of the caïque, we persuaded him to get under weigh, promising to pilot his vessel into harbour as safely as we had done before into the port of Zïa[3]. There was barely wind enough to keep the vessel steady to her helm; therefore if she chanced to fall upon a rock or a shoal, it would be easy to get her off again, and the pilot had said that the course was clear. Accordingly we set sail, and for once ventured towards a lee-shore, without seeing any thing of the land. In this manner passing the mouth of the old haven PHALERUM, as we drew near to the *Munychian Isthmus*, we distinctly perceived the coast, like a long dark wall before us. Upon this, we stood somewhat farther out towards the north-west; and doubling the point, lowered our sails, and took to the oars, steering north-east, and afterwards due east; by which means we soon entered the outer port of PIRÆEUS; but endeavouring to pass farther in, we drove the vessel upon the ruined pier, on the Munychian side. Daylight was beginning to dawn; and a part of this pier rose above the water, so that we were enabled to land upon it,

Arrival at the *Piræeus*.

(3) The variation of the compass 12°. 55′. as observed in 1751, makes the course exactly *north* by the magnetic needle. See *Stuart's Athens; Map of Attica*; vol. III.

CHAP. XI.

it, and lighten the caïque, while our sailors were employed in getting her head off the pier. We found the entrance to the inner harbour to be close to this part of the antient rampart; but it was eight o'clock A. M. October the twenty-ninth, before we brought the vessel to an anchor off the custom-house, in a good sandy bottom, and about four fathoms water. Seven or eight fathoms may be found nearer to the mouth, and eleven between the two piers; the bottom shelving into fifteen and twenty fathoms in the outer port, with good anchorage[1].

Approach to Athens.

At ten o'clock we landed; and having mounted our horses, took the antient road to the city, by the indistinct remains of the walls of Conon[2], the Sepulchre of Menander, and the Cenotaph of Euripides. It were useless to relate the feelings with which we viewed the grandest and most affecting sight that hath been left for modern times. The Classical Reader, already convinced that nothing exists upon earth to equal it, may give a traveller credit for emotions, similar to those excited in his own mind by the mere mention of an approach to Athens; and he will anticipate, by his imagination, what it is impossible to describe. Such

(1) As an extraordinary event in the history of the *Piræus*, it may be mentioned, that the author's brother, Captain Clarke of the Royal Navy, brought an English frigate, the *Braakel*, to an anchor within this port; but not without considerable damage to the ship. The Athenians flocked in crowds to witness this extraordinary spectacle. *See a narrative of the event, in the Notes to an edition of Falconer's Shipwreck, by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, LL.B. the Biographer of Nelson, &c. &c.*

(2) Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστιν, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδον ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε. Pausan. Attica, c. 2. p. 7. *Lips.* 1696.

Such is the nature of the place, and such the magnitude of its ruins, that, in a general view, time seems to have spent its ravages upon it in vain. The Acropolis, and the Temples, and the Tombs, and the Theatres, and the Groves, and the Mountains, and the Rocks, and the Plain, and the Gardens, and the Vineyards, and the Fountains, and the Baths, and the Walls, and the Gates, are as they appeared to Pericles, to Socrates, and to Alcibiades. "ADSUNT ATHENÆ, UNDE HUMANITAS, DOCTRINA, RELIGIO, FRUGES JURA, LEGES ORTÆ, ATQUE IN OMNES TERRAS DISTRIBUTÆ PUTANTUR; DE QUARUM POSSESSIONE, PROPTER PULCHRITUDINEM, ETIAM INTER DEOS CERTAMEN PRODITUM EST. URBS, INQUAM, QUÆ VETUSTATE EA EST, UT IPSA EX SESE SUOS CIVES GENUISSE DICATUR: AUTHORITATE AUTEM TANTA, UT JAM FRACTUM PROPE ET DEBILITATUM GRÆCIÆ NOMEN, HUJUS URBIS LAUDE NITATUR."

CHAP. XII.

ATHENS.

Origin of the fabulous Contest between Neptune and Minerva — Antient Sepulchral Monument—Excavations at Athens—View of the Cecropian Citadel —Funereal Aspect of the City—Objects in the perspective—State of the Antiquities—*Interesting Relique—Remarks upon entering Athens*—Guilletiere—*Ascent of the Acropolis—Relique of Phidian Sculpture—Adytum of Pan—*Ἱερὰ *of the Greeks —Portable Shrines—Statue of Pan—Celebrated Artist—Spoliation of the Temples—Comparison between the Grecian and Roman Buildings* —Athenian, Posidonian, *and* Æginetan *Architecture—Cause of the Injury sustained in the Sculpture of the* Parthenon—*Splendid Representation of the* Panathenæa—*Description of the Work—The* Cothurnus, *and* Petasus *or* Pileus—*Practice of gilding and painting Statues—Marbles used in the Acropolis—Singular Construction of the* Erecthéum—*Of the* Prytanéum—*Temples of* Pandrosus *and* Minerva Polias—*Of the Olive, and Well*—Propylæa—*Walls of the*

the Acropolis—Odeum of Regilla—*General description of the Theatres of Greece*—Areopagus—*Temple of* Theseus.

CHAP. XII.

THIS road, from the Piræeus to Athens, extending for about five miles, formerly passed over marshy ground; for the foundations of the two *long walls*, which inclosed the Piræeus within the precincts of Athens, were, according to Plutarch, laid in a marshy soil, prepared for the purpose by being filled with huge pieces of rock[1]. An inference may be deduced from this circumstance, which does not seem to have been noticed; that inasmuch as the plains of Greece have evidently resulted from the retiring of waters gradually carried off by evaporation and by other causes, the lakes and marshes which remained in antient times were so many reliques of the retreating flood. Hence, perhaps, the origin of the antiquated and popular fable, among the earliest settlers in Attica, of the contest between *Neptune* and *Minerva* for the country, rather than that which Plutarch[2] has assigned as the source of it; who believed it to have been founded on the endeavours of the kings to withdraw the people from a sea-faring life to the labours of agriculture. After this contest is said to have happened, *Neptune* is described as endeavouring to regain the territory by subsequent inundations. Some of the lakes noticed by historians

Origin of the fabulous Contest between Neptune and Minerva.

(1) Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἃ σκέλη καλοῦσι, συντελεσθῆναι μὲν ὕστερον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τὴν δὲ πρώτην θεμελίωσιν, εἰς τόπους ἑλώδεις καὶ διαβρόχους τῶν ἔργων ἐμπεσόντων ἐρεισθῆναι διὰ Κίμωνος ἀσφαλῶς, χάλικι πολλῇ καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν ἑλῶν πιεσθέντων, ἐκείνου χρήματα πορίζοντος καὶ διδόντος. Plutarchi Cimon. tom. III. p. 125. *Lond.* 1723.

(2) Vid. Plutarch. in Themist. tom. I. p. 268. *Lond.* 1729.

CHAP. XII.

historians are now become marshes, and the marshes they mention are become dry land. There is now little appearance of marshy land between the Piræeus and Athens[1]: the road lies through vineyards, olive-grounds, and plantations of fig-trees. Several plants were in flower, and the specimens we collected were fresher than those we gathered in the islands. In one of the vineyards we saw a Tumulus, which is undoubtedly an antient sepulchre. The monument of Euripides was a Cenotaph, but that of Menander did really contain his ashes. The tomb of Euripides was at Pella, in Macedonia; possibly, therefore, this mound may have been the sepulchre of the Comic Poet. Pausanias, speaking of the Cenotaph of Euripides, calls it Μνῆμα[2]. This is evidently a Τάφος, but it has upon its summit the remains of some structure, not as for the support of a *Stelé*, but of a Μνημεῖον raised upon the mound; and this would rather confirm Chandler's opinion, who believed it to be the *monument* raised to Euripides[3]. It had not been opened at the time of our arrival. The business of making excavations among the Grecian tombs was then beginning in the neighbourhood of Athens, and it has since abundantly rewarded the taste of those travellers under whose patronage such labours have been carried on[4]. We observed the remains of

Antient Sepulchral Monument.

Excavations at Athens.

(1) We did not observe any thing of this nature in the road from the *Piræeus;* but in the map of Attica, as surveyed by Stuart, there is notice of a *marshy soil* bordering the *Phalerum*, now called *Porto Phanari*. See *Stuart's Athens*, vol. III. *Lond.* 1794.

(2) See Pausanias, lib. i. c. 2. p. 6. *Lips.* 1696.

(3) See Trav. in Greece, p. 24. *Oxf.* 1776.

(4) A French artist, Mons. *Fauvel*, is said to have met with great success in these researches. *Don Battista Lusieri* opened several tombs, and thus made a collection of the

of the antient paved way leading from the *Piræeus*; also of an aqueduct. As we drew near to the walls, we beheld the vast CECROPIAN CITADEL, crowned with temples that originated in the veneration once paid to the memory of

Cecropian Citadel

the most valuable Grecian vases. Among English travellers, the EARL OF ABERDEEN is particularly distinguished for his liberality in encouraging works of this kind: the more laudable, in being opposed to the lamentable operations which another British Earl, one of his Lordship's countrymen, was then prosecuting, to the *utter ruin* of the finest works of Antient Greece. To Lord Aberdeen, History and the Fine Arts will ever be indebted, for the pains he bestowed in the excavation and restoration of the *Pnyx*, and for other similar undertakings. (*See Appendix to the Cambridge Marbles, p. 67. Camb.* 1809.) Many of our countrymen have since followed Lord Aberdeen's example.

Upon the subject of the excavations at Athens, Mr. Walpole has the following observations in his Journal:

"Travellers who will be at the pains to excavate the soil in the vicinity of Athens will be amply rewarded for their trouble. The vases which Signor Lusieri has found in digging near the city are, in their form and general execution, not to be surpassed by any that have been discovered in Italy and Sicily. Among other remains of antiquity, he has found musical instruments (the *αὐλὸς* and *πλαγίαυλος*, called by the Modern Greeks, *παγιαύλιον*), ornaments of dress of various kinds, ear-rings of gold, and mirrors. These last are of metal: in Pliny (lib. 34.) we find mention of the employment of tin and silver in the fabrication of them: the Jews and Egyptians used those made of brass. In the time of Pompey there were some of silver. The form of the antient mirror is observed frequently on vases in this shape ♀, being the character of one of the planets and a metal; namely, Venus, and copper: the meaning of it, thus applied, is evident, as mirrors were sacred to Venus, and were made of a metal from Cyprus; that is, copper, and were covered with a leaf of silver. In the analysis of a mirror, Caylus discovered a mixture of copper, regulus of antimony, and lead: copper was the preponderating; lead, the least part.

"In the Ceramicus, near to the site of the Academy, was discovered that very antient and interesting Inscription in verse (now in England), of which Mons. Fauvel gave me a copy at Athens, relating to those Athenians who had fallen at Potidæa, in the Peloponnesian war: the first line, legible, begins, ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΥΧΑΣΥΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟ . . . The form of the letters, and other archaisms, render the inscription very valuable. Near the Church of *Soteira Lycodemon*, probably the site of the antient Lyceum, was found an Inscription copied also by Mons. Fauvel, mentioning Dionysius, *Λυκείου ἐπιμελήτης*. The removal of the earth from part of the *Pnyx* has given us a more exact notion of

CHAP. XII.

Funereal Aspect of the City.

of the illustrious dead[1], surrounded by objects telling the same theme of sepulchral grandeur, and now monuments of departed greatness, mouldering in all the solemnity of ruin. So paramount is this funereal character in the approach to Athens from the *Piræeus*, that as we passed the hill of the *Muséum*, which was in fact an antient cemetery of the Athenians, we might have imagined ourselves to be among the tombs of Telmessus, from the number of the sepulchres hewn in the rock, and from the antiquity of the workmanship, evidently not of later date than any thing of the kind in Asia Minor. In other respects the city exhibits nearly the appearance so briefly described by Strabo eighteen centuries before our coming[2]; and perhaps it wears a more magnificent aspect, owing to the splendid remains of Hadrian's Temple of Olympian Jove, which did not exist when Athens was

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the form of that celebrated place of assembly. A number of votive offerings were found at the time of the excavation by Lord Aberdeen; but to what Deity or what temple they belonged, it is difficult to say. On one of them, having an eye sculptured on the stone, were the words Εὔοδος ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν: on another I saw Σύντροφος ὑψίστῳ Διὶ χαριστήριον." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

(1) The first place of worship in the Acropolis of Athens was the *Sepulchre of Cecrops.* The Parthenon was erected upon the spot. (*See the Observations in Ch.* XVII. *of the First Part of these Travels, p.* 400. *Second edit.*) The Athenians preserved his tomb in the Acropolis, and that of *Ericthonius* in the Temple of Minerva Polias. (*Vid. Antioch. ap. Clemen. Alexand. tom.* I. *p.* 39. *Oxon.* 1715.) Hence *Clemens* is of opinion that tombs were the origin of all their temples: Νεὼς μὲν εὐφήμως ὀνομαζομένους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους, τοὐτεστι τοὺς τάφους νεὼς ἐπικεκλημένους. Clementis Alexandrini Cohortatio ad Gentes, c. 3. tom. I. p. 39. *Oxon.* 1715.

(2) Τὸ δ' ἄστυ αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ, περιοικουμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν, ὅ, τε ἀρχαῖος νεὼς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, καὶ ὁ Παρθενὼν, ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἰκτῖνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ταῦ Φειδίου ἔργον ἐλεφάντινον, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 574. *Oxon.* 1807.

CHAP. XII.

Objects in the perspective.

was visited by the disciple of Xenarchus. The prodigious columns belonging to this temple appeared full in view between the Citadel and the bed of the Ilissus[3]: high upon our left rose the Acropolis, in the most impressive grandeur[4]: an advanced part of the rock upon the western side of it is the Hill of the *Areopagus*, where St. Paul preached to the Athenians, and where their most solemn tribunal was held[5]. Beyond all, appeared the beautiful Plain of Athens, bounded by *Mount Hymettus*. We rode towards the craggy rock of the Citadel, passing some tiers of circular arches at the foot of it; these are the remains of the *Odéum* of Herodes Atticus[6], built in memory of his wife Regilla. Thence continuing to skirt the base of the Acropolis, the road winding rather towards the north, we saw also, upon our left, scooped in the solid rock, the circular sweep on which the Athenians were wont to assemble to hear the plays of Æschylus, and where the Theatre of Bacchus was afterwards constructed. The *Torso* of a statue of the Indian Bacchus, placed, in a sitting attitude, upon the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus above this theatre, exhibited to us the first specimen

State of the Antiquities.

(3) See the Plate facing p. 504, from a drawing by *Preaux*, made upon the spot: also the Vignette to this Chapter. The author pretends not to agitate the question, whether this building be really the *Temple of Jupiter*, or the *Pantheon*; the Reader may be referred to the proofs in support of the former opinion, as they are given by the Earl of Aberdeen, in the *Introduction* to *Wilkins's Translation of Vitruvius*, p. 66. also in Note (1) to page 9 of the Text of that work. *Lond.* 1812.

(4) See the Plate facing p. 504. and Vignette to this Chapter.

(5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.

CHAP. XII.

specimen of Athenian sculpture which we had seen upon the spot; and with the additional satisfaction of viewing it in the situation where it was originally placed[1]. Stuart considered the theatre as the *Odéum* of Pericles[2]; and it is remarkable that Pausanias mentions a statue of Bacchus, as worthy of notice, in a conspicuous situation upon entering the *Odéum*[3]. Upon the eastern side of this statue, fastened in the rock, appeared a still more interesting relique; namely, the very antient Sun-dial which, in the time of Æschylus, of Sophocles, and Euripides, indicated to the Athenian people the hour at which their plays were to begin. This we had reason to hope would be permitted to remain where it had been so long preserved; as no antient nor modern *Alaric* had deemed it to be an object worthy of his regard. Above the statue we saw also the two Choragic Pillars for supporting tripods, described by Chandler[4] and by Stuart[5], standing high upon

Interesting Relique.

(1) This statue was long believed to be that of a female. Stuart represented it with a female head. (*See Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol.* II. *ch.* iv. *Pl.* 6. *Lond.* 1787.) Chandler considered it as the statue of Niobe. (*Trav. in Greece, p.* 64. *Oxf.* 1776.) It really represented the Indian, or bearded, Bacchus; part of the beard having been discovered upon the statue. It is moreover decorated with the spoils of a panther. Alas! not only this Statue, but also the antient Sun-dial near to it, which had existed there ever since the time of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides—antiquities which were only valuable as long as they remained in their original situation—*have been since pulled down* and *carried off*, in the name of the British Nation, by the agents of our Ambassador at the Porte!!!

(2) Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. p. 7. Letter *k*.

(3) Ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν εἰσελθοῦσιν ᾠδεῖον, ἄλλά τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θέας ἄξιος. Pausan. lib. i. c. 14. p. 34. *Lips.* 1696.

(4) Trav. in Greece, p. 63. *Oxford*, 1776.

(5) Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. ch. 4. *Lond.* 1787.

upon the steep acclivity of the rock[6]. Fortunately for us, we arrived before the spoliation of this part of the antient city had been begun, and we therefore saw all these interesting objects as they existed in the time of Pericles.

We then entered the gate of the modern city; and almost the first object we beheld was the only remaining structure of all the consecrated fabrics that once adorned the famous Street of the Tripods, the elegant *choragic Monument of Lysicrates*[7]. In the small Capuchin convent annexed to this building, our friend and former companion in the Plain of Troy, *Don Battista Lusieri*[8], had fixed his residence. A monk told us that he was then busy in the Acropolis, making drawings in the ERECTHÉUM; therefore leaving our horses and baggage, we set out instantly in pursuit of him; anticipating the gratification we should receive, not only in surprising

(6) See the Plate.

(7) See Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. I. ch. iv. Plate 3. *Lond.* 1762.

(8) This celebrated artist, better known by the name of *Don Tita*, is a native of Naples: he resided many years in Italy, where he was renowned for his beautiful drawings in water-colours. Many of his best works are in the Collections of our English Nobility. By some, his compositions have been deemed too laboured; but his colouring is exquisite, and nothing can exceed the fidelity and perfection of his outline and perspective. It may be said of Lusieri, as of Claude Lorrain, "If he be not the *Poet*, he is the *Historian* of Nature." When the French invaded Naples, he retired to Sicily, and was long employed among the Ruins of *Agrigentum*, devoted entirely to his favourite pursuit. The desire of seeing Greece tempted him to follow the British Embassy to Constantinople in 1799: whence he removed to Athens; where he now lives, surrounded by every thing that may exercise his genius; and where he is not less distinguished by his amiable disposition, and disinterested attention to travellers who visit the city, than by his taste, and knowledge of every thing connected with the history of the Fine Arts.

CHAP. XII.

surprising him by our appearance where he had not the smallest expectation of seeing us, but also in viewing the noblest monuments of antiquity with a *Cicerone* so well qualified to point out their beauties.

Remarks upon entering Athens.

As we are now about to ascend the Acropolis, and of course to enter upon a description of antiquities which are well known, it is necessary to premise that our observations will be brief. To give a detailed account of every thing which has been hitherto deemed worthy of notice in such a city as Athens, would be as much a work of supererogation as to republish all the inscriptions which have been found in the place, and to renew the detail of every circumstance so often related concerning its antient history. The author's remarks will be confined to such observations as, to the best of his knowledge, have not been made by former travellers; but perhaps, even in such a communication, it will not be always possible to avoid repeating what others may have said. A mistaken opinion prevailed until towards the end of the seventeenth century[1], that the remains of Athens had been almost rased from the earth, and that even its name no longer existed. The few merchants who resorted to the *Piræeus*, from Italy and from other parts of the Mediterranean, had given to it the barbarous appellation of *Setines*,

(1) Chandler says, "until the middle of the sixteenth century;" but the public curiosity does not appear to have been directed to this city until long after the publication of the work to which he alludes.

Setines, or *Sethina*[2]; although, "of all the antient cities in Greece," as an early traveller hath remarked who will presently be more particularly noticed, "no one has preserved its name with better success than Athens has done; for both Greeks and Turks call it Ἀθήνη." This is another instance of the corruptions introduced into the modern nomenclature of places in Greece by Italians and by Frenchmen: and it ought to be the constant endeavour of authors, by whom the country is described, to prevent this abuse, by adopting the antient names in their writings, where it can be done with propriety, and certainly in all cases where they have been preserved by the inhabitants. It has been supposed that the first intelligence of the better fate of Athens was communicated to the world by the valuable publications of Sir George Wheler and Jacob Spon: but seven years before Wheler and his companion arrived in Athens, it had been visited by the traveller above mentioned; who anticipated almost every thing which they have said upon this subject; and the narrative of whose Travels, although

(2) *Sethina*, and *Satina*, are corruptions, according to *Portus* and *Meursius*, from εἰς Ἀθηνᾶ. Various conjectures have arisen touching the origin of the antient name. Heinsius (*in Aristar. Sac. Synt.* I. 1. *p.* 27.) derives it from the Chaldæan תנא THENA, signifying to *study* or *learn*, written with an article, HATTHENA. In the time of Diodorus Siculus, and before him, it was a received opinion that Athens was peopled by the Egyptians: *Sais* in the Egyptian language answering to *Athenæ* in Greek. The word *Sethina* is found in the Latin Poem of Hugo Favolius (*in Hodæp. Byz. l.* iii.) who himself visited the spot.

"Undique sic miseræ nobis spectantur Athenæ,
Dædala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicas,
Indigenæ *Sethina* vocant."——

CHAP. XII.

although little known and rarely noticed by any subsequent author, contains the most racy description of the city and of its inhabitants, of its antiquities and statistics, which had appeared before the time of its publication. This traveller was *De La Guilletiere*, or, as he sometimes signed himself, *Guillet*, answering to a name common in England, *Willet*. After four years of slavery in Barbary, he arrived in Athens, in company with two Italians, two Germans, and an Englishman of the name of *Drelingston*, the first of our countrymen who voluntarily undertook this voyage for the mere gratification of classical taste and literary curiosity. The original edition of *Guilletiere's* work appeared in Paris in January 1675. In the beginning of June in the same year, *Wheler* "hastened to Venice," (it is his own expression[1],) after his travels in France and Italy, in search of *Dr. Spon*, to accompany him upon a similar voyage. It is therefore highly probable that the success of *Guilletiere's* expedition excited *Wheler* to this sudden undertaking: that he had seen his work is evident, for he cites it, calling its author *De La Gulitier*[2], and *Guiliter*[3]; and although he speaks rather lightly of his predecessor[4], he sometimes copies him without owning his obligation[5]. His companion, *Spon*, had done

Guilletiere.

(1) Wheler's Journey into Greece, p. 1. *Lond.* 1682.

(2) Ibid p. 340.

(3) Ibid. p. 363.

(4) "But not as Monsieur *Guiliter* affirmeth" .... "My companion and I were not so much surprized, &c. as Monsieur *Guiliter*" .... those marvelous stones Monsieur *Guiliter* makes such a miracle of" .... &c. *Ibid.*

(5) Of this, several instances may be pointed out, where the transcript is as literal as it can be from one language into another. "A l'égard du langage, il est le plus pur, et le moins corrompu de la Grèce." (*Guillet*, p. 155. *Paris*, 1675.) "The Athenians seem

done the same; but, with all his learning, he has not produced either so entertaining a work as that of *Guilletiere*, or, divested of its inscriptions, one that contains more of information. We may therefore, perhaps, look to *Guilletiere* as to the person who first drew the attention of English travellers towards the Ruins of Athens; for although the Letters, giving a description of the city, which were published by *Martin Crusius*, appeared nearly a hundred years before, yet those Letters have attracted more notice in this country since, than before, *Wheler's* time; and they always tended rather to maintain than to confute the erroneous notion, which was so long prevalent, concerning the condition of the city[6]. *Guilletiere's* unassuming although very diminutive publication is so comprehensive, that, abating a few partial inaccuracies, the consequences of pursuing an untrodden path, his book is, even at the present day, a useful guide to the antiquities of Athens; and his plan of the city, rude as it may appear among the works of later artists, is so much better

seem to retain more of the antient Greek in their language than the rest of the modern Greeks do." (*Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 355. *Lond.* 1682.) And, after all, this is not true; for the purest Greek is not spoken in Athens. Again, *Guilletiere*, after the passage, which the author has cited, concerning the existence of the antient name of the city, says, "Nos géographes ont beau nous le vouloir alterer en l'appellant *Setines*." Wheler transcribes the whole; and also adds, "I wonder our modern geographers have been no better informed concerning so eminent a place, calling it most corruptly, in their maps, *Setines*". . . &c. There are many other examples of a similar nature, in the volumes both of Wheler and Spon.

(6) One of those Letters is from a native of Nauplia: it was written in 1575. Its author says, "Ἀλλὰ τί τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μνησθείς, μακρολογῶ; δέρμα λειφθείσας τοῦ πάλαι ποτὲ ζώου. Sed quid multa de Athenis dico? Superest hodie tantum pellis: animal ipsum olim periit." *Vid. Epist. Fam. Turcograeciæ*, lib. vii. p. 430. *Basil.* 1583.

CHAP. XII.

better than that which *Wheler* afterwards edited, that it is strange the latter did not adopt it in his work.

Ascent of the Acropolis.

As we ascended the steep rock on which the Citadel stands, our first subject of wonder was the power displayed by the Antients in conveying up such an acclivity the enormous masses of marble necessary in the construction of so many sumptuous edifices; when all the skill and ingenuity of the best workmen in Europe were requisite, at the time of our arrival, to remove some of the most delicate ornaments of the temples, in an entire state, from the Acropolis to the lower city. None of the materials of those temples are of the same nature as the rock upon which they were erected: the quarries of Pentelicus, of Hymettus, of the Cyclades, of Lacedæmon, and of the most distant mountains of Greece, contributed to the works necessary for their completion. All the huge blocks of marble required for the several parts of each building must have been moved up the same steep; for there is now, as there was formerly, but one way facing the Piræeus by which the summit may be approached[1]. In our ascent we found an inscription on white marble, stating that "the Senate of the Areopagus, and of the six hundred, &c. honour Julius," &c. the rest being wanted: we could only make out the following characters:

ΗΕΞΑΡΕΙΟΥΠΑΓΟΥΒΟΥ
ΛΗΤΩΝΕΞΑΚΟΣΙΩΝΚΑΙ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΝΙΚΑΝΟΡΑ..

Soon afterwards, somewhat higher up, we also saw, among some

(1) Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἔστιν εἴσοδος μία, (ἑτέραν δὲ οὐ παρέχεται, πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὖσα) καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἐχυρόν. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 22. p. 51. *Lips.* 1696.

some loose stones used as the materials of a wall, near to the gate of the Citadel, a piece of sculpture of white marble in very bold relief, representing the *torso* of a male figure. This proved to be nothing less than a fragment of one of the *metopes* belonging to the PARTHENON; and therefore, as the undoubted work of *Phidias*, although but a fragment, could not fail to be regarded by us as a valuable relique, and a very great curiosity. It was not to be easily procured; neglected and abandoned as we found it lying; owing to the embargo then laid upon every thing of this kind by our Ambassador, and the absolute prohibition against moving any thing, excepting into his store-house. The *Disdar*, however, afterwards claimed it as his property, and presented it to us; and it is now in the Vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge, a solitary example of sculpture removed from the ruins of the Parthenon without injuring what time and the Goths have spared. Upon the left hand we saw, in the face of the rock, the small cavern which perhaps may be considered as *the Grotto of Pan*; for this, by its relative position to other objects, seems to be the identical cavity which is represented in the view of the Acropolis preserved upon an antient medal of Athens in the Collection at Paris[2]. It is below the right wing of the *Propylæa*, or antient vestibules of the Citadel, in the situation which Pausanias assigns for it: and somewhat lower in the rock is the fountain mentioned

Relique of Phidian Sculpture.

Adytum of *Pan*.

(2) See the Greek Coin engraved for Barthelemy's Anacharsis, Tab. XXVII. No. 1. *Paris*, 1790.

CHAP. XII.

mentioned also by him[1]. In other respects it seems ill suited to the stories which caused it to be considered as the scene of *Apollo's* amours with *Creusa*, and as a place of residence for *Pan:* but when the mind is completely subdued by superstition, it is seldom burdened by any scruples as to *probability:* the same priests who now exhibit at Jerusalem the altar of a small chapel as the *Hill of the Crucifixion*[2] are a modern example of the Ναοφύλακες who attended the *Shrine of Pan*, and they possess a degree of intellect as well calculated for admitting the extravagances related of the one as of the other. The Grotto, as it now appears, seems to be nothing more than one of those niches in which votive-offerings were placed; and although described as a cave which contained *a temple of Apollo, and of Pan*[3], would barely admit the size of a human figure. But this allusion in antient history to temples so diminutive that they could not have exceeded the size of a child's *baby-house*, may receive illustration, like many other parts of the Heathen religion, from existing superstitions. The subject has not perhaps been sufficiently explained; as none of the authors who have written on Grecian antiquities seem to be aware of a custom which has been transmitted from the earliest ages of Pagan worship to modern times. The Ἱερὰ of the Greeks, as well as the *Tabernacles* of Eastern nations, were sometimes

Ἱερὰ of the Greeks.

(1) Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια, πηγή τε ὕδατός ἐστι, καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ, καὶ Πανός. Pausaniæ, lib. i. cap. 28. p. 68. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) See the former Section, cap. xvi. p. 549. *Second Edition.*

(3) Vid. Pausan. lib. i. ubi supra.

Portable Shrines.

sometimes not only *portable*, but they were so small, that the κίσται ἱεραὶ, used for inclosing them during journeys, scarcely exceeded the size of the fashionable snuff-boxes now used by the *petit-maîtres* of Paris and London. Examples of this kind of *portable shrine* are particularly common in Russia, and in all countries professing the religion of the Greek Church: they are made either of wood or of metal, with two little folding-doors, which are thrown open when the *Bogh* or *idol* is to be worshipped[4]. Of such a nature were the *shrines* alluded to in the history of the actions of the Apostles, where Demetrius is described as stirring up those who made *silver shrines* or *tabernacles* for Diana[5]; that is to say, *little temples*, or *cabinets* after the manner of temples. The custom of using them has been retained among the Roman-Catholics. The first converts to Christianity brought the use of *portable temples* with them into the Christian Church; for, according to *Socrates Scholasticus*, the Emperor *Constantine* carried with him a *portable temple* in his expedition against the Persians, not for the worship of any idol, but of the true God[6]: this was a kind of *tent* said to resemble the tabernacle of Moses in the desert[7]. Temples of this kind were also drawn by cattle. The Philistines sent

(4) The pictures of Roman-Catholic churches have preserved the form of these shrines to a very late age; the doors themselves being painted, and serving, when thrown open, to exhibit a subject in three compartiments. Of this form was the famous picture of the Crucifixion, by Rubens, in the Cathedral at Antwerp.

(5) Acts xix. 24.

(6) Socrates Scholasticus, lib. i. c. 18. *Cantab.* 1720.

(7) Ibid.

CHAP. XII.

sent back "the Ark of the God of Israel" in "a new cart" drawn by "two milch kine[1]." The temple of *Agrotes*, according to *Sanchoniatho*, was drawn by oxen. The *portable temple* was also sometimes carried upon men's shoulders: and although the "*bearing*" or "*taking up of Tabernacles*" are expressions used metaphorically in Scripture for the adoration paid to them, yet they are borrowed from a practice, which was well known at the time, of carrying the Tabernacle upon the shoulders of men from one place to another. Thus the Israelites are said to have "*borne*," and to "*take up*," the "Tabernacle of Moloch[2]." Such *portable temples* among the Antients were conveyed with them to their wars, and accompanied them upon their travels. This was the constant usage of the Arabians[3], Egyptians[4], Trojans[5], Carthaginians[6], and Germans[7]. When settlements were made, and cities built, they were of course deposited in safe but conspicuous places; in cavities fashioned for the purpose, within the rocks on which their citadels stood; or in niches, by the side of their most frequented roads. *Hiera*, answering to this description, are found at this day, in all countries professing the Greek

(1) 1 Sam. c. vi. 3, 7, &c.

(2) Amos, c. v. Psalms, &c.

(3) See the authors quoted by Hottinger, Comp. Theatri Orient, c. i.

(4) Apuleius Apol. p. 506.

(5) See Servius on Æn. vi. ver. 68. Dio, lib. xl. Herodian. lib. iv. and Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxii.

(6) See Calmet's Dict. art. *Niches*; and the authors referred to by *Fabricius*, Bibliographia Ant. c. viii. 18.

(7) Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

Greek and Roman-Catholic religions; before which *votive gifts* are placed, as in former ages: and this seems sufficient to explain the sort of *temples* alluded to by antient authors, as being here stationed within a niche, called the *Cave of Pan*, in the face of the rock below the Acropolis of Athens. Within this cave there formerly stood a statue of the goat-footed God; who, on that account, was said by Euripides[8], and by Lucian[9], to have fixed his residence at Athens, beneath the northern or Pelasgic wall of the Acropolis: and it is rather remarkable, that in a garden below this Grotto at the foot of the rock, there was discovered a marble statue of *Pan*, of a size to suit the cavity, which exactly corresponds with the description of the antient image in the Grotto, bearing a trophy upon its head[10]; for the iron cramp, by which this burden was sustained and connected with the mass of marble used for the lower part of the figure, yet remains. We saw this statue upon the spot where it was discovered; and we removed it to the University of Cambridge, where it is now placed, with the other Greek Marbles, in

Statue of Pan.

(8) Κρ. Ἄκουε τοίνυν· οἶσθα Κεκροπίας πέτρας;
Πρόσβορρον ἄντρον, ἃς Μακρὰς κικλησκόμεν.
Πρ. Οἶδ', ἔνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτα, καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας.
"Audi igitur: novisti Cecropias rupes,
Septentrionale in iis antrum, quas Macras vocamus?"
"Scio, ubi est sacellum Panis et ara prope."
Euripid. in Ion. 936. *p.* 334. *Edit. Barnes. Cantab.* 1694.

(9) Καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείναν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα ταύτην ἀπολαβόμενος, οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, κ. τ. λ. Luciani Bis Accusatus, tom. VII. p. 60. *Bipont.* 1790.

(10) Lucian. Deorum Dialogi, xxii. 3. Panis et Mercurii. *Bipont.* 1790.

CHAP. XII.

in the Vestibule of the Public Library[1]. The drapery afforded by the spoils of a goat thrown over the figure is executed in the very antient style of sculpture called Græco-Etruscan; and there is great reason to believe that this is the identical statue alluded to by Lucian, as before cited. Not far from the same place there was also found the *torso* of a small marble statue of *Apollo*, of a more diminutive size than that of *Pan*, but executed in a style of sculpture equal to any thing produced in the most splendid æra of the art. This we also brought to England. There is certainly something singular in such an association so near to the *Adytum*, said to be tenanted by these two Deities. The identity of the Grotto itself was a theme of dispute among earlier travellers, who gave to the subject more consideration than perhaps it may seem to merit. *Guilletiere* is the first of the moderns by whom it is noticed. He had been with his companions to visit the small chapel called *Panagia Spiliotissa*, or our *Lady of the Grotto*, in a hollow of the rock above the Theatre of Bacchus, at the south-east angle of the Acropolis; which a Greek spy, a native of Candia, had pointed out to the Venetians as a proper place to serve as a mine in blowing

(1) An engraving of this statue, from a drawing by the celebrated Flaxman, was made for Mr. Wilkins's Antiquities of Magna Græcia (p. 71). For a further account of it, see "*Greek Marbles*," p. 9. No. XI. *Camb.* 1809. The author is however fully disposed to agree in the opinion which was first suggested by Flaxman, that the burden upon the head (which, from the appearance of the iron cramp, must have been equal in size to the whole mass of the marble) was the identical trophy mentioned by Lucian.

blowing up the citadel[2]. *Guilletiere* persuaded himself that the *Panagia* was nothing less than the actual grotto once dedicated to *Apollo* and *Pan*, which is mentioned by Euripides in two or three of his tragedies[3]. Seven years after *Guilletiere's* visit, the same cavern was examined by *Wheler* and by *Spon;* both of whom deny that it was the Grotto of Pan, as mentioned by *Guilletiere;* and they place the real Grotto of Pan upon the northern side of the Citadel, beneath the Pelasgic Wall, according to the testimonies of Euripides and of Lucian[4]. Chandler afterwards confirmed their observations[5]: and in this state the question now rests; no one having since expressed any doubt upon the subject.

As we drew near to the present entrance of the Citadel, we passed before the *façade* of the *Propylæa*; the old entrance to the Acropolis between its Doric pillars being walled up. The Turkish guard at the gate suffered us to pass as soon as we mentioned the name of *Lusieri;* and one of them offered to conduct us to the spot where he was then at work. We found him in the midst of the ruins of the *Erecthéum*, seated upon a heap of stones, with his drawing

(2) Voyage d'Athens par Sr. De la Guilletiere, p. 180. *Paris*, 1675.

(3) "Dés que nous fusmes sortis de *Panagia*, j'obligeay nos gens à tourner la tête pour y regarder avec plus d'attention, parce que je les fis souvenir que c'estoit là *cette Grotte* si célébre dans l'antiquité, &c. Grace à la dureté du rocher, c'est là le plus entier de tous les célébres monumens qui nous sont restez de l'ancienne Athénes. Euripide a parlé de *cet antre*, en deux ou trois endroits de ses trajédies." *Ibid. p.* 179.

(4) Euripid. in Ion. vv. 17, 501, 936. Lucian, as before cited. See Wheler's Journey into Greece, p. 369. *Lond.* 1682. Also Voyage par Jacob Spon, tom. II. p. 97. *à la Haye*, 1724.

(5) Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 59. *Oxford*, 1776.

CHAP. XII.

drawing implements before him, equally surprised and delighted to see us once more, and in such a place. It happened that the very pencil which he was then using was one of several, made by Middleton, which the author had conveyed for him from England to Naples many years before. He had only two remaining: and he considered them of so much importance to the perfection of his designs, that he would willingly have purchased more at an equal weight of gold; using them only in tracing the *outline*, and as sparingly as possible. The best illustration of his remark was in a sight of the *outlines* he had then finished. It might have been said of the time he had spent in Athens, as of Apelles, "*Nulla dies sine lineâ:* but such was the extraordinary skill and application shewn in the designs he was then completing, that every grace and beauty of the sculpture, every fair and exquisite proportion, every trace of the injuries which time had effected upon the building, every vein in the marble, were visible in the drawing; and in such perfection, that even the nature and qualities of the stone itself might be recognised in the contour[1]. He would not hear of our descending again from the Acropolis before the

(1) Whoever may hereafter be the possessor of these Drawings, will have in the mere *outlines* (for it is impossible this artist can ever finish the collection he has made) a representation of the antiquities and beautiful scenery of Greece, inferior to nothing but the actual sight of them. Hitherto no Mæcenas has dignified himself by any thing deserving the title of a patron of such excellence. Many have bought his designs when he could be induced to part with them, by which means he has barely obtained subsistence; and he is too passionately attached to the sources which Athens has afforded to his genius, to abandon Greece, even for the neglect which, in his letters to the author, he complains of having there experienced.

the evening: but gave us a recommendation to the house of a widow, sister of the late English Consul, where he said we might be comfortably lodged; and to which he promised to conduct us, after dining with him and the *Disdar* or Governor of the citadel, in the midst of the splendid remains of architecture and sculpture by which we were surrounded. He became our guide to all the different buildings; and began by shewing us the PARTHENON. Some workmen, employed under his direction for the British Ambassador, were then engaged in making preparation, by means of ropes and pulleys, for taking down the *metopes*, where the sculpture remained the most perfect. The *Disdar* himself came to view the work, but with evident marks of dissatisfaction; and *Lusieri* told us that it was with great difficulty he could accomplish this part of his undertaking, from the attachment the Turks entertained towards a building which they had been accustomed to regard with religious veneration, and had converted into a mosque. We confessed that we participated the Mahometan feeling in this instance, and would gladly see an order enforced to preserve rather than to destroy such a glorious edifice. After a short time spent in examining the several parts of the temple, one of the workmen came to inform *Don Battista* that they were then going to lower one of the *metopes*. We saw this fine piece of sculpture raised from its station between the *triglyphs*: but the workmen endeavouring to give it a position adapted to the projected line of descent, a part of the adjoining masonry was loosened by the machinery; and down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble,

Spoliation of the Temples.

CHAP. XII.

marble, scattering their white fragments with thundering noise among the ruins. The *Disdar*, seeing this, could no longer restrain his emotions; but actually took his pipe from his mouth, and, letting fall a tear, said in a most emphatical tone of voice, "Τέλος!" positively declaring that nothing should induce him to consent to any further dilapidation of the building[1]. Looking up, we saw with regret the gap that had been made; which all the ambassadors of the earth, with all the sovereigns they represent, aided by every resource that wealth and talent can now bestow, will never again repair. As to our friend *Lusieri*, it is hardly necessary to exculpate him;

(1) This man was, however, poor, and had a family to support; consequently he was unable to withstand the temptations which a little money, accompanied by splendid promises, offered to the necessities of his situation. So far from adhering to his resolution, he was afterwards gradually prevailed upon to allow all the finest pieces of sculpture belonging to the Parthenon to be taken down; and succeeding travellers speak with concern of the injuries the building has sustained, exclusively of the loss caused by the removal of the *metopes*. One example of this nature may be mentioned; which, while it shews the havoc that has been carried on, will also prove the want of taste and utter barbarism of the undertaking. In one of the angles of the pediment which was over the eastern *façade* of the temple, there was a *horse's head*, supposed to be intended for the *horse of Neptune* issuing from the earth, when struck by his trident, during his altercation with *Minerva* for the possession of Attica. The head of this animal had been so judiciously placed by Phidias, that, to a spectator below, it seemed to be rising from an abyss, foaming, and struggling to burst from its confined situation, with a degree of energy suited to the greatness and dignity of its character. All the *perspective of the sculpture* (if such an expression be admissible), and certainly all the harmony and fitness of its proportions, and all the effect of attitude and force of composition, depended upon the work being viewed precisely at the distance in which Phidias designed that it should be seen. Its removal, therefore, from its situation amounted to nothing less than its destruction:—take it down, and all the aim of the sculptor is instantly frustrated! Could any one believe that this was actually done? and that it was done, too, in the name of a nation vain of its distinction in the Fine Arts? Nay more, that in doing this, finding the removal of this piece of sculpture could not be effected without destroying the

him; because he could only obey the orders he had received, and this he did with manifest reluctance: neither was there a workman employed in the undertaking, among the artists sent out of Rome for that purpose, who did not express his concern that such havoc should be deemed necessary, after *moulds* and *casts* had been already made of all the sculpture which it was designed to remove. The author would gladly have avoided the introduction of this subject: but as he was an eye-witness of these proceedings, it constitutes a part of the duties he has to fulfil in giving the narrative of his travels; and if his work be destined to survive him, it

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the entire angle of the pediment, the work of destruction was allowed to proceed even to this extent also? Thus the form of the temple has sustained a greater injury than it had already experienced from the Venetian artillery; and the *horse's head* has been removed, to be placed where it exhibits nothing of its original effect: like the acquisition said to have been made by another Nobleman, who, being delighted at a puppet-show, bought punch, and was chagrined to find when he carried him home that the figure had lost all its humour. Yet we are seriously told, (*Memorandum, p.* 8. *Lond.* 1811.) that this mischief has been done with a view to "rescue these specimens of sculpture from impending ruin:" then, why not exert the same influence which was employed in removing them, to induce the Turkish Government to adopt measures for their effectual preservation! Ah no! a wiser scheme was in agitation: it was at first attempted to have them all *mended* by some modern artist!!! (*See Memor. p.* 39.) From this calamity they were rescued by the good taste of *Canova.* (*Ibid.*) The sight of them (*Memor. p.* 42.) "so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs. Siddons, *the pride of theatrical representation,* as actually to draw tears from her eyes." And who marvels at such emotion?

"Cold is the heart, fair Greece! that looks on thee,
Nor feels as lovers o'er the dust they lov'd;
Dull is the eye that will not weep to see
Thy walls defac'd, thy mouldering shrines remov'd
By British hands, which it had best behov'd
To guard those relics—ne'er to be restor'd.
Curst be the hour when from their isle they rov'd,
And once again thy hapless bosom gor'd,
And snatch'd thy shrinking Gods to northern climes abhorr'd."

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto II. 15. *Lond.* 1812.

CHAP. XII.

it shall not, by its taciturnity with regard to the spoliation of the Athenian temples, seem to indicate any thing like an approval of the measures which have tended so materially towards their destruction.

Comparison between the Grecian and Roman Buildings.

To a person who has seen the ruins of Rome, the first suggestion made by a sight of the buildings in the Acropolis is that of the infinite superiority of the Athenian architecture. It possesses the greatness and majesty of the Egyptian, or of the antient Etruscan style, with all the elegant proportions, the rich ornaments, and the discriminating taste of the most splendid æra of the Arts. "Accustomed as we were," said Stuart[1], in speaking of the Parthenon, "to the antient and modern magnificence of Rome, and, by what we had heard and read, impressed with an advantageous opinion of what we were come to see, we found the image our fancy had preconceived greatly inferior to the real object." Yet Wheler, who upon such a subject cannot be considered as of equal authority with Stuart, says of the monuments of antiquity yet remaining in Athens[2], "I dare prefer them before any place in the world, *Rome only excepted.*" If there be existing upon the earth any buildings which may fairly be brought into a comparison with the *Parthenon*, they are the temples of *Pæstum* in Lucania; but even these can only be so with reference to their superior antiquity, to their severe simplicity, and to the perfection of design visible in their structure: in graceful proportion, in

(1) Antiquities of Athens, vol. II. p. 9. *Lond.* 1787.

(2) Journey into Greece, Book V. p. 357. *Lond.* 1682.

in magnificence, in costliness of materials, in splendid decoration, and in every thing that may denote the highest degree of improvement to which the Doric style of architecture ever attained, they are vastly inferior. This is at least the author's opinion. Lusieri, however, entertained different sentiments; and his authority upon such a subject is much more worthy of the reader's attention. Lusieri had resided at *Pæstum;* and had dedicated to those buildings a degree of study which, added to his knowledge of the arts, well qualified him to decide upon a question as to the relative merits of the *Athenian* and *Posidonian* specimens of Grecian architecture. His opinion is very remarkable: he considered the temples of *Pæstum* as examples of a purer style; or, as he termed it, of a more correct and classical taste. "In those buildings," said he, "the Doric order attained a pre-eminence beyond which it never passed; not a stone has been there placed without some evident and important design; every part of the structure bespeaks its own essential utility." He held the same opinion with regard to the Temple of the *Panhellenian Jupiter* in the Island of Ægina. "Of such a nature," he added, "were works in architecture, when the whole aim of the architect was to unite grandeur with utility; the former being founded on the latter. All then was truth, strength, and sublimity." According to his opinion, a different character is applicable to the Parthenon. In this building, the Doric, having attained its due proportions, was supposed to be displayed with every perfection which the arts of Greece could accomplish; but this has not been the case. In all that relates to harmony, elegance,

Athenian, Posidonian, and Æginetan Architecture.

execution,

CHAP. XII.

execution, beauty, proportion, the Parthenon stands a *chef-d'œuvre*; every portion of the sculpture by which it is so highly decorated has all the delicacy of a caméo: but still there are faults in the building, and proofs of negligence, which are not found in the temples of Pæstum; and these Lusieri considered as striking evidences of the state of public morals in the gay days of Pericles; for he said it was evident that he had been cheated by his workmen. He pointed those defects out to us. Above the architrave, behind the *metopes* and *triglyphs*, there are vacuities sufficiently spacious for a person to walk in, which, in some instances, and perhaps in all, had been carelessly filled with loose materials; but at Pæstum the same parts of the work are of solid stone, particularly near the angles of those temples; which consist of such prodigious masses, that it is inconceivable how they were raised and adjusted. In other parts of the Parthenon there are also superfluities; which are unknown in the buildings of Pæstum, where nothing superfluous can be discerned. These remarks, as they were made by an intelligent artist, who, with leisure and abilities for the inquiry, has paid more attention to the subject than any one else, we have been careful to preserve. For our own parts, in viewing the Parthenon, we were so much affected by its solemn appearance, and so much dazzled by its general splendor and magnificence, that we should never have ventured to this critical examination of the parts composing it; nor could we be persuaded entirely to acquiesce in the opinion thus founded upon a comparison of it with the *Posidonian* and *Æginetan* buildings. Often as it has been described, the spectator

spectator who for the first time approaches it finds that nothing he has read can give any idea of the effect produced in beholding it. Yet was there once found in England a writer of eminence in his profession as an architect[1], who recommended the study of Roman antiquities in Italy and in France, in preference to the remains of Grecian architecture in Athens; and who, deciding upon the works of Phidias, Callicrates, and Ictinus, without ever having had an opportunity to examine them but in books and prints, ventured to maintain that the Parthenon was not so considerable an edifice as the Church of St. Martin in London; thereby affording a remarkable proof of the impossibility of obtaining from any written description, or even from engraved representation, any adequate idea of the buildings of Antient Greece; compared with whose stupendous works, the puny efforts of modern art are but as the labours of children.

By means of the scaffolds raised against the Parthenon for the *Formatori* and for other artists who were engaged in moulding and making drawings from the sculpture upon the frieze, we were enabled to ascend to all the higher parts of the building, and to examine with the minutest attention all the ornaments of this glorious edifice. The sculpture on the *metopes*, representing the Combats of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, is in such bold relief, that the figures

(1) See a Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, by Sir William Chambers, pp. 19, 21, &c. Third edition. *Lond.* 1791.—Also Reveley's Reply, in his Pref. to the Third Volume of Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, p. 10. *Lond.* 1794.

CHAP. XII.

Cause of the Injuries sustained in the Sculpture of the *Parthenon*.

figures are all of them statues: upon coming close to the work, and examining the state of the marble, it was evident that a very principal cause of the injuries it had sustained was owing, not, as it has been asserted[1], to "the *zeal of the early Christians*[2], the barbarism of the Turks, or to the explosions which took place when the temple was used as a powder magazine," but, to the decomposition of the stone itself, in consequence of the action of the atmosphere during so many ages. The mischief has originated in the sort of marble which was used for the building; this, not being entirely homogeneous, is characterized by a tendency to exfoliate when long exposed to air and moisture. Any person may be convinced of this, who will examine the specimens of sculpture which have been since removed to this country from the *Parthenon*; although being expressly selected as the most perfect examples of the work, they do not exhibit this decomposition so visibly as the remaining parts of the building. But throughout the *metopes*, and in all the exquisite

(1) Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, p. 11. *Lond.* 1811.

(2) In the little Tract which the author published in 1803, containing the "Testimonies of different Authors respecting the Statue of Ceres," p. 4. and also in his Account of the "Cambridge Marbles" published in 1809, p. 15. he attributed to "*the zeal of the early Christians*" a part of the injury done to the Temple at Eleusis. He has since been much amused by finding the same expression adopted by the writer of the Earl of Elgin's "*Memorandum*" above cited, where the "*early Christians*" are made also responsible for the injury done to the *metopes* of the Parthenon (See *Memorandum, p.* 11). Now, abating the *long arms*, or the *long ladders*, which the said Christians must have called into action to reach the entablature of this building, it does not appear highly probable that the very people who consecrated the Parthenon, as Wheler says, "*to serve God in*," would take so much pains to disfigure and to destroy their place of worship.

exquisite sculpture of the frieze which surrounded the outside of the cell of the temple, this may be observed: a person putting his hand behind the figures, or upon the plinth, where the parts have been less exposed to the atmosphere, may perceive the polished surface, as it was left when the work was finished, still preserving a high degree of smoothness; but the exterior parts of the stone have been altered by *weathering*; and where veins of schistus in the marble have been affected by decomposition, considerable parts have fallen off. Yet to operate an effect of this nature it required the lapse of twenty-three centuries; and we may fairly conclude that what remained had undergone sufficient trial to have continued unaltered for a series of ages: at all events it would have been safe from the injuries to which the finest parts of the sculpture have been since so lamentably exposed, when they were torn from the temple, either to be swallowed by the waves of *Cythera*, or to moulder under the influence of a climate peculiarly qualified to assist their progress towards destruction[3].

It is with reluctance that the author omits a description of the whole of the sculpture upon the frieze beneath the ceiling of the *Peripterus*[4]. To an artist, the boldness and masterly execution of the *metopes* may be more interesting; but a sight of the splendid solemnity of the whole *Panathenaic Festival*, represented by the best artists of Antient Greece, in

Splendid Representation of the *Panathenæa*.

(3) "The Ambassador has carried off every rich morsel of sculpture that was to be found in the *Parthenon*: so that he, in future, who wishes to see Athens, must make a journey to Scotland." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

(4) For a full account of it, see Stuart's Athens, vol. II. p. 12. *Lond.* 1787.

CHAP. XII.

in one continued picture above three feet in height, and originally six hundred feet in length, of which a very considerable portion now remains, is alone worth a journey to Athens; nor will any scholar deem the undertaking to be unprofitable who should visit Greece for this alone.

Description of the Work.

The whole population of the antient city, animated by the bustle and business of the *Panathenæa*, seems to be exhibited by this admirable work; persons of either sex and of every age, priests, charioteers, horsemen, cattle, victors, youths, maidens, victims, gods, and heroes, all enter into the procession; every countenance expresses the earnestness and greatness of the occasion; and every magnificence of costume, and varied disposition of the subject, add to the effect of the representation. It is somewhere said of Phidias, that, as a sculptor, he particularly excelled in his statues of horses: perhaps some notion may be conceived of the magic of his art, when it is related, that of a hundred horses introduced by him into the *Panathenaic pomp*, there are not two, either in the same attitude, or which are not characterized by a marked difference of expression. Some circumstances were made known to us by our being able to examine the marble closely, which we did not know before; although they had been alluded to by Stuart[1]: the bridles of the horses were originally of gilded bronze; this we perceived by the holes left in the stone for affixing the metal, and also by little bits of the bronze itself, which the *Formatori* had

(1) Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. p. 14. *Lond.* 1787.

CHAP. XII.

Of the *Cothurnus*;

had found in the work. We should hardly have believed that such an article of dress as the leathern boot, with its top turned over the calf of the leg, was worn by the antient Athenian, as well as by English cavaliers, if we had not seen the *Cothurnus* so represented upon the figures of some of the young horsemen in this procession; and as coxcomically adapted to the shape of the leg, and set off with as great nicety, as for a Newmarket jockey. Another singular piece of foppery, worn also by the Athenian beaux, consisted of a light gipsey hat, perhaps made of straw, tied with ribbands under the chin. We noticed the figure of a young horseman with one of these hats, who seemed from his appearance in the procession to be a person of distinction, curbing a galloping steed; but the wind had blown the hat from his head, and, being held by the ribbands about the neck, it hung behind the rider, as if floating in the air: the sculptor having evidently availed himself of this representation to heighten the appearance of action in the groupe, and nothing could be more spirited. That this kind of hat was considered as a mark of distinction, seems to be probable, from the circumstance of its being still worn by the Patriarchs of the Greek church[2]: it appears upon the head of the Patriarch of Constantinople, as he is represented by a wood-cut in the work of Martin Crusius[3]; but perhaps in the latter instance it should rather be considered as the *petasus*[4], than the

and *Petasus*, or *Pileus*.

(2) See Part I. of these Travels, p. 150. Second Edit. *Broxbourn*, 1811.

(3) Turco-Græcia, p. 106. *Basil.* 1583.

(4) Vid. Lipsius de Amphitheat. c. 19.

CHAP. XII.

the *pileus*. Also, by attending to its appearance upon Grecian vases of *terra cotta*, we may perceive that it was worn by no common individuals. A beautiful figure of *Actæon*, with this kind of hat, is preserved upon one of the Greek Marbles in the University Library at Cambridge[1]; and another representation of the same person, similarly attired, appears upon the *Neapolitan Vase*[2], where there is also an effigy of Castor with the *pileus* upon his head; for *Actæon*, in both instances, is figured with his head uncovered, the hat hanging, by its ribbands, in graceful negligence behind his shoulders; and after this manner it is more frequently represented. Among the Romans, who rarely used any covering for the head, the *pileus*, when worn, was the distinguishing badge of freed-men; and the use of it, as a privilege, was granted to persons who had obtained their liberty. In the Heroic age no kind of hats were worn, if we may judge from the Poems of Homer, where there is no allusion to any such article of apparel. Indeed, Eustathius affirms that the Romans derived their custom of going bareheaded from the Greeks[3]: hence it may almost be proved, that in this bas-relief, (as nothing was ever introduced by antient artists into their designs without some symbolic allusion,) the hat was

(1) This marble represents the body of an Amphora, about three feet in length, from the shore of the Propontis. It was presented to the University by Mr. Spencer Smith, late Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, and brother of Sir Sidney Smith. The sculpture is in low relief, but it is very antient.

(2) Now in the possession of Mr. Edwards of Harrow, late bookseller in Pall Mall, London.

(3) Vid. Eustath. in Homer. Odyss. lib. i.

was intended as a distinguishing token; and its appearance is the more interesting, because it has been the opinion of antiquaries that this frieze contained the portraits of the leading characters at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war; particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, and Alcibiades[4].

We saw with the same advantage all the remaining sculpture of this stately edifice; visiting it often afterwards to examine the different parts more leisurely. Among the remains of the sculpture in the western pediment, which is in a very ruined state, the artists had observed, not only the traces of paint with which the statues had antiently been covered, but also of gilding. It was usual to gild the hair of the statues which represented *Deities*, and sometimes other parts of the bodies. This practice remained to a very late period of the art, as it has been already shewn in a former part of this work[5]. During an excavation which Lusieri had carried on here, he had discovered the antient pavement, in its entire state; consisting of the same white marble as the temple. We found an Inscription, which proves how antient the custom was of pronouncing the Greek B like the Roman V, by the manner of writing a name which must have been their *Victorinus*: "PHANÉAS, HIEROPHANT, SON OF VICTORINUS."

Practice of gilding and painting the Statues.

ΦΑΝΕΙΑCΤΗCΒΙΚΤΩΡΕΙ
ΝΟΥΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗC

Among

(4) See Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, p. 12. *Lond.* 1811.

(5) See Chap. IV. p. 148. of this Section.

CHAP. XII.

Marbles used in the Acropolis.

Among the ruins of this and of other buildings in the Acropolis, we noticed the fragments of almost every kind of marble, and of the most beautiful varieties of *breccia;* but particularly of the *verd-antique,* entire columns of which had once adorned the *Erecthéum:* under a heap of loose stones and rubbish in the centre of it, we discovered the broken shaft of a verd-antique pillar of uncommon beauty: this we purchased of the Disdar; and having with great difficulty removed it from the Acropolis, we sent it to England[1]. A bluish-grey limestone was also used in some of the works; particularly in the exquisite ornaments of the *Erecthéum,* where the frieze of the temple and of its porticoes are not of marble, like the rest of the building, but of this sort of slate-like limestone: the tympanum of the pediment is likewise of the same stone; a singular circumstance truly, and requiring some explanation[2]. It resembles the limestone employed in the walls of the Cella of the Temple of Ceres at Eleusis, and in buildings before the use of marble was known for purposes of architecture; such, for example, as the sort of stone employed in the Temple of Apollo at Phigalia[3], and in other edifices of equal antiquity: it effervesces briskly in acids, and has

Singular Construction of the *Erecthéum.*

(1) It is now in the Vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge. See "Greek Marbles," No. XVII. p. 39. *Camb.* 1809.

(2) For this fact the author is indebted to Mr. Wilkins, author of the Antiquities of Magna Græcia, &c.

(3) Specimens of this slate-like limestone were brought to the author for the Mineralogical Lecture at Cambridge, from the Temple of the Phigalian Apollo in the Morea, by Mr. Walpole. It is also found upon Parnassus, and in other parts of Greece. Some of the limestone of Parnassus breaks with a conchoïdal fracture, and is hard enough to cut glass.

has all the properties of common compact limestone; except that it is hard enough to cut glass, and of course is susceptible of a fine polish; exhibiting a flat conchoïdal fracture, which is somewhat splintery. We could not discover a single fragment of porphyry; which is remarkable, as this substance was almost always used by the Antients in works of great magnificence. Among the loose fragments dispersed in the Acropolis, we found a small piece of marble with an inscription, but in so imperfect a state, that it is only worth notice as a memorial of the place where it was found, and in its allusion to the *Prytanéum*, which is the only legible part of it[4]. That the *Prytanéum*, where the written laws of Solon were kept[5], was not situated near to the spot, but in the lower city, may be easily proved. Yet some have believed that it was in the Acropolis; owing to that remarkable passage in Pausanias, which sets at rest the mistaken opinion of Ptolemy's importation of the worship of Serapis into Egypt; Memphis having been the original source of this superstition, both for the Alexandrians and the Athenians[6]. After speaking of the *Prytanéum*, Pausanias says[7], "Hence, to those going towards *the lower parts of the*

Of the *Prytanéum*.

(4) Now in the Vestibule at Cambridge. See "Greek Marbles," No. XXX. p. 52. *Camb.* 1809.

(5) Πλησίον δὲ Πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι. Pausaniæ, lib. i. c. 18. p. 41. *Lips.* 1696.

(6) See Chap. VII. of this Section, p. 281. Note (6) of this Volume.

(7) Ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως, Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος, ἐπιφανέστατον μέν ἐστιν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει. Pausaniæ, lib. i. c. 18. p. 42. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XII.

the city, the Temple of Serapis presents itself; whose worship the Athenians received from Ptolemy:" adding, "Among the Egyptian fanes of this Deity, *the most renowned* indeed is that of Alexandria, but *the most antient* that of Memphis." But, in answer to this, it may be observed, that the same author also *ascends* from the *Prytanéum* along the *street of the Tripods*, towards the *Propylæa*[1]. Moreover, it is recorded, that the tablets of the laws which had been preserved in the Citadel were afterwards removed to the *Prytanéum*[2]; and they were termed τὰς κάτωθεν νόμους, because they were kept in the *lower* city.

Erecthéum.

With regard to the *Erecthéum*, which is situated at the distance of about a hundred and fifty feet to the north of the *Parthenon*, it has generally been described as consisting of three contiguous temples; that of *Erectheus*, of *Minerva Polias*, and of *Pandrosus*. Stuart considered the eastern part of the building alone as being the *Erecthéum*; the part to the westward as that of *Minerva*; and the adjoining edifice on the south side, distinguished by the Caryatides supporting the entablature and roof, as the chapel which was dedicated to the Nymph *Pandrosus*[3]. This opinion has been adopted by other writers[4]: but it seems more consistent

(1) Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες. Pausan. lib. i. c. 20. p. 46. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) Jul. Pollux, lib. viii. c. 10. *Amst.* 1706.

(3) Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. chap. 2. p. 16. *Lond.* 1787.

(4) "Near the Parthenon are *three* temples." (*Memorandum of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, p.* 23. *Lond.* 1811.) See also *Chandler's Trav. in Greece, chap.* 11. *p.* 52. *Oxf.* 1786. &c. &c.

Preaux del.

Etched by Letitia Byrne.

TEMPLE of ERECTHEUS at ATHENS.

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consistent with the description and allusions to this building in the works of antient authors, to suppose that the whole structure was called *Erecthéum*, consisting only of two contiguous temples; that of *Minerva Polias*, with its portico towards the east; and that of *Pandrosus* towards the west, with its two porticoes standing by the north and south angles, the entrance to the *Pandroseum* being on the northern side[5]. Pausanias[6] calls the whole building EPEXΘEION, and he decidedly describes it, not as of a *triple*, but as of a *duple* form[7]; and in the succeeding chapter he mentions the two parts of which it consisted, naming them the Temples of *Pandrosus* and *Minerva*[8]. The sepulchral origin of the *Parthenon*, as of all the Athenian temples, has been already proved; and the same historian who has preserved a record of the situation of the *sepulchre of Cecrops* also informs us that the *tomb of Ericthonius* existed in the Temple of Minerva Polias[9]. The Turks had made a powder-magazine of one of the vestibules of

Temples of *Pandrosus* and *Minerva Polias*.

(5) See a Plan of these buildings by Mr. W. Wilkins, author of the Antiquities of Magna Græcia, &c. as engraved for Mr. Walpole's Selections from the MS. Journals of Travellers in the Levant.

(6) Ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον. Pausan. lib. i. c. 26. p. 62. *Lips.* 1696.

(7) Καὶ διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἴκημα. Ibid.

(8) Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι. Ibid. c. 27. p. 64. *Lips.* 1696.

(9) Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, Κέκροπος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· τί δαὶ Ἐρικθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδευται. "Athenis autem in ipsâ pariter Acropoli, Cecropis, ut Antiochus Historiarum nono scriptum reliquit. Quid porrò Ericthonius? nonne in Poliadis templo sepultus est?" *Clementis Alexandrini Cohortatio ad Gentes, tom.* I. *p.* 39. *Oxon.* 1715.

CHAP. XII.

of this building; so that it was necessary to creep through a hole in the wall in order to see the finest specimen of Ionic architecture now existing: it was an inner door of one of the temples; and it has been judiciously remarked[1] of the sculpture everywhere displayed in this edifice, that "it is difficult to conceive how marble has been wrought to such a depth and brought to so sharp an edge, the different ornaments having all the delicacy of works in metal." Lusieri, for whom and for the other artists this passage had been opened, said, that he considered the workmanship of the frieze and cornice, and of the Ionic capitals, as the most admirable specimens of the art of sculpture in the world: he came daily to examine it, with additional gratification and wonder. He directed our attention to the extraordinary state of preservation in which the Caryatides of the *Pandroseum* still remained; passing the hand over the surface of the marble upon the necks of these statues, it seemed to retain its original polish in the highest perfection. Within this

Of the Olive:

building, so late as the second century, was preserved the olive-tree mentioned by Apollodorus[2], which was said to be as old as the foundation of the citadel. Stuart supposed it to have stood in the portico of the Temple of *Pandrosus* (called by him the *Pandroseum*), from the circumstance of the air necessary for its support, which could here be admitted between the Caryatides; but instances of trees that have been preserved unto a very great age, within the interior

(1) Memorandum, &c. p. 24. *Lond.* 1811.

(2) Vid. Pausan. lib. i. c. 27. p. 64. *Lips.* 1696.

interior of an edifice inclosed by walls, may be adduced. The building was of course erected subsequently to the growth of the tree, and was in some degree adapted to its form. A very curious relique of this kind may be seen at Cawdor Castle, near Inverness in Scotland; in which building a hawthorn-tree of great antiquity is very remarkably preserved. Tradition relates, that the original proprietor of the edifice was directed by a dream to build a castle exactly upon the spot where the tree was found; and this was done in such a manner as to leave no doubt but that the tree existed long before the structure was erected. The trunk of this tree, with the knotty protuberances left by its branches, is still shewn[3] in a vaulted apartment at the bottom of the principal tower: its roots branch out beneath the floor, and its top penetrates the vaulted arch of stone above, in such a manner that any person seeing it is convinced the masonry was adjusted to the shape and size of the plant, a space being left for its admission through the top of the vault. The *hawthorn-tree* of Cawdor Castle, and the traditionary superstition to which it has owed its preservation during a lapse of centuries, may serve as a parallel to the history of the *Athenian Olive*, by exhibiting an example nearly similar; the one being considered as the *Palladium* of an antient Highland Clan[4], and the other regarded as the most sacred

(3) The author saw it in 1797. The name of the building, as it is now pronounced, is not *Cawdor*, but *Calder* Castle.

(4) It had been a custom, from time immemorial, for guests in the castle to assemble around this tree, and drink "*Success to the hawthorn*," or, in other words, "*Prosperity to the house of Cawdor.*" The first toast after dinner in a Welch mansion is, generally, "*The chief beam of the house.*"

CHAP. XII. *and of the Well.*

sacred relique of the Cecropian Citadel. Within the *Erectheum* was the Well of *salt* water, also shewn as a mark of the contest for Attica between Neptune and Minerva[1]. This *well* is mentioned by Wheler[2], who could not obtain permission to see it: he was assured that it was "almost dry" when he visited the Acropolis: but before Wheler arrived in Athens it had been seen and very curiously described by Guilletiere, whose account of the notions entertained concerning it by the inhabitants exactly corresponds with all that Pausanias had related of its antient history[3]. The existence of the well, in such a remarkable situation, identifies the *Erectheum* better than any proof derived from the present appearance of the building.

We dined with Signor Lusieri and the artists who were his fellow-labourers in the Acropolis, upon a boiled kid and some rice. Honey from Mount Hymettus was served, of such extraordinary toughness and consistency, although quite transparent, that the dish containing it might be turned with its bottom upwards without spilling a drop; and the surface of it might also be indented with the edge of a knife, yielding to the impression without separation, like a mass of dough. As an article of food, it is reckoned very heating; and persons who eat much of it are liable to fever.

(1) Pausan, lib. i. c. 26. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) Journey into Greece, p. 364. *Lond.* 1682.

(3) "Au sortir du temple nous vîmes, à cinquante pas de là, ce puys célébre, dont on a toujours parlé comme d'une des merveilles de la Nature; et adjourd'huy les Athéniens le content pour une des plus curieuses raretéz de leur pays. Son eau est salée, et a la couleur de celle de la mer: toutes les fois que le vent du midy souffle, elle est agitée, et fait un grand bruit dans le fond du puys." *Voyage d'Athénes, p.* 298. *à Paris*, 1675.

fever. We tasted the wine of Athens, which is unpleasant to those who are not accustomed to it, from the quantity of resin and lime infused as substitutes for brandy. After dinner we examined the remains of the PROPYLÆA; concerning which we have little to add to the remarks already published. Over the entrance may be seen one of those enormous slabs of marble, called *marble beams* by Wheler[4]; and to which Pausanias particularly alluded, when, in describing the Propylæa, he said, that, even in his time, nothing surpassing the beauty of the workmanship, or the magnitude of the stones used in the building, had ever been seen[5]. We have since compared the dimensions of this slab with those of an architrave of much greater size, namely, that which covers the entrance to the great sepulchre at *Mycenæ;* for it is remarkable that Pausanias, who would have mentioned the fact if he had seen the latter, gives a very detailed account of the ruins of that city, and yet takes no notice of the most prodigious mass perhaps ever raised for any purpose of architecture, and which is nearly four times as large[6] as any

Propylæa.

(4) Journey into Greece, Book V. p. 359. *Lond.* 1682.

(5) Τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει, καὶ κάρμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 21. p. 51. *Lips.* 1696.

(6) The slab at *Mycenæ* is of granite, twenty-seven feet long, seventeen feet wide, and above four feet and a half in thickness. That which remains at the *Propylæa* is of white marble, cut with the utmost precision and evenness: its length is seventeen feet nine inches. The former has quite an Ægyptian character: the latter bespeaks the finer art of a much later period in history. But the slab of marble at the *Propylæa* is not the largest even in Athens: an architrave belonging to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius exceeds it in cubical dimensions: the length of this architrave equals twenty-two feet six inches; its width three feet; and its height six feet six inches. *See Stuart's Athens. Pref. to vol.* III. *p.* 9. *Lond.* 1794.

CHAP. XII.

any of the stones that so much excited his admiration in viewing the Propylæa. This magnificent building, fronting the only entrance to the Citadel, has also experienced some of the effects of the same ill-judged rapacity which was levelled against the Parthenon. If the influence of a better spirit do not prevent a repetition of similar "*Pursuits in Greece*," Athens will sustain more damage in being visited by travellers, calling themselves *persons of taste*, than when it was forgotten by the world, and entirely abandoned to its barbarian possessors: in a few years, the traveller even upon the spot must be content to glean his intelligence from the representation afforded by books of Travels, who is desirous to know what remained of the Fine Arts so lately as the time in which the city was visited by Wheler, by Chandler, or by Stuart. We afterwards examined the remains of the original walls of the Acropolis; and observed some appearances in the work which had not at that time, as far as we were informed, been noticed by preceding travellers. They exhibit *three* distinct periods of construction; that is to say, the *masonry of modern times* in the repairs; a style of building which can only be referred to the *age of Cimon*, or of *Pericles*; and the antient *Pelasgic* work, as mentioned by Lucian[1]. This was pointed out to us by Lusieri; but the circumstance which had escaped his notice, and which we afterwards ascertained, was, that a row of *triglyphs*, and intervening *metopes*, had been continued all round the upper part of the walls, immediately beneath

Walls of the Acropolis.

(1) Bis Accusatus, tom. VII. p. 60. *Bipont.* 1790.

beneath the coping. Other travellers have since observed and mentioned this fact[2]: hence it is evident, from the circumference of the Acropolis being thus characterized by the symbols of sacred architecture, that the whole *peribolus* was considered as one vast and solemn sanctuary. We have an instance of the same kind of sanctuary in modern times, and in our own age. The *Kremlin* at Moscow, the Acropolis of a city whose inhabitants have preserved, with their religion, many a remnant of Grecian manners, is in like manner held sacred by the people; and no person is permitted to pass the "*Holy Gate,*" leading to the interior, but with his head uncovered[3].

Odéum of Regilla.

We then descended, to visit the *Odéum of Regilla,* (the building we had passed in the morning,) at the foot of the rock of the Acropolis, and upon its south-western side[4]. The remains of this edifice are those which Wheler and all former travellers, excepting Chandler, even to the time of Stuart, have described as the Theatre of Bacchus. Chandler considered it as the *Odéum* of Pericles, rebuilt by Herodes Atticus. But Pausanias, speaking of the *Odéum* erected by Herodes in memory of his wife, mentions it as an original structure. It was therefore distinct both from the edifice erected by Pericles and from the Theatre of Bacchus; so that perhaps no doubt will hereafter be entertained upon the

(2) Memorandum, &c. p. 28. *Lond.* 1811.

(3) See Part I. of these Travels, Chap. VII. p. 113. Second Edit. *Broxb.* 1811.

(4) See the Plan of Athens, engraved as a Vignette to this Chapter.

CHAP. XII.

the subject, as far as this building is concerned[1]. All the remaining parts of this most costly theatre are, *first*, three rows of circular arches, one row above another, facing the south-west; and these now constitute an outwork of the fortress, but originally they belonged to the exterior face of the *Scene: secondly*, the semicircular sweep or cavity within, for the seats of the spectators, at present almost choked with soil[2]. Nearly all that we know of the building is derived from an accidental allusion made to it by Pausanias, in his description of Achaia; for it was not erected, as he himself declares, when he had finished his account of Attica[3]. It was

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter. The *Odéum* of Pericles was on the *south-east side*, and, according to Vitruvius, upon the *left* of those who came out of the Theatre of Bacchus: "*Exeuntibus a theatro sinistrâ parte,* ODEUM, *quod Athenis Pericles columnis lapideis disposuit.*" (Vitruv. lib. v. c. 9.) It is this circumstance alone which has caused the *Odéum of Herodes* to be confounded with that Theatre; but the monument alluded to by Vitruvius was at the end of the *Street of the Tripods*, and between that street and the *Theatre of Bacchus*. There were three different monuments which had received the name of *Odéum*: one at the *south-east angle* of the Citadel, which was the *Odéum* of Pericles; another at the *south-west angle*, which was the *Odéum* of Herodes Atticus. The *Odéum* mentioned by Pausanias is again considered as *a third*: the Abbé Barthelemy believed the *Pnyx* to have been called *Odéum* by Pausanias. The subject is indeed somewhat embarrassed: and the reader who wishes to see it more fully illustrated, may consult the Notes to the 12th Chapter of the "Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis," tom. II. p. 542. *sur le Plan d'Athénes* (*à Paris*, 1790); and the authorities cited by its author.

(2) There is a fine view of the interior published in the second volume of Stuart's Athens, *ch.* iii. *Pl.* 1.; but the annexed representation, from a drawing by Preaux, will perhaps be found more faithful as to its external appearance. It also affords one of the most interesting views of the Acropolis; shewing the situation of the *Propylæa*, the *Parthenon*, and, to the right of the Theatre of Herodes, the site of the *long Porticoes* surmounted by the *two Choragic Pillars* near to the Theatre of Bacchus, the columns of Hadrian's *Temple of Olympian Jove*, and a distant view of the ridge of *Hymettus*.

(3) Pausaniæ Achaica, c. 20. p. 574. *Lips.* 1696.

Prowse delin.

Etch.d by Letitia Byrne.

Remains of the ODÉUM of REGILLA,

was raised by Herodes in memory of his wife, and considered as far surpassing in magnitude and in the costliness of its materials every other edifice of the kind in all Greece[4]. The roof of it was of cedar. The cavity for the seats was scooped in the solid rock of the Citadel; a practice so antient, that from this circumstance alone a person might be induced to believe, with Chandler, some more antient theatre existed upon the spot before Herodes added any thing to the work. The first thing that strikes a modern traveller, in viewing the Grecian theatres, is the shallowness of the *Proscenion,* or place for the stage. It is hardly possible to conceive how, either by the aid of painting or by scenic decoration, any tolerable appearance of distance or depth of view could be imitated. The actors must have appeared like our modern mountebanks upon a waggon, as to any effect of scenic deception. But so little is known of the plan of an antient theatre, particularly of the *Proscenion,* and the manner in which the Dramas were represented, that the most perfect remains which we have of such structures leave us still in the dark as to the parts necessary to compose the entire building. There is no traveller who has better compressed what antient and modern writers have said upon the subject, or in a more perspicuous manner, than *Guilletiere;* who piqued himself upon the value of his observations[5], although no one since has ever noticed them.

It

(4) Τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερῆκε κατασκευήν. Pausaniæ Achaica, c. 20. p. 574. *Lips.* 1696.

(5) " Je vous avouë franchement que c'est icy que je prétens bien vous faire valoir la peine de mes voyages, et le fruit de mes observations." *Voyage d'Athénes,* p. 306. *à Paris,* 1675.

CHAP. XII. It is observed by him[1], that among all the subjects of which antient authors have treated, that of the construction of their theatres is the most obscure, the most mutilated, and delivered with the most contradiction. Vitruvius, says he, conducts his readers only half way[2]: he gives neither the dimensions, nor the situation, nor the number of the principal parts; believing them to be sufficiently well known, and never once dreaming that they were likely to perish. For example, he does not determine the quantity of the *Diazomata*, or *Præcinctiones*, which we call *corridors, retreats*, or *landing-places*: and even in things which he does specify, he lays down rules which we actually find were never attended to; as when he tells of two distinct elevations observed in the construction of their rows of benches, and neither the one nor the other accords with any thing now remaining of the antient theatres. Among modern writers, the Jesuit *Gallutius Sabienus*, and the learned *Scaliger*, have neglected the most essential parts: and the confused mass of citations collected by *Bulengerus* intimidates any one who is desirous to set them in a clear light: after being at the pains to examine his authorities, and glean whatever intelligence may be derived from *Athenæus, Hesychius, Julius Pollux, Eustathius, Suidas*, and others, our knowledge is still very imperfect. The Greek theatres were in general open; but the *Odéum* of *Regilla* was magnificently covered, as has been stated, with a roof of cedar. The Odéum of Pericles, or Music theatre,

(1) *Voyage d'Athénes*, p. 306. *à Paris*, 1675.

(2) . . . " à moitié chemin." *Ibid.*

theatre, was also covered; for, according to Plutarch, it was the high pointed and tent-like shape of its roof; which gave occasion to the comic poet *Cratinus* to level some ingenious raillery at Pericles, who had the care of it[3]. In their open theatres, the Greeks, being exposed to the injuries of weather, commonly made their appearance in large clokes; they also made use of the *sciadion*, answering to our *umbrella*, as a screen from the sun. The plays were performed always by day-light. When a storm arose, the theatre was deserted, and the audience dispersed themselves in the outer galleries and adjoining porticoes[4]. During their most magnificent spectacles odoriferous liquors were showered upon the heads of the people; and the custom of scattering similar offerings upon the heads of the people was often practised at Venice during the carnival.

Description of an antient Greek Theatre.

By the word *Theatre* the Antients intended the whole body of the edifice where the people assembled to see their public representations. The parts designed for the spectators were called the *Conistra*, or pit; the rows of benches; the *Diazomata*, or corridors; the little stairs; the *Cercys;* and the *Echea.* The other principal parts of the theatre, belonging to the actors, were called the *Orchestra*; the *Proscenion*; and the *Scene*, that is to say, the front or face of the decorations; for, properly, the word *Scene* has no other signification.

(3) Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέργεται
Περικλέης, τῷδείῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
Ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοὔστρακον παροίκεται.
Vid. Plut. in Pericl. tom. I. p. 353. *Lond.* 1723.

(4) Vitruv. lib. v. cap. 9. p. 92.

CHAP. XII.

signification. The interior structure extended like the arc of a circle, reaching to the two corners of the *Proscenion*: above that portion of the circumference were raised four and twenty rows of benches, surrounding the *Conistra*, or pit, for the spectators. These benches, in their whole height, were divided into three sets by the *Diazomata* or corridors, consisting of eight rows in each division. The *Diazomata* ran parallel to the rows of seats, and were of the same form; they were contrived as passages for the spectators from one part of the theatre to another, without incommoding those who were seated: for the same convenience, there were little steps[1] that crossed the several rows, and reached from one corridor to another, from the top to the bottom, so that persons might ascend or descend without incommoding the audience. Near to those staircases were passages leading to the outer porticoes, by which the spectators entered to take their places. The best places were in the middle tier, upon the eight rows between the eighth and the seventeenth bench. This part of the theatre was called *Bouleuticon*; it was set apart for the magistrates. The other tiers were called *Ephebicon*, and were appropriated to the citizens after they had attained their eighteenth year. Along each corridor, at convenient distances, in the solid part of the structure, small cellular cavities, called *Echæa*, containing brass vessels, open towards the *Scene*. Above the upper corridor there was a gallery or portico, called *Cercys*, for the women; but those who

(1) Each of those little steps was exactly half the height of one of the benches. They formed diverging radii from the *Conistra*. Such staircases remain very entire in the theatres of Asia Minor, as at Telmessus; in Epidauria; at Sicyon; Chæronæa; &c.

who had led disorderly lives had a place apart for their reception. Strangers and allies who had the freedom of the city were also placed in the *Cercys*. Individuals had also, sometimes, a property in particular places; which descended by succession to the eldest of the family.

Thus much for the parts appropriated to the spectators. With regard to others belonging to the Drama, the *Orchestra* (an elevation out of the *Conistra* or pit) began about fifty-four feet from the face of the *Proscenion* or stage, and ended at the *Proscenion*. Its height was about four feet; its shape an oblong parallelogram, detached from the seats of the spectators: here were stationed the musicians, the choir, and the mimics. Among the Romans it was destined for a more noble use; the Emperor, the Senate, the Vestals, and other persons of quality, having their seats upon it. The *Proscenion* or stage was raised seven feet above the *Orchestra*, and eleven above the *Conistra;* and upon it stood an altar dedicated to Apollo. The part called the *Scene* was nothing else than the columns, and architectural decorations, raised from the foundations, and upon the wings of the *Proscenion*, merely for ornament. When there were three rows of pillars one above another, the highest row was called *Episcenion*. Agatarchus was the first architect who decorated the *Scene* according to the rules of perspective: he received his instructions from Æschylus[2]. The theatres of Greece and Asia Minor were

(2) Besides the parts of a Greek theatre here enumerated, *Guilletiere* mentions the *Logeion*, or *Thymelé*, which the Romans called *Pulpitum;* and the *Hyposcenion;* both which were parts of the *Orchestra*. Also the *Parascenion*, or space before and behind the *Scene;* and a species of machinery for introducing the Gods, which was called *Theologeion*.

CHAP. XII.

were not solely appropriated to plays and public shews: sometimes they were used for state assemblies; and occasionally as schools, in which the most eminent philosophers harangued their scholars. St. Paul was desirous to go into the theatre at Ephesus, to address the people, during the uproar caused by Demetrius the silversmith[1]; but was entreated by his disciples not to present himself there, through fear that he would encounter the violence which Gaius and Aristarchus had already experienced[2].

From the *Odéum of Regilla* we went to the AREOPAGUS; wishing to place our feet upon a spot where it is so decidedly known that St. Paul had himself stood; and to view with our eyes the same scene which he beheld, when he declared unto the Athenians[3] the nature of THE UNKNOWN GOD whom they so ignorantly worshipped, and opposed the new doctrine of "Christ crucified" to the spirit and the genius of the Gentile faith. They had brought him to the Court of the Areopagites, to explain the nature of the rash enterprise in which he was engaged; and to account for the unexampled temerity of an appeal which called upon them to renounce their idols, to abolish their most holy rites, and to forsake their Pantheon for One only God "who dwelleth not

(1) Acts xix. 30, 31.

(2) This brief survey of the form of an antient Greek theatre, and of its various parts, will be found useful to travellers during their examination of the remains of such structures. Those who wish to see the subject more fully discussed, may consult Guilletiere, from whose researches, added to his personal observations, it has been, with very little alteration, derived. The author, having already proved its accuracy, by comparing it with the Notes he made among the ruins of the Grecian theatres, and finding that it had been unaccountably overlooked, conceived it might make a useful addition to his work.

(3) Acts xvii. 22.

not in temples made with hands,"—the God of the Hebrews too, a people hated and despised by all. It does not seem possible for the mind to conceive a situation of greater peril, or one of severer trial to the sincerity of a preacher, than that in which he was then placed: and the truth of this, perhaps, will never be better felt, than by a spectator who, from this eminence, actually beholds the stately monuments of Pagan pomp and superstition by which he, whom the Athenians considered as "the setter-forth of strange Gods," was at that time surrounded; representing to the imagination, at the same time, the disciples of Socrates and of Plato, the Dogmatist of the Porch, and the Sceptic of the Academy, addressed by a poor and lowly man, whose plain unvarnished precepts contained nothing but what was contrary to their taste, and very hostile to their prejudices. One of the peculiar privileges of the *Areopagitæ* seems to have been set at defiance by the zeal of the Apostle upon this occasion; namely, that of inflicting extreme and exemplary punishment upon any person who should slight the celebration of the holy mysteries, or blaspheme the Gods of Greece. We ascended to the top, by means of steps cut within the natural stone, which is of *breccia*. The sublime scene here exhibited is so striking, that a brief description of it may prove how truly it offers to us a commentary upon St. Paul's words, as they were delivered upon the spot. He stood upon the open summit of the rock, beneath the canopy of heaven[4]. Before him there was spread a glorious prospect

(4) The Senate of the *Areopagus* assembled sometimes in the Royal Portico; (*vid. Demosth. in Aristog. p.* 831.) but its most ordinary place of meeting was on an eminence

CHAP. XII.

prospect of mountains, islands, seas, and skies: behind him towered the lofty *Acropolis*, crowned with all its marble temples. Thus every object, whether in the face of Nature or among the works of Art, conspired to elevate the mind, and to fill it with reverence towards that BEING "who made and governs the world"[1]; who sitteth in that light which no mortal eye can approach, and yet is nigh unto the meanest of his creatures; "in whom we live, and move, and have our being."

Within the *Peribolus* of the Areopagus was the *Monument of Œdipus*, whose bones, according to Pausanias[2], were brought hither from Thebes; and the actual site of *the altar* mentioned by the same author may still be seen in the rock. It is scarcely necessary to repeat the history of a place so well known, and so long renowned for the impartial judgment which was here administered[3]. We turned from it towards the

at a small distance from the Citadel, (*Herodot. lib.* viii. *c.* 52.) called Ἄρειος πάγος. Here a space was levelled for this Court by planing the summit of the rock; and the steps which conducted to it were similarly carved out of the solid stone. In this respect it somewhat resembled *Pnyx*. The origin of this Court may be traced back to the time of Cecrops: (*Marmor. Oxon. Epoch.* 3.) The *Areopagus* had no roof; but it was occasionally defended from the weather by a temporary shed. (*Jul. Poll. lib.* viii. *c.* 10. *Vitruv. lib.* ii. *c.* 1.)

(1) Acts xvii. 24, 28.

(2) Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνῆμα Οἰδίποδος. Πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ, εὕρισκον τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκ Θηβῶν κομισθέντα. Pausan. lib. i. c. 28. p. 69. *Lips.* 1696.

(3) Every thing the Reader may wish to see concentrated upon this subject, may be found in the *Thesaurus Græcarum Antiquitatum* of *Gronovius*; and particularly in the *Areopagus Meursii*, as edited by him. (*Vid. Volum. Quint. p.* 2071. *L. Bat.* 1699.) That the Hill of the *Areopagus* was a continuation of the western slope of the Acropolis, seems manifest from the following allusion made to it by Lucian:—Μόνον ἀπίωμεν ἐπ' Ἄρειον πάγον, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν αὐτὴν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς περιωπῆς ἅμα καταφανείη πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει. "Tantùm ad Areopagum abeamus, seu potiùs in ipsam Arcem; ut tanquam è speculâ, simul omnia, quæ in urbe, conspiciantur." *Vid. Lucian. in Piscatore, ap. Meurs. Areop. c.* 1. *Edit. Gronovii.*

the Temple of Theseus, which exists almost as perfect as when it was at first finished: having gratified our curiosity by a hasty survey of the outside of this building—which, although not of so much magnitude as the Parthenon, ranks next to it in every circumstance of chaste design and harmonious proportion—we entered the modern city by a gate near to the Temple, and were conducted to the comfortable dwelling assigned for our abode, by Lusieri, during the remainder of our residence in Athens.

Scarabæan Gem, in the Author's Poſſeſſion.

CHAP. XIII.

ATHENS.

Temple of the Winds—*Unknown Structure of the Corinthian Order*—*The* Bazar—*Population and Trade of Athens*—*State of the Arts*—*Manufacture of Pictures*—*Monochrome Painting of the Antients*—*Terra Cottas*—*Origin of Painting and Pottery among the Greeks*—*Medals and Gems*—*Explanation of the* Amphora *as a symbol upon Athenian Coins*—Ptolemæum—*Antient Marbles*—Theséum—*Grave of* Tweddell—*Description of the Temple*—Areopagus—*Piræan Gate*—Pnyx—*Monument on the* Muséum—*Antient Walls*—Theatre and Cave of Bacchus—*Monument of* Thrasyllus—*Choragic Pillars*—*Remarkable Inscription*—*Origin of the Crypt*—*Ice Plant in its native state*—Arch of Hadrian—*its origin*—*when erected*—Temple of Jupiter Olympius—*Discordant accounts of this building*—*reasons for the name assigned to it*—Ilissus—*Fountain* Callirhoë—*False notions entertained of the river*—Stadium Panathenaicum—*Sepulchre of Herodes*—*Hadrian's Reservoir*—Mount Anchesmus—*View from the summit.*

CHAP. XIII.

The next morning, October the thirtieth, we received a visit from the English Consul, *Signor Spiridion Logotheti*, who

who accompanied us to the Waiwode, or Turkish Governor. This ceremony being over, Lusieri conducted us to see the famous marble Tower of the Winds, at a short distance from the *bazar*. This octagonal building is known to be the same which Vitruvius mentions, but it is entirely unnoticed by Pausanias. The soil has been raised all around the tower, and in some places it has accumulated to the height of fifteen feet: owing to this circumstance, the spectator is placed too near to the figures sculptured in relief upon the sides of the edifice; for these appear to be clumsy statues, out of all proportion to the building. Lusieri believed that it had been the original design of the architect to raise those figures to a greater elevation than that in which they were viewed even before the accumulation of the soil. Stuart has been so diffuse in the description of the building and every thing relating to it, that he has left nothing to be added by other travellers[1]. It seems the Christians once made use of it as a church; and their establishment has been succeeded by that of a college of Dervishes, who here exhibit their peculiar dance. Probably it was one of the sacred structures of the antient city; and, as a place of religious worship, answered to other purposes than that of merely indicating the direction of the Winds, the Seasons, and the Hours. The author of the *Archæologia Græca* seems to have entertained this opinion, by calling it, after Wheler, the *Temple* of the Eight Winds[2].

Temple of the Winds.

We

(1) Antiquities of Athens, vol. III. c. 3. *Lond.* 1762.

(2) Archæol. Græc. vol. I. c. 8. p. 35. *Lond.* 1751.

CHAP. XIII.

We then went to the *bazar*, and inspected the market. The shops are situated on the two sides of a street lying to the north of the Acropolis, which is close and parallel to the wall and columns of a magnificent building of the Corinthian order. The entablature, capitals, and parts of the shafts of these columns, may be viewed from the street; but the market is for the most part covered by trellis-work and vines. So little is known concerning the history of this building, that it were vain to attempt giving an account of it. Spon[1], Wheler[2], and Le Roy[3], call it the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*. The temples of Jupiter were generally not, like this building, of the *Corinthian*, but of the *Doric* order: the same objection, however, applies to the received opinion concerning those *columns of Hadrian* near the Ilissus, which are now believed to have belonged to that temple. Stuart considered this Corinthian structure near the *bazar* as the STOA, or *portico*, which was called *Poikile*[4], or *Pœcile*. A fine view of the *bazar*, and also of the building, is given in Le Roy's work[5]. It is highly probable that the *bazar* is situated upon the antient market of the inner CERAMICUS, and near to the site of the greater AGORA, from the circumstance of the Inscription mentioned by Spon and by Wheler, containing a decree of the Emperor Hadrian relating to the

Unknown structure of the Corinthian Order.

The *Bazar*.

(1) Voyage de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676, tom. II. p. 107. à *La Haye*, 1724.

(2) Journey into Greece, p. 391. *Lond.* 1682.

(3) Ruines des Monumens de la Grèce, p. 19. *Paris*, 1758.

(4) See Stuart's Athens, vol. I. c. 5. *Lond.* 1762. Also vol. III. Plan of the Antiquities. *Lond.* 1794.

(5) See Plate X. Ruines, &c. *Paris*, 1758.

the sale of oil, which was found upon the spot[6]. And if this be true, the Corinthian edifice may be either the old *Forum* of the *inner Ceramicus*, called ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΑΓΟΡΑ, where the public assemblies of the people were held, which is the most probable conjecture as to its origin, or the remains of the Temple of *Vulcan*, or of *Venus Urania*; for the *Doric portico* which Stuart believed to have belonged to the *Agora*[7] is exactly in a line with the front of this building; and its situation corresponds with that of the portico called *Basiléum* by Pausanias, beyond which the Temple of Vulcan stood[8]. The measures for dry things, in the *bazar*, were fashioned in the antient style, and of the materials formerly used, being made of white marble; but their capacity has been adapted to modern customs: instead of the *medimnus*, the *chœnix*, and the *xestes*, we found them to contain two *quintals*, one *quintal*, and the half *quintal*. The population of Athens amounts to fifteen thousand, including women and children. The principal exports are honey and oil: of the latter they send away about five vessels freighted annually. Small craft, from different parts of the Archipelago, occasionally visit the *Piræeus* and the neighbouring coast, for wood. The shops maintain an insignificant traffic in furs and cloth. The best blue cloth in Athens was of bad German manu-

Population and Trade of Athens.

(6) See Spon, as above, p. 106. Wheler, p. 389. Κέλευσμα νομιμὸν Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, κ.τ.λ. See also the Plan of Athens engraved as a Vignette to the last Chapter.

(7) Antiquities of Athens, vol. I. c. 1. p. 3. *Lond.* 1762.

(8) Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασίλειον, ναός ἐστιν Ἡφαίστου· . . . . . πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 14. p. 36. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XIII.

manufacture, selling under the name of English. Indeed, in almost all the towns of Europe, when any thing is offered for sale of better manufacture than usual, it is either *English*, or said to be *English*[1] in order to enhance its price.

State of the Arts.

The silversmiths were occupied in making coarse rings for the Albanian women; and the poor remains of Grecian painters

Manufacture of Pictures.

in fabricating, rather than delineating, pictures of Saints and Virgins. Their mode of doing this may serve to shew how exactly the image of any set of features, or the subject of any representation, may be preserved unaltered, among different artists, for many ages. The prototype is always kept by them, and transmitted with great care from father to son (for in Greece, as in China, the professions are often hereditary, and remain in the same family for a number of generations): it consists of a piece of paper upon which the outline and all the different parts of the design, even to the minutest circumstance, have been marked by a number of small holes pricked with the point of a pin or a needle. This pattern is laid on any surface prepared for painting, and rubbed over with

(1) For the most accurate information respecting the commerce of Greece, in all its parts, the Reader is referred to the publication of Mons. Beaujour (*Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce, par Felix Beaujour, Ex-Consul en Grèce. Paris*, 1800). Upon the subject of "*La draperie Anglaise*," these imitations of English cloth are mentioned as having the preference over the original manufacture. "Depuis cette époque (1731) le crédit de la draperie Anglaise a toujours baissé. On a vu sur cette place le débit des *Londres* diminuer progressivement par la concurrence de nos *londrins*, faits à leur imitation. Les *londres* sont des draps léges et grossiers, ainsi nommés, parce que les premièrs fabriques furent établiés à Londres. L'assortiment était d'abord invariablement un tiers vert, un tiers bleu, et un tiers garance. On demande aujourd'hui des assortimens composés tout de bleu." *Tableau du Comm. tom.* II. *p.* 8.

with finely-powdered charcoal: the dust falling through the holes leaves a dotted outline for the painter, who then proceeds to apply the colours much after the same manner, by a series of other papers having the places cut out where any particular colour is to be applied. Very little skill is requisite in the finishing; for, in fact, one of these manufacturers of effigies might with just as much ease give a rule to make a picture, as a tailor to cut out a suit of clothes: the only essential requisite is a good set of patterns, and these are handed from father to son. Hence we learn the cause of that remarkable stiffness and angular outline which characterize all the pictures in the Greek churches: the practice is very antient; and although the works of some Greek painters, which yet remain, enable us to prove that there were artists capable of designing and drawing in a more masterly manner, yet it is highly probable that the pictures of the Antients were often of this description. Whoever attentively examines the paintings upon *terra-cotta* vases, executed in the style call *Monochromaton*[2], will be convinced that such a process was used; only with this difference: the parts for the picture were either left bare, being covered by the pattern, and the whole surface of the vessel which remained exposed was coated with black paint; or, cavities being cut out for the figures, were filled with the black or white colour, and the rest of the vase possessed the natural hue of the clay after being baked. The latter process

Monochrome Painting of the Antients.

(2) "Secundani singulis coloribus, et *monochromaton* dictam, postquam operosior inventa erat." *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. c. 3. tom. III. p. 417. *L. Bat.* 1635.

CHAP. XIII.

process was the more antient; and vases of this description are decorated with black, or very rarely with white, figures and ornaments upon a red ground. The fact is, that the white colour has been generally decomposed, and nothing remains but the ground upon which it was laid. After a vase has been discovered in an antient sepulchre, the white colour is so fugitive that it is sometimes carried off by the mere process of washing the vessel in common water, and it never resists the acids which are used for that purpose. The persons who deal in these antiquities, at Naples and in other parts of Italy, very commonly retouch and restore their vases, adding a little white paint where the white colour has disappeared. The *monochrome* paintings of the Antients sometimes consisted of *white* colour upon a red or black ground: this style of painting was expressed by the word λευκογράφειν[1]. The most beautiful of the *monochrome* paintings are those which were executed upon earthen vases when the Arts were considerably advanced: these exhibit red figures upon a black ground; the beautiful red colour is owing solely to the fine quality of the clay: the effect was afterwards heightened by the addition of an outline, at first rudely scratched with the point of a sharp instrument, but in the best ages of the Arts carefully delineated; and often tinted with other colours, in so masterly a style, that it has been said Raphael, under similar circum-

(1) (*Aristot. Poet. c. 6.* See also *Winkelmann Hist. de l'Art, tom.* II. *p.* 144. *Paris, An* 2.) Sometimes a *red* colour was singly applied upon white marble; in which style of painting four pictures were found in Herculaneum: and, lastly, there were *monochrome* paintings with a *black* colour upon a red ground; as upon the terra-cotta vases.

circumstances, could not have produced any thing superior either in beauty or correctness[2]. But the vases which are characterized by such perfection of the art, rarely exhibit paintings of equal interest with those fabricated at an earlier epocha. The designs upon the latter generally serve to record historical events; or they represent the employments of man in the earliest ages; either when engaged in destroying the ferocious animals which infested his native woods, or in procuring by the chace the means of his subsistence[3]. The representations upon the former relate only to the ceremonies of the bath and of the toilet; or to the dances, and the games, as they were celebrated at the Grecian festivals. The subject of Grecian painting has insensibly led to that of the *terra-cotta* vases, because these have preserved for us the most genuine specimens of the art as it existed in the remotest periods of its history; and we now see that the method employed by the earliest Grecian artists in their *monochrome* painting is still used by Athenian workmen in the manufacture of their idol pictures. The silver shrines with which such pictures are covered, especially in Russia, having holes cut in them to shew the faces and hands of their Saints and Virgins, exhibit exactly the sort of superficies used upon these occasions for laying on the parts of the painting; and

(2) See the observations of D'Hancarville, Italinski, Sir W. Hamilton, &c. &c.

(3) *Monochrome* paintings upon ivory have been found where it might be least expected that anything resembling the arts of Etruria or of Greece would be discovered; namely, among the Aleoutan Isles, between North America and Kamschatka. The author had in his possession an ivory bow, brought thence by Commodore Billings; on which the natives were represented as engaged in fishing, &c.; the figures, delineated in a black colour, perfectly resembled the paintings on the oldest *terra-cotta* vases.

CHAP. XIII.

and it is very probable that the Russian painters, who manufacture these images for sale, received from the Greeks with their religion this method of preparing them. A curious piece of chicanery is practised by the Russian dealers in this species of holy craft. The silver shrine is supposed to serve as a mere case to inclose the sacred picture; leaving only the small apertures before mentioned, for their *Boghs*, or *Gods*, to peep through: but as the part beneath the silver superficies is not seen, they spare themselves the trouble of painting anything except the *face* and *hands* of the image; so that if the case by any accident fall off, the bare wood is disclosed, instead of the rest of the picture. But to return to the art of painting among the Antient Greeks: If we except the pictures found in Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia, and the few faint vestiges upon marble statues, we may despair of seeing anything so perfect as those specimens which are preserved upon *terra cotta;* whether upon *facings* intended for architecture[1], or upon vases found in Grecian sepulchres. It is evident that these pictures are purely Grecian, because Greek inscriptions so often accompany them; but it seems equally evident that the Greeks were indebted for the art to the Etruscans. The art of making earthenware was transported from Etruria into Greece. The Romans also borrowed this invention from the Etruscans; to whom Greece was indebted for many of its ceremonies and religious institutions[2], and for its mechanics and artificers.

Origin of Painting and Potteryamong the Greeks.

(1) Painted *terra cotta* was sometimes used in Grecian buildings, for the frieze and other ornaments: of this an example will be given in a subsequent description of Ruins in *Epidauria*.

(2) Plato de Leg. lib. v.

artificers[3]. According to *Heraclides Ponticus*, the inhabitants of Etruria were distinguished in all the Arts and Sciences[4]; and before the foundation of Rome the art of painting had attained a high degree of perfection in that country, for Pliny mentions pictures at *Ardea* which were older than the birth of Romulus[5]. This alone is sufficient to shew, that, in the eighth century before the Christian æra, and above an hundred years before the age of Solon, consequently before the Arts obtained any footing in Greece, the same people who taught the Greeks the art of making earthenware were also well acquainted with the art of painting. In addition, it may be urged that the cities of *Nola* and *Capua* were founded and built by the Etruscans[6]; and it is remarkable that the vases of *Nola* are peculiar for elegance of design and excellence of workmanship[7].

Among the few articles of Athenian cutlery to be met with in the market, we found some small knives and forks, with white bone handles, inscribed with mottoes in modern Greek, characteristic of the manners and sentiments of the people; such, for example, as the following: Ῥίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία, "*The love of money is the root of all*

(3) Pherecrates ap. Athen. Diepnos. lib. x.

(4) In Fragment. ad Calc. Ælian.

(5) "Extant certè hodiéque antiquiores urbe picturæ Ardeæ in ædibus sacris, quibus equidem nullas æque demiror tam longo ævo durantes in orbitate tecti, veluti recenter." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxv. *tom.* III. *p.* 419. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(6) Cato ap. Vel. Paterc. lib. i. c. 7.

(7) The author has not seen a Dissertation by the *Abbé Lanzi*, which is cited in a work published by the Society of *Dilettanti* (entitled "*Specimens of Antient Sculpture*," *Lond.* 1809.) as containing proof that the Etruscans (*See the Observations facing Plate* 17.) "followed the improvements of the Greeks at a respectful distance, and had no pretensions to that venerable antiquity in the Arts which has been assigned to them."

CHAP. XIII.

all evils." Μηδενα καταφρονειν, "*You should despise no one.*" For the rest, nothing can be more wretchedly supplied than Athens with the most common articles of use or convenience. The artists employed for the British Ambassador were under the necessity of sending to Smyrna to obtain a wheeled cart for moving the marbles to the *Piræeus*, and for all the materials and implements wanted in preparing cases to contain them. No ladders could be found, nor any instruments proper for making them. It was not possible to procure the most ordinary domestic utensils, nor a single article of curriery[1].

Medals and Gems.

Specimens of antient art are less rare. A goldsmith sold to us some beautiful gold medals, of Alexander and of Philip, for double their weight in Venetian sequins. He had several gems of great beauty in his possession, but he estimated them as if he intended to make his fortune by the sale of them. Some of these are perhaps now in England. One of them was a small red and white sardonyx caméo; the subject, Jupiter, in his war with the Giants, hurling the thunder; the god being

(1) A couple of old Turkish saddles, which had belonged to the late Mr. Tweddell, were first recommended and afterwards sold to us by Spiridion Logotheti, the English Consul, at an enormous price, as his own property: *possession* in Athens, as *elsewhere*, with regard to Mr. Tweddell's effects, being considered equal to "*nine points of the law.*" He knew very well that our future travels in Greece depended, in a great measure, upon this acquisition, and he took care to profit by the occasion. All subsequent travellers have noticed his rapacity. When Stuart was in Athens, he met with similar treatment from our Consul: and as long as these situations are held by Greeks, Englishmen who visit the country will be liable to their exactions. Hardly a day passed without a demand from this man for money, under some pretext or other. This Note is therefore inserted as a caution to the number of our countrymen now visiting Greece; that they may have as little intercourse as possible with Greeks calling themselves English Consuls, or really acting in that capacity.

being represented in a car, with four horses: the workmanship of this caméo was exceedingly fine[2]. The author also obtained here, for forty piastres, the fine silver tetradrachm of *Lysimachus*, exhibiting the portrait of Alexander the Great, which he caused to be engraved for a Dissertation upon the *Soros* brought from *Alexander's Tomb;* and he afterwards procured, from an Albanian family, a silver medal of Athens, of equal size, and almost equal beauty. The well-known symbol of the *void Amphora*, lying horizontally upon the reverses of Athenian medals, has never received any satisfactory illustration. It is accompanied by *an owl*, and the bird is represented sitting upon the vessel. The mythological principle implied by the *one* may therefore be supposed to have an allusion also in the *other;* and that this is true, and that the principle so expressed was *passive* as to its nature, may be clearly shewn by reference to a few facts. The *owl* was the symbol of *Pallas*, because it denoted the *privation* or the absence of *light;* and the author has proved, upon a former occasion[3], that *Pallas*, or the whole body of *female Divinities* whom this Goddess was supposed to personify, or *Night*, or *Silence*, or *Death*, or any other sign of *privation*, was but a type of the *passive principle:* consequently, the *void amphora*, or the *Gorgonian head* (which Pallas bore upon her ægis, and which also often appears with the *amphora* upon the medals of Athens), or

Symbol of the *void Amphora* explained.

(2) The same subject is represented, but with the addition of the Giants and their serpent-legs, precisely after the same manner, by the fine antique engraved in the Paris edition of Winkelmann's works. *Voy. Œuvres completes de Winkelmann, tom.* II. *liv.* iv. *c.* 8. *p.* 115. *Paris, An* 2.

(3) See "Greek Marbles," p. 30. also Append. p. 72.

CHAP. XIII.

or the *owl*, or the mythological principle denoted by any one of these, was an allusion to the *sleep of Nature*, and must have been considered as the *memento mori* of the Pagan world. For a decisive proof of this, it may be urged, that the form of the *amphora* itself was sometimes given to the *Stélé*, as a sepulchral monument[1]. A tomb was opened in the South of Russia, containing on either side of it a void *amphora* leaning against the *Soros*[2]. Sometimes the Antients represented a *winged Sphinx* as sitting upon an empty *amphora*[3]; and the *Sphinx*, as it is well known, is one of the *sepulchral monuments* in the great cemetery of *Memphis*. The same vessel was made an accompaniment of *Charon* and *Hermes* when conducting to *Hades* the souls of the dead, as they are represented upon the gems of Greece[4].

Proceeding through the inhabited part of the city, towards the north-west, a little beyond the *Corinthian structure* to which we have so lately alluded, we came to an extensive Ruin, encumbered with modern buildings, which Stuart, from the imperfect survey he was able to make of it, considered as the GYMNASIUM OF PTOLEMY[5]. Its

Ptolemæum.

(1) A marble amphora of this description is in the Collection of Greek Marbles at Cambridge: it was found upon the shore of the *Propontis*; and presented by Spencer Smith, Esq. late Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, brother of Sir Sidney Smith.

(2) The place is called *Ovidiopol* by the Russians. There is an engraved representation of the interior of the tomb in Pallas's Travels through the South of Russia, vol. II. p. 244.

(3) Voy. Recherches sur l'Origin des Arts, &c.

(4) See the Vignette to this Chapter; from a *scarabæan gem* in the author's possession. Mercury, in this representation, appears to be offering the cake of flour and honey to appease Cerberus. *Vid. Aristoph. in Lysist. v.* 601. *Schol. ib. Id. in Eccles. v.* 534.

(5) See vol. III. p. 3. *Antiq. of Athens. Lond.* 1794.

Its vicinity to the Temple of Theseus renders this highly probable. Stuart indeed speaks of its *plan;* but he has not given it. Concealed as it is by dwellings, and greatly dilapidated, we have not even attempted to supply what that able architect and inquisitive traveller did not feel himself authorised, from the state of the Ruin, to communicate.

Antient Marbles.

As we passed through the town, there was hardly a house that had not some little marble fragment of antient sculpture stuck in its front, over the door; and since most of the houses have court-yards, where the objects within are concealed from the observation of passengers in the streets, many valuable antiquities will be brought to light as Athens becomes more visited. The few articles which we collected, during our residence here, may be considered as promising indications of future acquisitions of the same nature. In the yard belonging to the house where we resided, there were two *Bas-reliefs*; and although the workmanship in each of them is not characterized by the masterly style and execution which distinguishes the sculpture in the Acropolis, yet it is easy to perceive that they have been touched by the hand of an Athenian artist. They were both given to us by our hostess the first day after our arrival; and they are now in the University Library at Cambridge. One of them represents the initiation of Hercules by a priestess of Ceres[5]; and it is singular that the figure of Hercules is draped. The other exhibits a female figure, seated, to whom a male is presenting a new-born infant. The Grecians were accustomed

(5) This ceremony is said to have taken place, not at *Eleusis*, but at the Temple of Ceres in *Agra*, where the *lesser mysteries* were celebrated. *Vid. Stephan. in Lib. Meursii de Populis Atticæ, ap. Gronov. Thes. Græc. Antiq. vol.* IV. *p.* 683. *L. Bat.* 1699.

CHAP. XIII.

accustomed to consign their newly-born children to the tutelar care of some Deity, upon the fifth day after their birth: upon this occasion they went in white robes, with their feet bare. But the figure in this *bas-relief* carrying the child may allude to a circumstance which occurred in the life of Caligula, who placed his infant daughter, *Livia Drusilla*, in the lap of the *protecting Minerva*. The sculpture is remarkable for the ease and freedom which it displays. It is a very uncommon circumstance to have these things pointed out by a Turk: but we had this good luck; for passing the door of a Turkish house, its owner hailed us with the usual appellation,—"*Djowrs! here is some rubbish suited to your taste: take it off my premises!*" He had found in his garden, among some old foundations, the half of a marble bas-relief, which represented the annual procession of the Athenian citizens, with their youth, to the ceremony of initiation at Eleusis; and for a trifle he allowed us to remove it, seeming to be quite happy in getting rid of a stone on which human figures were delineated. We saw also, in one of the streets, an antient marble *Stélé*, lying horizontally, and serving as a horse-block. When we drew near to examine it, we discovered that it had been placed upon the TOMB OF EUCLID OF HERMIONE, whom we found to be represented upon the upper part of the pillar, standing beneath an arch, in a philosopher's habit, and with a scroll in his hand. Beneath this figure, near to the base of the pillar, and upon the part of the stone which must have been buried when the *Stélé* was erected, we observed the usual animal symbol of Anubis, the *infernal* Mercury, in the form of A DOG, rudely sketched upon the surface; and over the arched

arched recess, containing the figure of the philosopher, we read, in very legible characters, this Inscription in the Doric dialect, remarkable for the variation in the genitive case:

ΕΥΚΛΙΔΑΣ ΕΥΚΛΙΔΟΥ
ΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΥΣ

"EUCLID SON OF EUCLID OF HERMIONE."

Of two celebrated philosophers who bore this name, the disciple of Socrates, as the first, was a native of Megara; and the mathematician, as the second, flourished at Alexandria. The manner of the writing, the style of the sculpture, and the form of the arch, might induce an opinion that this *Stélé* was not of antient date sufficient for either of their sepulchres; yet it may be observed that *Spon*[1] has given, from a medal struck at *Megara*, a portrait of EUCLID *the Wrangler*, with his name on one side, and that of *Hadrian* on the other; and *Bellori* has published a different coin (ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ) with the head of EUCLID, as *Aulus Gellius*[2] describes it, "*ricâ velatus*," with which the figure on the *Stélé* agrees. Both representations may therefore have been intended to represent the same individual; and what further confirms this is, that whilst the reverse of the medal exhibits the figure of *Diana*, bearing in either hand *a torch*, as the symbol of the *lower regions* and of *night*, so the *dog* on the *Stélé*, the animal figure of *Anubis*, is also that of *Sirius* at its *heliacal setting*: a significant and appropriate emblem of the philosopher descending into the infernal shades. These marbles, together with our other subsequent acqui-

(1) Miscell. Erud. Antiq. sec: iv. (2) Lib. vi. c. 10.

CHAP. XIII.

acquisitions in bas-reliefs and fragments found in Athens, amounting to fourteen pieces from this city alone, are now in the University Library at Cambridge: and as the author's account of them is already before the public, it will be unnecessary in this place to notice the rest[1].

Theséum.

We accompanied Signor Lusieri to the THESÉUM; and, having obtained admission to the interior of the temple,

Grave of TWEDDELL.

paid a melancholy visit to the grave of that accomplished scholar whose name we had found inscribed upon the pillars of Sunium; the exemplary and lamented TWEDDELL[2]. It was

(1) See "Greek Marbles," Nos. X. XI. XII. XV. XVII. XVIII. XXII. XXVII. XXX. XXXIII. XXXV. XXXVI. XXXVII. *Cambridge*, 1809.

(2) JOHN TWEDDELL, the eldest son of Francis Tweddell, Esq. of Threepwood in the County of Northumberland, was born on the 1st of June 1769; and after passing through the usual course of preparatory education, was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by such proofs of original genius as are, perhaps, without example, even in the records of that learned Society. As a candidate for University honours, his "*Prolusiones Academicæ*" attest his success to have been equally brilliant and extraordinary, and supersede the necessity of particular illustration. Mr. Tweddell was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1792, and soon afterwards entered himself a Student of Lincoln's Inn, where he kept his terms and continued to reside until the year 1795, when he left England to commence his travels on the continent of Europe—and met with that untimely fate which has mixed his ashes with those of the sages and philosophers of Greece. He visited Switzerland, Germany, most parts of the Russian Empire, and particularly the Crimea, where his intercourse with Professor Pallas was of the most intimate kind, and had so endeared him to that amiable scholar, that the admiration with which he spoke of him partook of the tenderness and affection of a father. From the borders of the Euxine, where his researches were both diligent and productive, he proceeded to Constantinople; and after spending some part of the summer of 1798 under the hospitable roof of Spencer Smith, Esq. the English Minister, he took his departure for the Grecian Islands; and having traversed the provinces of Macedonia and Thessaly, arrived at Athens, where, after a residence of several months, he reached the period of all his learned labours, on the 25th of July 1799.

Mr. Tweddell, independent of the advantages which his own merit secured for him in the countries which he visited, possessed recommendations and facilities of a superior kind for conducting his learned pursuits; and his industry keeping pace with his talents and

was simply a small oblong heap of earth, like to those over the common graves in all our English church-yards, without stone, or inscription of any kind. The body, too, had been carelessly interred: we were told that it did not lie more than three or four feet beneath the surface. The part of the temple where it has been buried is now converted into a Greek church, dedicated to St. George; but as it is left open during particular times of the year, and is always liable to be entered by foraging animals who creep into such retreats, we thought it probable that the body would be disturbed unless further precaution were used; and at any rate it was proper that some stone should be laid upon the spot. Having therefore obtained permission to take up the coffin, and Lusieri promising to superintend the work, we sat about providing a proper covering for the grave; promising to send an inscription worthy of the name it was destined to commemorate. Large blocks of Pentelican marble from the

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and opportunities, his *Collections* and *Manuscripts* are known to have been extensive and singularly valuable. Perhaps no traveller of modern times has enjoyed in an equal degree the means of investigating the Antiquities of Greece. That the literary property, therefore, of this gentleman, after being in the undisputed custody of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, should absolutely have disappeared *in toto*, and eluded the most diligent inquiries of his family and friends, presents a subject for the deepest regret, and is a circumstance in itself of the most unaccountable nature. Upon this point, however, the author refrains from saying all that he might, in the expectation of seeing this strange mystery unfolded by a kindred hand which may justly aspire to the best information. He will therefore close this imperfect sketch of his accomplished friend, with briefly observing, that the endowments of the scholar, in this instance, were, in a singular degree, associated with those polished but unaffected manners which give them peculiar lustre; and recommended yet more substantially by the addition of the most amiable and engaging virtues. As a consolotary expectation, he believes he may venture to add, that the friends of Mr. Tweddell have a prospect of being gratified with a selection of his correspondence.

CHAP. XIII.

the Parthenon, which had been sawed from the bas-reliefs intended for our Ambassador, were then lying in the Acropolis ready for the purpose: we therefore begged for one of these; and before we left Athens every thing had been settled, and seemed likely to proceed according to our wishes[1].

Description of the Temple.

This beautiful Doric temple, more resembling, in the style of its architecture, the temples of Pæstum than that of Minerva in the Acropolis, and the most entire of any of the remaining structures of Antient Greece were it not for the damage which the sculptures have sustained, may be considered as still perfect. The ruined state of the metopes and frieze has proved indeed a very fortunate circumstance; for it was owing solely to this that the building escaped the ravages which were going on in the Parthenon. Lusieri told us there was nothing but what was considered as too much mutilated to answer for the expense and difficulty of taking

(1) A curious sort of contest has, however, since impeded the work. Other English travellers arrived in Athens; and a dispute arose, fomented by the feuds and jealousies of rival artists and opposite parties in politics, both as to the nature of the inscription, and the persons who should be allowed to accomplish the work. At length, it is said, that, owing to the exertions of Lord Byron, and another most enterprising traveller, Mr. John Fiott, of St. John's College, Cambridge, the stone has been laid; and the following beautiful Epitaph, composed by Mr. Walpole in 1805, has been inscribed thereon.

Εὔδεις ἐν φθιμένοισι· μάτην Σοφίης ποτ' ἐδρέψας
Ἄνθεα, καί σε νέον Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε μάτην.
Ἀλλὰ μόνον τοι σῶμα τὸ γῆϊνον ἀμφικαλύπτει
Τύμβος· τὴν ψυχὴν οὐρανος αἰπὺς ἔχει.
Ἡμῖν θ' οἵ σε φίλοι, φίλον ὡς, κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες,
Μνῆμα φιλοφροσύνης, χλωρὸν, ὀδυρόμεθα,
Ἡδὺ γ' ὅμως καὶ τερπνὸν ἔχειν τοῦτ' ἐστιν, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
Ὡς σν, Βρεταννος ἐων, κείσεαι ἐν σποδίῃ.

taking it down[2]. The entire edifice is of Pentelican marble: it stands east and west, the principal front facing the east; and it is that kind of building which was called by antient architects, as it is expressed in the language of Vitruvius and explained by Stuart[3], a *Peripteros*; that is to say, it has a portico of six columns in each front, and on each side a range of eleven columns, exclusive of the columns on the angles. All these columns remain in their original position, excepting two that separated the portico from the *pronaos*, which have been demolished. Every circumstance respecting them has already been often detailed. Like all pillars raised according to the most antient Doric style of building, they are without bases or pedestals; standing, with inexpressible dignity and simplicity[4], upon the pavement

(2) Accordingly we read,—"As the walls and columns of this monument are in their original position, no part of the sculpture has been displaced, nor the minutest fragment of any kind separated from the building." (*Memorandum, p.* 18. *Lond.* 1811.) There is nothing said here of the "impending ruin" (*Ibid. p.* 8.) to which the remaining sculpture is exposed; nothing of "the zeal of the early Christians" (*p.* 11.) and "the barbarism of the Turks:" but we are told that "the temple itself" (*p.* 19.) *is very inferior in decorative sculpture to the Parthenon;*" and this remark, made with great *naïveté*, most happily explains the *hair-breadth escape of the building* from the ill-judged rapacity which has tended to the ruin of the noblest monuments of Greece.

(3) See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. p. 5. *Lond.* 1794.

(4) "The awful dignity and grandeur in this kind of temple, arising from the perfect agreement of its parts, strikes the beholder with a sensation which he may look for in vain in buildings of any other description. . . . . There is a certain appearance of eternal duration in this species of edifice, that gives a solemn and majestic feeling, while every part is perceived to contribute its share to this character of durability. . . . . These considerations will convince us that no material change can be made in the proportions of the genuine Doric, without destroying its peculiar character." See *Reveley's Pref. to vol.* III. *of Stuart's Athens, p.* 14. Lond. 1794.

CHAP. XIII.

pavement of the covered walk around the cell of the temple. Some of the metopes represent the labours of Hercules; others, the exploits of Theseus; and there are some which were never adorned with any sculpture. Above the *antæ* of the *pronaos* is a sculptural frieze, the subject of which cannot now be determined; and the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ is represented upon a similar frieze of the *posticus*. In the tympanum of the pediment, over the eastern front, Stuart observed several holes in the marble, where metal cramps had been fixed for sustaining sculpture in entire relief, as over the eastern entrance to the Parthenon[1]. The action of the atmosphere in this fine climate upon the marble has diffused over the whole edifice, as over all the buildings in the Acropolis, a warm ochreous tint, which is peculiar to the ruins of Athens: it bears no resemblance to that black and dingy hue which is acquired by all works in stone and marble when they have been exposed to the open air in the more northern countries of Europe, and especially in England. Perhaps to this warm colour, so remarkably characterizing the remains of antient buildings at Athens, Plutarch alluded, in that beautiful passage[2] cited by Chandler,

(1) See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. p. 2. *Lond.* 1794.

(2) Ὅθεν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νεουργόν· οὕτως ἐπανθεῖ τις καινότης ἀεὶ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα τὴν ὄψιν, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΑΕΙΘΑΛΕΣ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΑΓΗΡΩ ΚΑΤΑΜΕΜΙΓΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ. Plutarch. in Vit. Pericl. tom. I. p. 352. *Lond.* 1729.

Chandler[3], when he affirmed, that the structures of Pericles possessed a peculiar and unparalleled excellence of character; "a certain freshness bloomed upon them, and preserved their faces uninjured, as if they possessed a never-fading spirit, and had a soul insensible to age." In the description given of the THESÉUM by Pausanias, he mentions ΓΡΑΦΑΙ among the decorations[4]; and Chandler gives this word as he found it in the original text of that author[5], without rendering it, as some have done, "*pictures*," or "*painted representations*." The very subjects of those representations correspond with the remaining sculptures upon the metopes and frieze; and Mycon, who is mentioned as the artist, was a statuary as well as a painter. The history of the hero, to whose memory this magnificent building was erected, resembles, as to its probability, one of the extravagant fictions of the "*Arabian Nights*;" and may be regarded as upon an equality with the "*Voyages of Sinbad*," or the "*Story of Aladdin*." That it was originally a tomb, like all other Grecian temples, can admit of no doubt: eight hundred years had elapsed, when Cimon removed the precious reliques from the Isle of Scyros, which were here enshrined; and the circumstances of the *brazen-headed* lance and sword, found with the bones said to have belonged to Theseus, denote weapons of the remotest ages[6]: but the

(3) Trav. in Greece, c. 9. p. 39. *Oxford*, 1776.

(4) Γραφαὶ δέ εἰσι, κ. τ. λ. Γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ ἡ Λαπιθῶν μάχη. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 17. p. 40. *Lips.* 1696.

(5) Trav. in Greece, c. 14. p. 71. *Oxf.* 1776.

(6) Εὑρέθη δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος, αἰχμή τε παρακειμένη χαλκῆ, καὶ ξίφος. Plût. in Vit. Thes. tom. I. p. 35. *Lond.* 1729.

CHAP. XIII.

the manner in which the place of his original interment had been pointed out[1], calls to mind the juggling of a later period, when the mother of Constantine sought to discover the real timber on which the Messiah had suffered crucifixion: so easy has it been in every age to gratify a credulous and superstitious people, by delusions of pretended miracles, and dreams of a particular Providence interrupting the order of Nature for purposes the most contemptible; although, in the history of the world, few instances have occurred where a monument of equal magnificence has resulted from any idle and stupid fiction. The building is believed to bear date from the event mentioned by Plutarch, both in his Life of Cimon, and of Theseus; when, after the conquest of Scyros, the son of Miltiades arrived in Athens bearing the mouldering bones and weapons he had so marvellously discovered. They were received by the Athenians, says Plutarch[2], as if Theseus himself had returned among them. The solemnity of their interment took place in the very midst of the city, *near to the Gymnasium*[3]; accompanied by every splendid pomp and costly sacrifice with which the Athenians, of all people, were the most ready to appease the manes of a departed hero. This event happened during the Archonship of *Apsephion;* so that the THESEUM has

(1) Ἦν δὲ καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπορία, καὶ γνῶναι τὸν τάφον, ἀμιξίαι καὶ χαλεπότητι τῶν ἐνοικούντων βαρβάρων. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ Κίμων ἑλὼν τὴν νῆσον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἐξανευρεῖν, ΑΕΤΟΥ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΒΟΥΝΟΕΙΔΗ ΚΟΠΤΟΝΤΟΣ, ὡς φασι, τῷ στόματι καὶ διαστέλλοντος τοῖς ὄνυξι, θείαι τινὶ τύχῃ συμφρονήσας, ἀνέσκαψεν. Plut. in Vit. Thes. p. 35. *Lond.* 1729.

(2) Ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. Ibid.

(3) Παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον. Ibid.

has now braved the attacks of time, of earthquakes, and of barbarians, during a lapse of considerably above two thousand years[4]; and its relative position with regard to the *Gymnasium* renders it an important point of observation, whence the situation of many other buildings of the antient city may be ascertained.

Leaving the *Theséum*, we again visited the *Areopagus*; and we detached from the rock some specimens of the remarkable aggregate whereof this eminence consists. All the lower part of it, as before mentioned, consists of breccia; but we found here a sparry carbonate of lime, of a honey colour, exhibiting, by fracture, imperfect prisms ranged parallel to each other. From the Areopagus we proceeded to a little chapel, situated upon the spot where the antient PIRÆEAN GATE of the city formerly stood: near to this, as Pausanias relates[5], there was a tomb with an equestrian statue by Praxiteles. The place where the gate was situated may still be discerned; and also a part of the northern limb of the "*long legs*," μακρὰ σκέλη, extending from the city to the sea. We then ascended towards the north of the *Piræean Gate*[6], where may still be seen, in a state of the most admirable preser-

Piræean Gate.

(4) The arrival of Cimon with the bones of Theseus happened in the same year as the birth of Socrates; that is to say, in the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad, 469 years before Christ, according to *Corsini*. Æschylus and Sophocles then disputed the prize of Tragedy, which was adjudged to Sophocles. (*Vid. Chronicon ex Marmoribus Arundelianis, Epoch.* 57.) If we allow, therefore, *ten* years for the building of the temple, (and *five* has been considered a sufficient number,) this edifice has stood nearly twenty-three centuries.

(5) Pausaniæ Attica, c. 2. p. 6. *Lips.* 1696.

(6) See the Plan of Athens, engraved as a Vignette to Chap. XII. Nos. 1, and 2.

CHAP. XIII. Pnyx.

preservation, the ground-plot and entire form of the PNYX, or antient place of *parlement* of the Athenians; as it was appropriated by Solon to the assemblies of the citizens[1]. This structure is not likely to be much affected by the lapse of entire centuries: almost the whole of it, even to the *pulpitum* for the orators, which yet remains, is an excavation of the rock; and the several parts of it were carved in stone, of one solid mass, with the exception only of the semicircular area, the farthest part of which from the *pulpitum* consists of masonry[2]. In the perpendicular surface of the rock, facing this area, are *niches* for the votive tablets; the characteristic and most genuine marks of places held in any peculiar degree

(1) Πνὺξ, so called διὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι τοῖς λίθοις.

(2) That this place was really the *Pnyx*, is now universally the opinion of travellers who have visited Athens. It had been called *Areopagus* and *Odéum*. Chandler was the first by whom it was accurately described. The *altar* and *stone pulpit*, which he mentions, agree with its furniture as upon record. Chandler says these have been removed; but the *pulpit*, if not the *altar*, certainly remains. A more attentive examination of the antiquities of Athens, if it effect no change as to the name now given to this place, will very probably alter the appellations too hastily bestowed upon some of the others. Perhaps the *Pnyx* may be considered as better ascertained than almost any remaining structure destitute of an inscription whereby it may be identified; and for this, the literary world is mainly indebted to the Earl of Aberdeen, who carried on a very extensive examination of the spot, sparing no expense during an excavation which he made here, to have this point determined. The *dona votiva* which he discovered are very remarkable. (*See the Extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal, p. 463 of this Vol.*) But the site of the *Odéum of Pericles* is entirely unknown. It must have stood at the termination of the street of the Tripods. The situation of the *Prytanéum* remains also to be determined; and it cannot be said that our evidence for identifying the *three* great buildings, the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*, the *Theatre of Regilla*, and the *Theatre of Bacchus*, with the remains which severally bear either of these appellations, is altogether satisfactory. There is much to be done by future travellers; and the excavations which they may make, by bringing to light many valuable documents, will greatly tend to illustrate the topography of the city.

degree of consideration throughout the whole of Antient Greece, and in every country where her colonies extended. To approach the spot once dignified by the presence of the greatest Grecian orators; to set our feet where they stood; and actually to behold the place where Demosthenes addressed the "Men of Athens," calling to mind the most memorable examples of his eloquence; is a gratification of an exalted nature. But the feelings excited in viewing the *Pnyx* peculiarly affect the hearts of Englishmen: that holy fire, so much dreaded by the Athenian tyrants, and which this place had such a remarkable tendency to agitate, burns yet in Britain: it is the very soul of her liberties; and it strengthens the security of her laws; giving eloquence to her senate, heroism to her arms, extension to her commerce, and freedom to her people: although annihilated in almost every country of the earth, it lives in England; and its extinction there, like the going out of the sacred flame in the Temple of Delphi, would be felt as a national calamity. The circumstances connected with the history of the *Pnyx* prove how difficult a thing it was to subdue the love of freedom among the Antient Grecians. The Athenian tyrants vainly imagined that it originated solely in the position of the *βῆμα*, or *stone pulpit*, whence the orators harangued the people; forgetting that it is a natural principle implanted by providence in the human heart. Under the notion they had thus conceived, they altered the plan of the *Pnyx*: the *βῆμα* had been fronted towards the sea; they fronted it towards the land; believing that a people diverted from allusions to maritime

CHAP. XIII.

maritime affairs towards those of agricultural labour would be more easy under an oligarchical dominion[1]. The project was not attended with the consequences that were expected; the same spirit yet prevailed: but this place was still considered as its source; and at last, finding that alterations of the structure availed nothing towards its dissolution, the meetings in the *Pnyx* were entirely abolished. The place itself has, however, been suffered to remain unaltered to the present day, and may serve to illustrate passages in antient authors which before were but imperfectly understood. A very accurate design of the structure, as it now exists, has been already published by Stuart, in which the *βῆμα* is represented: and if it were possible to naturalize this word, it might be preferable to any other, as applied to the *pulpit*, whence the Grecian orators addressed the people. *Rostrum* is a Roman appellation, and introduces associations of a foreign nature: the same remark applies to *Tribunal*: *Logéum*, and *Thymele*, are terms borrowed from the Grecian theatres: it is *Béma* only which, upon the authority of Plutarch, confines the name, and fixes the attention, accurately and exclusively, upon the throne of Grecian eloquence. Here we find the object itself within the *Pnyx*, fronted towards the city and the plain, exactly as it was left by the Athenian Tyrants. The *altar* is also seen; forcibly illustrating,

(1) Διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκὶ πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν, γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχίαι δ' ἧττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας. Plutarch. in Themist. p. 268. tom. I. *Lond.* 1729.

illustrating, at this hour, the following passage of the comic poet:

"Οστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοὺν τῇ Πνυκί.

From this illustrious memorial of Athenian history, we descended once more to the *Cœle*, or *hollow way*, of Pausanias; and, crossing the road from the *Piræeus*, passed the *Cryptæ* of the *Hill of Musæus*, and ascended to the MONUMENT OF PHILOPAPPUS, standing upon its summit[2]. There is no account of this structure by any antient author, if we except Pausanias; who merely says of it[3], that in the place where *Musæus* was buried a monument was afterwards erected, ἀνδρὶ Σύρῳ, without adding a syllable as to his name or history; which is remarkable, considering the attention usually bestowed by him upon objects much less worthy of regard. It is within the walls of the antient, although at some distance from those of the modern city[4]; and the view from hence of the Citadel of Athens, the *Sinus Saronicus*, and the neighbouring territories, is very striking. Looking towards the sea, the eye commands the ports of the *Piræeus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalerus*; the isles of *Salamis* and *Ægina*; and the mountains of *Peloponnesus*, as far as the Gulph of *Argos*. The frequent mention of it by other travellers[5], added to the beautiful views of its several parts engraved for Stuart's "Antiquities of Athens[6]," render any descriptive detail unnecessary. It is supposed, from the inscriptions upon

Monument of the *Museum*.

(2) See the Plan of Athens, as a Vignette to Chap. XII. No. 4.

(3) Pausaniæ Attica, c. 26. p. 61. *Lips.* 1696.

(4) See the Plan; Vignette to the preceding Chapter.

(5) See Wheler, Spon, Le Roy, Stuart, Chandler, &c. &c.

(6) Vol. III. chap. 5. Plates 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. *Lond.* 1794.

CHAP. XIII.

upon it[1], that it was erected in the beginning of the second century. Stuart, in opposition to Wheler and Spon, believed it to have been raised, not in memory of a single individual[2], but "in honour of the last king of Commagene, and more than one of his descendants." It originally consisted of three compartments between four Corinthian pilasters; that is to say, of an arched recess, containing a central sitting figure, and having a square niche on each side of it. Below these appeared three superb sculptures in relief; that in the centre, beneath the sitting statue, exhibits Trajan in a car drawn by four horses, as he is represented on many monuments of the triumphs of that emperor; and his figure here corresponds with the image of him which is preserved upon the arch of *Beneventum* in Italy. On either side, in square compartments, were seen the attendants preceding and following the triumphal car. Of this superb structure, all that now remains is exhibited by the annexed engraving[3]. When Stuart visited Athens, it was not more perfect than it is now: but he was fortunate enough to discover, at the bottom of the hill, two statues that had stood erect, in Roman habits; and these, being exactly in the same style of workmanship with the sculptures still remaining on the monument, he supposed

(1) Under the figure in the left niche:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

Under the figure in the middle niche:

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣΒΗΣΑΙΕΥΣ

Upon the pilaster between these niches:

C · IVLIVS · CF · FABIA · ANTIOCHVS · PHILOPAPPVS · COS · FRATER ARVALIS · ALLECTVS · INTER · PRAETORIOS · AB · IMP · CAESARE · NERVA TRAIANO · OPTIMO · AVGVSTO · GERMANICO · DACICO

See *Stuart's Athens, vol.* III. *c.* 5.

(2) Ibid. p. 36. (3) From a drawing made upon the spot by Preaux, in 1800.

MONUMENT of PHILOPAPPUS, near Athens.

supposed to have stood above the two central pilasters[2]. But if this be true, there were probably two other figures above the remaining pilasters at the sides, to complete the symmetry of the work; which might thus admit of easy restoration from the hand of an artist willing to represent the whole of this most stately monument as it originally appeared. The statues mentioned by Stuart disappeared about thirty years after he left Athens[3].

Antient Walls.

Descending from the Museum, we observed some remains of the ANTIENT WALLS of the city upon its southern side, and of the entrance from *Phalerum*[4]. The vestiges of these walls also appear extending towards the Monument of Philopappus, which they inclosed; thence they bore off towards the Piræean Gate, in a line of direction almost due north and south[5]. Afterwards, crossing the plain, we visited the THEATRE and CAVE OF BACCHUS; and some substructions were shewn to us by Signor Lusieri, which he conceived to be the foundations of a temple dedicated also to the same Deity. Nothing exists now of the theatre, excepting the circular sweep for the seats, as in the earliest ages of dramatic representation it was universally formed, by scooping the sloping side of a rock[6]. But how majestic, and how perfect in its preservation, rises the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus above this theatre[7]! and how sublime the whole groupe

Theatre and Cave of Bacchus.

Monument of Thrasyllus.

(2) See Stuart's Athens, p. 36.

(3) In 1785. See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. p. 36, Note (*a*).

(4) See the Plan, Vignette to Chap. XII.

(5) See the Plan, No. 19. (6) Ibid. No. 16.

(7) See the Plan, No. 14. The best representation of it is in Le Roy ("*Ruines de la Grèce*," *Pl.* 8. *Paris*, 1758); now the more valuable, as the monument, in its present mutilated state, no longer exhibits the appearance it then presented.

CHAP. XIII.

groupe of objects with which it was associated at the time of our visit, and before the work of dilapidation had commenced —the antient sun-dial; the statue of the God; the pillars for the tripods[1]; the majestic Citadel! The last of these has indeed defied the desolating ravages of Barbaric power; but who shall again behold the other objects in this affecting scene as they then appeared? or in what distant country, and obscure retreat, may we look for their mutilated fragments? Often as these monuments had been described, we observed some things which perhaps have not been before noticed. This part of the rock of the Acropolis consists of a hard *red breccia,* similar to that which was observed at the Areopagus. Towards the left of the MONUMENT OF THRASYLLUS the surface of the stone has been planed perpendicularly; and here, beneath the two CHORAGIC PILLARS, we saw, upon the rock, an Inscription alluded to, but not copied, by Stuart[2], and mentioned by no other writer. It extends in two parts, which may have belonged to two separate legends, one above the other; but the characters are alike in both, and they are deeply engraven in the stone, after the manner of those Inscriptions which we discovered at Jerusalem, over the doors of the tombs in Mount Sion[3]. The only letters sufficiently perfect to be legible are the following; but the termination of the upper line could not be ascertained, and this line was remarkably separated

Remarkable Inscription.

(1) See the Plan, No. 13.

(2) Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. p. 7. *Lond.* 1787. Stuart wrote ΑΝΕΘΗΣΑΝ for ΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ.

(3) See Section I. of Part II. of these Travels, p. 556. *Broxb.* 1812.

separated from the lower part of the inscription by a natural or artificial linear cavity in the stone:

ΑΠΕΙΣΩΝΙΑΝΟΣΔΑΙ.
ΤΡΙΠΟΔΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ

In its very imperfect state it must be left to the conjectures of the learned[4]. The importance of its situation, and the circumstance of its never having been published before, certainly entitles it to the Reader's notice. As to its interpretation, it evidently refers to the erection of *tripods*: this appears both from the words of the inscription, and from its contiguity to the Choragic Pillars. The name *Pisonianus* seems to occur before Δαι; and these letters may have reference to the word Δαίμων, in one of its cases. Bacchus bears the title of *Dæmon* throughout the *Bacchæ* of Euripides[5]. With regard to the *Crypt* which is behind the Monument of Thrasyllus, by some called the *Cave of Bacchus*, and now a Greek chapel bearing the appellation of *Panagia Spiliotissa*, or *the Blessed Lady of the Grotto*, it is decidedly mentioned by Pausanias; and his allusion to it, added to the description which he gives of its situation, serve to identify the Theatre. He says it contained *a tripod*, with the figures of *Apollo* and *Diana*, represented as destroying the children of *Niobe*[6]. But

Origin of the Crypt.

(4) Τρίπος is found in Hesychius. The use of the verb ἀνέθεσαν occurs thus in Lucian: Ὕλας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ ὄρη ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὄρνεα καθιέρωσαν, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἑκάστῳ θεῷ· *Montes dedicârunt, vel consecrârunt, unicuique Deo.*

(5) Ὁ δαίμων, ὁ Διὸς παῖς. v. 417. τὸν δαίμον' εἰσφέρων νέον. v. 256. φάνεντα θνητοῖς δαίμονα. v. 42. ἐμφανὴς δαίμων βροτοῖς. v. 22. (*Camb.* 1694.) κ.τ.λ. The Greek Writers, and especially the Poets, use the word Δαίμων as applied to *a God*, or *Goddess*.

(6) Ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Θεάτρου, σπήλαιον ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκροπολιν. Τρίποδες δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδας εἰσὶν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 21. p. 49. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XIII.

But its more antient history may possibly refer to an earlier period than that of the *choragic games* of the Athenians, and to customs which existed in Attica long before the institution of the *Dionysia*. That it ought not to have been considered as necessarily associated with the structure now placed before it, seems to be evident from the circumstance of the entrance being closed when the building was added. In the inscription, upon the middle of the architrave and immediately over the central pilaster of the monument, no mention is made of the grotto: the legend appears to refer only to the structure whereon it is inscribed[1]. From this it may be conjectured, that the cave was one of the most antient *sepulchral cryptæ* of the first settlers upon this rock: there are many other of a similar nature, fronting the *Phalerum* in the approach to Athens, and in the *hill of Musæus*. It is precisely in the situation where such caves were often constructed for sepulchral purposes, by the earliest Grecian colonies, and by the inhabitants of all the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; that is to say, upon the outside and beneath the walls of the Acropolis; being hollowed in the rocks upon which their citadels were erected. Instances of this custom have been mentioned more than once in the former parts of this work[2]. Here we were gratified by finding the *Ice-plant* (*Mesembryanthemum crystallinum*, Linn.) sprouting

(1) See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 63. *Oxf.* 1776.

(2) See Part I. of these Travels, Chap. XX. p. 205. Third edit.

Ice Plant.

sprouting luxuriantly, in its wild and native state, among the ruins: it was now in seed[3]; and we collected the capsules to send to England[4]. This was the only spot in all Greece where we remarked this plant. The observations of former travellers prove it to be an Athenian plant[5]; yet it had been transported to England, and was cultivated there so early as the beginning of the last century[6].

On the following day we set out to visit those prodigious columns, which, owing to their magnitude and situation, are almost everywhere in view, bearing traditionally the name of *Hadrian's Pillars.* In our way thither, we passed beneath an arch which conducted from the *old city* of Theseus to the *New Athens* built by *Hadrian;* upon which the several appellations of *Porta Hadriani, Arch of Theseus,* and *Arch of Ægeus,* have been bestowed[7]. Its situation with respect to the walls of the antient city, and the obliquity of its position with regard to the peribolus which inclosed the plane of *Hadrian's Pillars,* seems to authorise an objection, already urged[8], against the notion of its having been originally *a gate.* Le Roy's view of

Arch of Hadrian.

(3) October 30.

(4) We collected many rare plants in the neighbourhood of Athens; but the specimens were destroyed in their passage home, by the wreck of the *Princessa* merchantman, off Beachy Head.

(5) It was found near to Athens, by John Sibthorpe, M. D. Professor of Botany at Oxford.

(6) In 1727, according to Bradley. See *Martyn's edit. of Miller's Dict. Lond.* 1807.

(7) See Wheler, Spon, Le Roy, Stuart, Chandler, &c. &c. See also the Plan, Vignette to Chap. XII. No. 18.

(8) Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, as above cited.

CHAP. XIII.

of it[1] is much finer, as to general effect, than that which Stuart has given[2], and exhibits more of the grandeur of the original. The stones are put together without cement; but the work is adorned with a row of Corinthian pilasters and columns, with bases supporting an upper tier in the same style of architecture, thereby denoting a mode of building more characteristic of the age of *Hadrian* than of any earlier period in Athenian history. In the endeavours which have been made to trace its origin, and to ascertain its antiquity, it is somewhat strange that no one has stated, what the first view of it seems to suggest as the most probable opinion concerning this structure; namely, that it was a *triumphal arch*, erected in honour of Hadrian upon his coming to Athens. Stuart has observed[3], that "it appears evidently not to have been connected with, or to have made a part of, any other building, but to have been originally intended to remain insulated." He also considers the inscriptions upon the two sides of it "as a complimentary effusion of gratitude to a liberal benefactor;" and yet he has been induced, by the forced construction of a passage in Plutarch, to believe this building to be the *Arch of Ægeus*, rebuilt by the Roman Emperor. If this had been the case, and if Hadrian, as he supposes, had really restored a venerable

Its origin.

(1) Les Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce, Pl. 21. *Paris*, 1757.
(2) Antiq. of Athens, vol. III. c. 3. Pl. 1. *Lond.* 1794.
(3) Ibid. p. 20.

a venerable fabric owing to any regard for the consideration in which its original founder was held, he would not surely have opposed his own fame to that of Theseus, as we find it to be vaunted in the two inscriptions upon the arch[4]. It seems more reasonable to suppose that these inscriptions were placed by the Athenians upon a *triumphal arch* erected in honour of *Hadrian*, as adulatory testimonies of their regard for a patron to whose munificence their city was so much indebted, and as the highest compliment they could bestow. That *Hadrian* coveted the thanks and praises of dependent states; that he sought to be so rewarded for the favours he conferred upon them; seems to be evident from one of his epistles alluding to the acknowledgments made by the people of Alexandria for his bounty to their city, and already cited in a former part of this work[5]. The form and style of the structure also agrees with this opinion of its origin; for it resembles the usual form of the triumphal arches raised in honour of the Roman Emperors[6]. It is built

(4) On the south-eastern side, towards the Acropolis:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΗΠΡΙΝΠΟΛΙΣ

Hæ sunt istæ Athenæ Thesei quondam urbs.

On the north-western side, towards the Temple of Jupiter Olympius:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚΟΥΧΙΘΕΣΕΩΣΠΟΛΙΣ

Hæ sunt istæ Athenæ Hadriani, et nequaquam Thesei urbs.

(5) See Chap. VII. p. 264. of this Vol.

(6) The first specimen of Grecian architecture erected in Great Britain was modelled from this arch; and the remains of the copy, although offering a paltry imitation, and upon an insignificant scale, may still be seen in the University of Cambridge. It is the southern front of the gate of Caius College, facing the Senate House and Public Library; erected in 1557, by John Caius, M.D. after designs by John of Padua.

CHAP. XIII.

built entirely of *Pentelican* marble; nor was this magnificence inconsistent with the materials commonly used in constructing triumphal arches. The arches of *Romulus*, it is true, were of *brick;* and that of *Camillus* was of *plain square stone;* but those of *Cæsar, Drusus, Titus, Trajan,* and *Gordian,* were, like this of *Hadrian,* entirely of *marble.* In addition it may be urged, that trophies of this kind were unknown in Greece before the time of the Roman Emperors. The mere circumstance of its form is therefore almost decisive as to its origin; for the practice of erecting arches, as monuments of noble enterprises, and in honour of distinguished personages, was not a *Grecian* but a *Roman* custom. Its proper appellation seems therefore to be that, which tradition, supported by the evidence of an inscription upon its south-eastern side, has long assigned to it; namely, the ARCH OF HADRIAN: and the occasion of its erection will be found in the remarkable event of *Hadrian's* return to Athens for the consecration of the identical temple to which this arch conducted: this happened early in the second century[1]. Three years only had elapsed since the Emperor entered into the priesthood of the *Eleusinian Ceres;* an event which was distinguished by the martyrdom of many Athenian Christians, with *Publius* their bishop[2]. The Heathens were therefore animated by every emotion of religious zeal, and by every sentiment of gratitude, to receive with all the honours of triumph the patron who had restored

When erected.

(1) A. D. 128. (2) A. D. 125.

restored the temples of their Gods; the champion who had trodden down the enemies of their faith[3]. If ever, in the history of the world, there was a time, when it was peculiarly appropriate that a triumph should be decreed, it was at this period, and upon this occasion. The antient city seemed to revive with more than pristine splendor from its ruins: ever since the age of *Dicæarchus*, its condition had been described as so wretched, that foreigners, upon the first sight of it, would scarcely believe they beheld what once had been so renowned a city[4]: but a *new Athens* had arisen under the auspices of the Emperor. Magnificent temples, stately shrines, unsullied altars, awaited the benediction of the sacerdotal monarch; and it would indeed have been marvellous if the Athenians, naturally prone to adulation, neglected to bestow it upon a benefactor so well disposed for its reception. The triumphal arch was of course prepared; and lasting characters, thereon inscribed, have proclaimed to succeeding ages that "THE ATHENS OF HADRIAN HAD ECLIPSED THE CITY OF THESEUS."

We now advanced towards the stupendous pillars which also bear the name of that emperor; and a much more difficult task would remain, if we should undertake to develope the circumstances of their history. According to the routine of objects as they were observed by Pausanias, on

(3) Upon his return to Athens, Hadrian presided as magistrate at the celebration of the *Dionysia*, and wore the Athenian dress. He also gave to the Athenians the island Cephallenia. *Vid. Dio. Cass. in Vit. Hadrian.*

(4) Ἀπιστηθείη δ' ἂν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων θεωρουμένη, εἰ αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ προσαγορευομένη τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις. Dicæarchi Status Græciæ, p. 8. *Oxon.* 1703.

CHAP. XIII.

on this side of the city, the *hundred and twenty pillars of Phrygian marble,* erected by *Hadrian,* were in this situation; that is to say, south-eastward of the Acropolis[1]. Sixteen columns of white marble, each six feet in diameter, and nearly sixty feet in height, now remain standing; all of the Corinthian order, beautifully fluted, and of the most exquisite workmanship[2]. But, by the appearance of the plane upon which the columns stand, Wheler was induced to believe that there were originally six rows of pillars, and twenty in each row, which would complete the number mentioned by Pausanias[3]. Chandler and Stuart are the first authors who have described the *Columns of Hadrian* as the remains of *the Temple of Jupiter Olympius*[4]. Le Roy considered them as a part of *the Pantheon*[5]; a name bestowed occasionally,

Temple of Jupiter Olympius.

(1) Τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα, ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου. Pausan. Attica, p. 43. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) Such is their inordinate size, when compared with the relative proportion of any other architectural pillars to natural objects, that in every representation of them hitherto engraven, where figures of living beings have been introduced by the artist to afford a scale for their dimensions, the design has been frustrated by the reluctance of the engraver to represent these figures sufficiently diminutive. This has been the case in the annexed Plates; for, unable to conceive the existence of columns of such magnitude that a man of ordinary stature may remain concealed within any of the *canelures,* some addition, as usual, has been made by the engraver to the size of the figures, and the apparent magnitude of the architecture has been thereby diminished. The original drawings were not wholly without this defect; but it is more visible in the engraved copies.

(3) "Which, therefore, must be that *hundred and twenty,* Pausanias speaketh of, as built by the Emperor Hadrian of *Phrygian* marble, being whiter than that of *Pentelycus.*" *Journey into Greece, Book* V. *p.* 371. *Lond.* 1682.

(4) See Trav. in Greece, vol. II. p. 74. *Oxf.* 1776. Also Antiq. of Athens, vol. III. p. 11. *Lond.* 1794.

(5) *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce, Pl.* 22. *p.* 35. *Paris,* 1758. Le Roy's View of the Ruin is perhaps the finest in that magnificent work.

E.D. Clarke del.

Etch.d by Letitia Byrne

Magnificent remains of the TEMPLE of JUPITER OLYMPIUS, at ATHENS.

Discordant accounts of this building.

occasionally, by different travellers, upon almost every building in Athens, whether in the *upper* or in the *lower* city. *Theodosius Zygomalas*, author of the Letter to *Martin Crusius*, published in 1583, mentions the *Parthenon*[6] under this last appellation. Guilletiere affirms positively, that the principal mosque in the lower city was the *Pantheon*[7], and afterwards describes it as superior to that of Rome. A recent traveller[8] applies the name, and with more reason, to an edifice described by Stuart as the *Poikile*[9], and by Wheler as the *Olympiéum*[10]. In this imperfect state of our knowledge with regard to the real history of these pillars, as of many other antiquities in Athens, the author would leave the question to be decided by subsequent investigation, and by the discoveries which the excavations

(6) This circumstance is alluded to by Spon, (*Voyage de Grèce, &c. tom.* II. *p.* 37. *à la Haye*, 1724.) but it may have originated in an error of the transcriber of *Zygomalas's* Letter, or in an error of the Press; πάνθεον being written for παρθενῶν. The words are: "Τὸ πάνθεον: οἰκοδομὴν, νικῶσαν πάσας οἰκοδομάς: γλυπτῶς ἐκτὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἐχουσὰν τὰς ἱστορίας Ἑλλήνων: καὶ ταῦτα, τὰς θείας. Ipsum Pantheum: quod est ædificium, aliis omnibus excellentius: in quo extrà circumquaque historiæ Græcorum sculptæ sunt, et quidem divinæ." (*Vid. Turco-Græciæ, lib.* vii. *p.* 430. *Basil.* 1583.) The author is here evidently describing the *Parthenon*; and, as he afterwards mentions the *horses of Praxiteles*, "ἐπάνω τῆς μεγάλης πύλης (supra magnam portam)," it is not very probable that he believed the building to be the *Pantheon of Hadrian*; unless indeed he alluded to the *horses* which were on each side of the *Propylæa*.

(7) "Il y a trois mosquées à Athènes: une dans le chasteau, qui est l'incomparable temple de Minerve; et deux dans la ville, dont la principale est le fameux *Panthéon*, qu'Adrian y fit bastir." *Voyage d'Athènes, p.* 156. Paris, 1675.

(8) Mr. Wilkins. See the Plan engraved for the Work about to be published by Mr. Walpole, on Parts of Greece, Asia, and Egypt, from the MS. Journals of Travellers in the Levant.

(9) Antiq. of Athens, vol. I. c. 5. p. 37. *Lond.* 1762.

(10) Journey into Greece, Book V. p. 392. *Lond.* 1682.

CHAP. XIII.

Reasons for the Name assigned to it.

excavations of future travellers may bring to light, were it not for the recent observations upon this subject by the Earl of Aberdeen[1], added to the plan of this mighty structure as afforded both by Chandler[2] and by Stuart[3] from their own personal observations; which seem to place the history of the building beyond a doubt, and prove it to have been the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*, constructed with double rows of columns, ten in front, and twenty-one in flank, amounting in all to one hundred and twenty-four; the extent of the front being one hundred and seventy-one feet, and the length of the flank more than four hundred: of which sumptuous and stately temple, these pillars are the majestic ruin. The area, or peribolus, within which it stood, was four stadia in circumference. "Rome," says Chandler[4], "afforded no example of this species of building. It was one of the four marble edifices which had raised to the pinnacle of renown the architects who planned them[5]; men, it is said, admired in the assembly of the Gods for their wisdom and excellence." Some of the columns still support their architraves; one of which, being measured while we were in Athens, was found to equal three feet in width; and, although of one entire piece of marble, it extended, in length, twenty-two feet six inches.

(1) Introduction to Wilkins's Transl. of Vitruvius, p. 66. See also Note (1) to p. 9, of the Text of that Work. *Lond.* 1812.

(2) Trav. in Greece, vol. II. c. 15. p. 74. *Oxf.* 1776.

(3) Antiq. of Athens, vol. III. c. 2. Pl. 2. *Lond.* 1794.

(4) Trav. in Greece, as above cited.

(5) Antistates, Callæschros, Antimachides, and Porinus, were the earlier architects employed on this fabric.

Preaux delin. Etch.d by Eliz.th Byrne.

TEMPLE of JUPITER OLYMPIUS,

inches[6]. Upon the top of the entablature, on the western side of the principal groupe, is shewn the dwelling of a hermit, who fixed his solitary abode upon this eminence, and dedicated his life entirely to the contemplation of the sublime objects by which his mansion was everywhere surrounded. Seventeen of these pillars were standing in 1676: but a few years before Chandler arrived in Athens, one was thrown down, for the purpose of building a new mosque in the market-place. Such instances of dilapidation on the part of the Turks are fortunately very rare; and we find that, in this instance, the damage done to the remains of the temple was made a pretext for extorting fifteen purses from the Governor of Athens; a tax levied by the Pasha of Negropont, as expressly stated, for the violence committed by the *Waiwode* in overthrowing the pillar.

Ilissus.

Descending from the area of the temple towards the Ilissus, we visited the fountain Callirhoe, sometimes called *Enneacrunus*[7]. We observed *niches* in the rock, for the *votive offerings*, where there had been a cascade: and hereabouts were, in all probability, the altars of those Muses mentioned by Pausanias, who were called *Ilissiades*. Afterwards, as we examined

Fountain *Callirhoë.*

(6) What the feelings of the Athenians must have been upon the restoration of this temple, may, in some degree, be collected from the following observations of *Plutarch*, and of *Dicæarchus*, concerning the edifice in its imperfect state. Ὡς γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον, οὕτως ἡ Πλάτωνος σοφία τὴν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καλοῖς μόνον ἔργον ἀτελὲς ἔσχηκεν. (*Plutarch. extremo Solone.*) Dicæarchus seems to have had a foresight of its future splendor. He says: Ὀλύμπιον, ἡμιτελὲς μὲν, κατάπλῆξιν δ' ἔχον τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομήσεως ὑπογραφήν· γενόμενον δ' ἂν βέλτιστον, ΕΙ ΣΥΝΕΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ. Dicæarch. Descript. Græc. ap. Meurs. De Athenis Atticis, lib. i. c. 10.

(7) Vid. Meursii Ceramic. Gemin. c. 14. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. tom. IV. p. 982. *L. Bat.* 1699.

CHAP. XIII.

examined the channel of the river, for a considerable extent, we found it to exhibit such evident traces of a powerful current having worn away the solid substance of its rocky bed, that we were convinced it could not formerly have been characterized by the appearance it now exhibits; namely, that of an occasional torrent, sometimes dry throughout the entire year. Chandler says, he visited it several times after snow had fallen on the mountains, and after heavy rain; but that he never found even the surface of the channel to be covered with water: it lodged only in the hollows of the stone, and trickled from one cavity to another[1]. Yet we should reluctantly conclude with that writer, that the Poets who celebrated *Ilissus* "as a stream laving the fields, cool and lucid," either conceived or conveyed "a false idea of this renowned water-course." Some other cause must be assigned for the disagreement of their descriptions with the real character which the river now bears. The earliest traveller whose work we have cited seems to have found no difficulty in accounting for the loss of the current, but, soon after his arrival at Athens, distinctly states, that the *water of the Ilissus had been diverted and divided by an infinite number of rivulets,* cut on purpose to supply the fountains in the gardens about the town[2]. In a former part of his work he seems to insinuate that the current had also been carried off

False Notions entertained of the River.

(1) Trav. in Greece, vol. II. p. 79. *Oxf.* 1776.

(2) "Le pont est soûtenu de trois arches; et au dessous est le canal où passoit l'Illissus quand il estoit rivière, car aujourd'huy le canal est sec; *l'Illissus a esté diverty, et partagé en une infinité de rigoles,* qui s'épanchent de costé et d'autre, pour aller faire des jets d'eau dans les jardins des environs de la ville." *Voyage d'Athènes, par De la Guilletiere, p.* 263. *Paris,* 1675.

off for the use of the mills near to the city[3]; and those who have visited *Troas* know very well that a channel thus diverted, for a single Turkish mill, is sufficient to carry off a torrent of water not less potent than was the stream of the *Ilissus*[4]. In the simple narrative of *De la Guilletiere* we have therefore sufficient evidence to justify a conclusion, although in opposition to *Chandler*, that the antient writers by whom the *Ilissus* is mentioned did not fall "into local absurdities and untruths[5]" in their descriptions of that river: neither is there any thing more justly reprehensible in literary matters, than the very common propensity to depreciate the accuracy of Poets and Historians, whenever a difficulty occurs in reconciling their statements with existing appearances[6].

From

(3) "Le Didascalos nous dit, que c'estoit la faute des moulins, et que *la rivière d'Illissus estoit présentement coupée en tant de canaux,* qu'elle ne pouvoit fournir assez d'eau pour bien moudre le bled." *Ibid. p.* 236.

(4) See Gell's Topography of Troy, p. 48. *Lond.* 1804.

(5) See Chandler's Travels in Greece, vol. II. p. 79. *Oxf.* 1776.

(6) Plato (*in Phæd. tom.* III. *p.* 229.) mentions *the pure and limpid waters* of the *Ilissus;* but as this passage of that author is expressly alluded to by Mr. Walpole, in his *MS. Journal,* when writing upon the same subject, his observations will now be added, as strongly supporting the opinion already given. "Neither wood nor water seem to have abounded in Attica. I did not meet a stream of any magnitude (excepting the Cephissus) in any part of it. Dio Chrysostom says, there are not great mountains to be seen, nor are there rivers flowing through the country, μήτε ποταμοὶ διαῤῥέοντες, Orat. 6. Athens itself was supplied with well-water; hence the number of antient wells we observe cut in the rock about the city near Lycabettus. Pausanias (lib. i.), as well as Plutarch in his life of Solon, makes mention of them. The exportation of wood and pitch was forbidden by law, as we find from the Scholiast on a passage in the Knights of Aristophanes. What the country afforded was required for the use of the navy. The Lyceum and Cynosarges were, according to Dicæarchus, καρδενδρα, *well wooded;* because, as places of public resort, they were much attended to; but trees are not now to be found there. It would be as difficult to find the pure and limpid waters of the Ilissus, καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ, which Plato mentions in the Phædrus; there is never any quantity

CHAP. XIII.

From the bed of the river—after visiting that part of it where the marble bridge of three arches, mentioned by all writers to the time of Stuart[1], conducted across the *Ilissus* to AGRÆ[2], the scene of one of Plato's dialogues[3]—we ascended to view the remains of the STADIUM PANATHENAICUM, which was, in fact, a continuation of the *bridge;* for the latter was seventy feet wide, and conducted immediately into the arena of the former. It has been usual to say of this most wonderful of all the marvellous works of *Herodes Atticus*[4], that nothing now remains of its former magnificence. To our eyes, every thing necessary to impress the mind with an accurate idea of the object itself, and of its grandeur, and of the prodigious nature of

Stadium Panathenaicum.

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quantity of water in the river-bed. In former times, the channel was full. Besides the passage from Plato, the following allusion of Cratinus to a famous orator supports this opinion:

Ye Gods, what a flow of words is here!
Ilissus is in his throat: Ἰλισσος ἐν τῇ φάρυγι.

and we know that the Pelasgi were accused of way-laying the Athenian women, when they went from the city to draw water from the Ilissus." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

(1) See the view of it in Stuart's Athens. The bridge no longer exists.

(2) Διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἐιλισσὸν, χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον, κ. τ. λ. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 19. p. 45. *Lips.* 1696.

(3) The *Phædrus;* so called from one of the disciples of Socrates.

(4) It was originally constructed by *Lycurgus;* but it was restored by *Herodes,* whose real name, as given by Spon from an Athenian inscription, was *Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes.* He lavished upon it the most enormous sums, covering it entirely with the white marble of Mount Pentelicus. Pausanias did not expect to be credited, even in the brief description of this work, as thus given: Τὸ δὲ, ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγὸν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιον ἐστὶ λευκοῦ λίθου, μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇδε ἄν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροιτο. ἄνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐιλισσὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηνοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν· τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρῴδης ᾠκοδόμησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντέλησιν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη. Pausan. Attica, c. 19. pp. 45, 46. *Lips.* 1696.

of the work, seemed to exist as if it had been in its perfect state. The marble covering of the seats, it is true, no longer appears; but the lines are visible of the different ranges; and perhaps a part of the covering itself might be brought to light by a removal of the soil. The absence of ornament is of little consequence as to the general effect: the decorations of a *Stadium*, however costly in their nature, may be easily imagined; and if, instead of having ransacked the quarries of *Pentelicus* for its garniture, some more precious material had been used, the superficial investment, in so vast a theatre, would not materially have altered its general appearance. The remains of *Stadia* still exist in different parts of Greece; but this of Athens surpasses, as in the days of its splendor, every other in the world. Its form is so perfect, that the spectator traversing the arena between its sloping sides, towards the sweep at its south-eastern extremity, almost imagines himself to be transported to the age in which it was prepared for the reception of its innumerable guests: and when seated in the higher part of it, where people from all *Attica*, ranged by thousands, could survey a still gathering multitude, thronging eagerly toward the spot; every countenance being animated by the greatness of the solemnity, and every heart beating with the most impatient expectation; how affecting is the scene before him! Nothing is wanted to render it more impressive, but the actual presence of the pomp itself — the noise of the chariots — the prancing and the neighing of the horses — the sounds of the music — the exhibition of the combatants — and the

CHAP. XIII.

shouts of the people. Even the passages through which ferocious animals[1] were conducted into the arena, and the entrances and retreats for those who contested prizes, do yet remain almost in their entire state. Nothing has been removed or destroyed but the parts which were merely ornamental; and these are not missed in the general survey of a structure necessarily simple as to its form, but inexpressibly great and striking in its aspect: and this effect is owing, not solely to its artificial character, but to the grandeur of its appearance as a work of Nature; the very mountains having contributed to the operations of art in its formation[2]. Such a combination may be often observed in antient theatres of a semicircular form; but there is not, either in *Hellas* or in *Asia Minor*, an instance, where the natural lineaments of the country have admitted of a similar adaptation to the appropriate shape of the Grecian Stadium. This splendid memorial of Attic splendor, and of the renown of a private citizen of Athens, became ultimately his

Sepulchre of Herodes.

funeral monument: and a very curious discovery may be reserved for future travellers in the majestic sepulchre of Herodes himself; who was here interred[3] with the highest obsequies

(1) When Hadrian was in Athens, he presided at the *Panathenæa*, and caused one thousand wild beasts to be hunted in the *Stadium*, for the diversion of the people. "*Athenis mille ferarum venationem in Stadio exhibuit.*" Spartianus, in ejus Vitâ, c. 19.

(2) There is a very fine view of it, as engraved by Landseer from a drawing by Reveley, in Stuart's Athens, vol. III. c. 7. Pl. 3. *Lond.* 1794.

(3) The funeral of *Herodes Atticus* must have afforded one of the most affecting solemnities of which History makes mention. He was seventy-six years old when he died: and in the instructions which he left for his interment, he desired to be buried at *Marathon*, where he was born; but the Athenians insisted upon possessing his remains, and they caused the youth of their city to bear him to the *Stadium Panathe-*

obsequies and most distinguished honours a grateful people could possibly bestow upon the tomb of a benefactor, who spared no expense for them while he was living, and every individual of whom participated in his bounty at his death[4]. A little eastward of the STADIUM are the vestiges of the Temple of *Diana Agræa*. Having again crossed the *Ilissus*, we observed, near to its northern bank, some remains which Stuart and others have considered as those of the *Lyceum*. Hence we proceeded toward the east, to ascend MOUNT ANCHESMUS, and to enjoy in one *panoramic*[5] survey the glorious prospect presented from its summit, of all the antiquities and natural beauties in the Athenian Plain. At the foot of this mount were the remains of a reservoir, constructed by Hadrian for the purpose of receiving water for his new city, after being conveyed by a most expensive aqueduct,

Hadrian's Reservoir.

Panathenaicum, which he had built; all the people accompanying, and pouring forth lamentations as for a deceased parent. Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῖς τῶν ἐφήβων χερσὶν ἁρπάσαντες, ἐς ἄστυ ἤνεγκαν, προαπαντῶντες τῷ λέχει πᾶσα ἡλικία, δακρύοις ἅμα, καὶ εὐφημοῦντες, ὅσα παῖδες, χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρεύσαντες. (*Philostratus in ejus Vitâ, Sophist. lib.* ii. *Lips.* 1709.) What a subject for the pencil of a Raphael! Historical painters sometimes complain that every event in antient history has been already handled: here is one, at least, to which this complaint is not applicable.

(4) He bequeathed to every Athenian a sum nearly equal to three pounds of our money.

(5) Since the plan has been adopted in England of exhibiting the views of celebrated cities by the sort of painting called *Panorama*, a hope has been excited that Athens will one day become the subject of such a picture; and for this purpose it is highly probable that *Mount Anchesmus* will be made the point of observation. At the same time, it is liable to this objection; that the grandeur of effect is always diminished in proportion to the elevation of the spectator. The city makes, perhaps, a more striking appearance in the road from ELEUSIS, immediately after leaving the defile of *Daphne*.

CHAP. XIII.

aqueduct, whose broken piers may be traced to the distance of seven miles from the spot, in a north-easterly direction, towards the country between Parnes and Pentelicus. In Stuart's time, part of an arcade of marble remained, consisting of two Ionic columns, with their entablature; and the spring of an arch, containing the fragment of an inscription, which was remarkably restored by Spon's discovery of the entire legend in a manuscript at *Zara*[1]. It stated, that the work was begun by *Hadrian*, in the *new Athens*, and completed by his son *Antoninus Pius*[2]. The whole fabric is now destroyed, so that even the site of the arcade cannot be determined; but the architrave yet remains, with that part of the inscription which was observed here when Wheler and Spon visited the spot: it forms the lintel or top of one of the gates, leading towards its antient situation, in the present wall of the city[3]. We ascended to the commanding eminence of the mount, once occupied by a *temple of Anchesmian Jupiter*. The Pagan shrine has, as usual, been succeeded by a small Christian sanctuary: it is dedicated to St. George. Of the view from this rock, even Wheler could not write without emotion. "Here,"

Mount Anchesmus.

(1) Wheler says at *Spalatro*. See Spon, Voyage de Dalmatie, &c. tom. I. p. 51. *à la Haye*, 1724.

(2) IMP · CAESAR · T · AELIVS · HADRIANVS · ANTONINVS · AUG · PIVS · COS · III · TRIB · POT · II · PP · AQVAEDVCTVM · IN · NOVIS · ATHENIS · COEPTVM · A · DIVO · HADRIANO · PATRE · SVO · CONSVMMAVIT · DEDICAVITQVE

(3) See the third volume of Stuart's Athens, as edited by Reveley, p. 28. Note (*a*). *Lond.* 1794.

"Here," said he[4], "a *Democritus* might sit and laugh at the pomps and vanities of the world, whose glories so soon vanish; or an *Heraclitus* weep over its manifold misfortunes, telling sad stories of the various changes and events of Fate." The prospect embraces every object, excepting only those upon the south-west side of the Castle. Instead of describing the effect produced in our minds by such a sight, it will be more consistent with the present undertaking, to note down what the objects really are which the eye commands from this place. It is a plan we propose to adopt again, upon similar occasions, whenever the observations we made upon the spot will enable us so to do. The situation of the observer is north-east of the city: and the Reader may suppose him to be looking, in a contrary direction, towards the Acropolis; which is in the centre of this fine picture: thence, regarding the whole circuit of the Citadel, from its north-western side, towards the south and east, the different parts of it occur in the following order; although, to a spectator, they all appear to be comprehended in one view.

View from the summit.

Central Object.

The lofty rocks of the ACROPOLIS, crowned with its majestic temples, the *Parthenon*, *Erecthéum*, &c.

Fore Ground.

The whole of the modern CITY OF ATHENS, with its gardens, ruins, mosques, and walls, spreading into the plain beneath

(4) Journey into Greece, Book V. p. 374. *Lond.* 1682.

CHAP. XIII.

beneath the Citadel. The procession for an Albanian wedding, with music, &c. was at this time passing out of one of the gates.

Right, or North-Western Wing.

The TEMPLE OF THESEUS.

Left, or South-Eastern Wing.

The TEMPLE OF JUPITER OLYMPIUS.

View beyond the Citadel, proceeding from West, to South and East.

1. Areopagus. 2. Pnyx. 3. Ilissus. 4. Site of the Temple of Ceres in *Agræ*, and Fountain Callirhoë. 5. Stadium Panathenaicum, Site of the Lyceum, &c.

Parallel Circuit, with a more extended radius.

1. Hills and Defile of Daphne, or *Via Sacra*. 2. Piræeus. 3. Munychia and Phalerum. 4. Salamis. 5. Ægina. 6. More distant isles. 7. Hymettus.

Ditto, still more extended.

1. Parnes. 2. Mountains beyond Eleusis and Megara. 3. Acropolis of Corinth. 4. Mountains of Peloponnesus. 5. The Ægean and distant Islands.

Immediately beneath the Eye.

1. Plain of Athens, with Albanians engaged in agriculture; herds of cattle, &c. &c.

Hereafter,

Hereafter, in describing prospects, where our situation as spectators has been more elevated, and the view thereby rendered still more extensive, as well as the objects more numerous, we shall complete an entire circumference; noting our observations according to the points of a mariner's compass, after the plan adopted by Wheler. During the time that we were occupied in making our survey from this eminence, Lusieri began to trace the outlines of the inestimable View of Athens which he designed, and afterwards completed, upon this spot; adding every colour, even the most delicate tints and touches of his pencil, while the objects he delineated were yet before his eyes[1]. We remained with him during the greater part of the day: and having now examined all the principal antiquities in the immediate vicinity of Athens, we returned by the gate leading to ANCHESMUS, where the inscribed marble, relating to Hadrian's reservoir for water at the foot of the mount, is now placed. After entering the city, we resolved to try our success by making an *excavation*, not only in one of the tombs, but also in the exhausted wells, of which there are many in the neighbourhood of Athens.

(1) In this manner he finished his *View of Constantinople*, taken from an eminence above the Canal; working with his colours in the open air. His rival Fauvel was not in Athens during the time of our visit; a Frenchman equally renowned, for his talents as an artist, his researches as an antiquary, and his disinterested attention to all travellers, whether of his own or of any other nation.

E.D.C.del. Etched by Letitia Byrne

VIEW from the PARTHENON across the SINUS SARONICUS.

1. Sinus Saronicus. 2. Acropolis of Corinth. 3 3. Mountain near Megara 4 4. Part of Salamis 5 5 5. Road to Piræeus. 6. Throne of Xerxes on the Banks of Salamis

CHAP. XIV.

ATHENS.

Excavations—Great Antiquity of the Athenian Wells—Curious Inscription upon a Terra-cotta *Lamp—Excursion to* Hymettus—*Temple of* Diana—*Monastery—Visit to the summit of the mountain—Plants—Panoramic Survey of the Country—Return to* Athens—*Singular Adventure that befel the Author—Description of the Ceremonies of the Bath, as practised by the Turkish and Grecian Women—Further observations in the* Acropolis—*Inscriptions—Specimen of* Cadmæan Characters—*Additional remarks upon the* Parthenon—*Effect of Sun-set behind the Mountains of Peloponnesus.*

CHAP. XIV.

HAVING hired some Albanian peasants for the work, and obtained permission from the *Waiwode*, we began the examination of some of the wells. Mr. Cripps, in the mean time, superintended the excavation of a *tumulus* near the road

Excavations.

road leading to the *Piræeus;* but the difficulty of carrying on any undertaking of this kind, owing to the jealousy, not only of the Turks, but also of the Greeks, who always suppose that some secret horde of gold is the object of research, renders it liable to continual interruption. After two days spent in opening the tomb, we had the mortification to find that it had been examined before; and we had good reason to believe that a knowledge of this circumstance was the sole ground of the easy permission we had obtained to begin the labour for the second time. In the examination of the wells, we succeeded better; but our acquisitions were as nothing compared with those which have since been made[1]. The reasons which induced the author to suspect that the cleansing of an old well would lead to the discovery of valuable antiquities were these: *first,* the wells of Greece were always the resort of its inhabitants; they were places of conversation, of music, dancing, revelling, and almost every kind of public festivity; *secondly,* that their remote antiquity is evident from the following extraordinary circumstance. Over the mouth of each well has been placed a massive marble cylinder, nearly corresponding, as to its form, ornaments, height, and diameter, with the marble altars which are so commonly converted by the Turks into mortars for bruising their corn. A very entire altar of this shape

Great Antiquity of the Athenian Wells.

(1) Particularly by Mr. Dodwell, and by Mr. Graham of Trinity College, Cambridge, son of Sir James Graham, Bart. The latter of these gentlemen, in opening one of the wells, restored to the inhabitants of Athens, to their great joy, a very fine spring of water, which burst forth upon the removal of the rubbish by which the well was filled: the most valuable gift he could have made to a city where water is particularly scarce.

CHAP. XIV.

shape is in the Cambridge collection of Greek Marbles[1]. These wells had no contrivance for raising water by means of a windlass, or even of the simple lever[2], common over all the north of Europe, which is often poised by a weight at the outer extremity. The water rose so near to the surface, that it was almost within reach of the hand; and the mode of raising it was by a hand-bucket, with a rope of twisted herbs. Owing to the general use of this rope, and its consequent friction against the sides of the well, the interior of those massive marble cylinders has been actually grooved all round, to the depth of two or three inches: in some instances, transverse channels appear crossing the others obliquely, and to an equal depth. An effect so remarkable, caused in solid marble by its attrition with one of the softest substances, affords convincing proof that a great length of time must have elapsed before any one of those furrows in the stone could have been so produced; and that many ages would be requisite to form such channels in any number.

Having selected a dry well for our experiment, whose mouth was covered by a cylinder remarkably distinguished by this appearance, we removed a quantity of stones and rubbish, and found at the bottom a substratum of moist marle. In this humid substance (the original deposit of the water when the well was used), the quantity of *terra-cotta* vessels, lamps, pitchers, bottles, some entire, others

(1) Presented to the author by Bridges Harvey, Esq. M. A. of Jesus College. It was brought from Delos.

(2) The lever is now used for some of the wells in Athens; but it seems probable that the use of this mechanical power among the Modern Greeks was introduced by the Albanians.

others broken, was very great. We removed not fewer than thirty-seven in an entire state, of various sizes and forms. They were chiefly of a coarse manufacture, without glazing or ornament of any kind; but the workmen brought up also the feet, handles, necks, and other parts of earthen vases of a very superior quality and workmanship: some of these were fluted, and of a jet black colour; others of a bright red, similar to those innumerable fragments of *terra cotta* found upon the site of all Grecian cities; especially in the outer *Ceramicus*[3], and in the *sepulchres of Athens* since opened, as well as those of Italy and of Sicily. While this work was going on, a lamp was brought to us, without any information of the place where it was found, but of such singular beauty and interest, that the author would be guilty of an unpardonable omission if he neglected to insert its particular description: he has an additional motive for so doing; namely, the hope of being one day able to recover this curious relique: for its extraordinary perfection so much excited the cupidity of one of the Roman *formatori*, that having

(3) By collecting upon the spot these fragments of Grecian pottery, and comparing afterwards the fragments found upon the site of *one* antient city with those discovered upon the site of *another*, a very marked difference of manufacture may be observed. The *Corinthians* seemed to have used a particularly heavy and coarse black ware; that of *Athens* was the lightest and most elegant; that of *Sicyon* the rudest and most antient. The most perfect pottery of Modern Greece is the earthenware of *Larissa*, where it may be found almost equal in beauty to the antient *terra cotta*. Mr. Cripps discovered at Athens, upon the outside of the city, fragments, of the finest antient vases, lying as in a quarry, and sufficient in quantity to prove that a very large establishment for the manufacture of *earthenware* once existed upon the spot. As it remains there at this hour, it may assist in deciding the disputed position of the outer CERAMICUS. "*Fecit et Calcosthenes cruda opera Athenis; qui locus ab officinâ ejus,* Ceramicos *appellatur.*" Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 12. *L. Bat.* 1635.

CHAP. XIV.

having volunteered the troublesome and difficult task of packing up our antiquities when we were about to leave Athens, he availed himself of the opportunity to steal this lamp; and the theft was not discovered until the case, said by him to contain it, was opened upon its arrival in England. Possibly, therefore, as it may exist in some cabinet of Europe, the following account of it may hereafter lead to the knowledge of its situation; if it do not prove the cause of its destruction. It was of a black colour, like to our dark Wedgewood ware: when first offered to us, it seemed to be corroded and porous; but after it had imbibed a little oil, it appeared as perfect as if it had recently issued from the hands of the Athenian potter. In shape and size it resembled the generality of antient *terra-cotta* lamps; being of a circular form, and about three inches in diameter, with a protruding lip for the wick in one part of the circumference. Upon the top of this lamp, a lion was represented in an erect posture; the figure of the animal expressing all the energy and greatness of style peculiar to the best age of sculpture. Within the circle at the bottom of the lamp was this inscription:

Curious Inscription upon a *Terra-cotta* Lamp.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤ
ΗΣΕΧΕ
ΖΩΟΝ

SOCRATES·ACCEPT·THIS·ANIMAL

It seems therefore to have been originally one of those offerings called νερτέρων ἀγάλματα by *Euripides*[1], the *imagines*, or,

(1) Καὶ μὴν ὁρῶ σὸν πατέρα γεραιῷ ποδὶ
Στείχοντ' ὀπαδοὺς, τ' ἐν χεροῖν δάμαρτι σῇ
Κόσμον φέροντας, νερτέρων ἀγάλματα.
Euripid. in Alc. v. 612. p. 282. *Cantab.* 1694.

or, as usually translated, *grata munera,* which the friends of a deceased person were wont to carry after the corpse during the funeral procession: and perhaps it was deposited in the grave of the most celebrated philosopher of the antient world.

During the first days of November we continued our researches with the utmost diligence, both in making these excavations, and in endeavouring to find Inscriptions which had escaped the notice of former travellers. Upon the third of this month we set out upon an excursion to HYMETTUS[2], intending to visit the summit of the mountain. Having taken with us horses, a guide, and provisions for the day, we left Athens for this purpose, at sun-rise; Signor Lusieri being of our party. In our way we crossed the Ilissus; and again passing the *Stadium,* we visited a small Greek chapel towards the east, upon the top of a hill. This building was alluded to in the preceding Chapter, as marking the site of the Temple of *Diana Agræa,* or *Agrotera.* We saw here the remains of columns of three distinct orders in architecture; the most antient *Doric,* the *Ionic,* and the *Corinthian*; therefore it is rather the situation of the building, with reference to the course pursued by Pausanias[3], than any specific part of the antiquities remaining, which may be relied

Excursion to *Hymettus.*

Temple of Diana.

(2) "Many places in Greece preserve their antient names: others retain them with a slight alteration; as, *Elimbo* for *Olympus*; *Lyakoura* for *Parnassus,* from *Lycorea* the antient city upon that mountain: others bear appellations imposed on them by the Venetians and Genoese: but no instance has occurred of a more singular metamorphosis in Grecian nomenclature than in the name of HYMETTUS. The Venetians, who called it *Monte Hymetto,* corrupted it into *Monte Matto: Matto* signifies *mad;* and the modern Greeks have chosen to translate the two words literally, by *Trelo-Vouni,* 'the Mad Mountain'." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

(3) Vid. Pausan. in Atticis, c. 19. p. 44. Edit. Kuhnii. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XIV. relied upon, as denoting where this temple of Diana stood. After his visit to the GARDENS, and the TEMPLE OF VENUS (*in hortis*), having mentioned the SHRINE OF HERCULES (which was called *Cynosárges*), and the LYCEUM, being still eastward of the STADIUM, he crosses the ILISSUS, in that part of it where it received the ERIDANUS; and entering AGRA, or AGRÆ[1], immediately upon his arrival at the southern side of the river[2], notices the TEMPLE OF DIANA AGROTERA. No part of his description seems to be involved in less uncertainty than his position of this edifice, which exactly corresponds with that of the Greek chapel now mentioned.

Monastery. Hence we proceeded to the Monastery of *Saliani*[3], upon Mount Hymettus. Chandler believed this to have been antiently renowned as the scene where the jealous *Procris* met her fate from the *unerring* dart of Diana, which she had given to her husband *Cephalus*[4]. A temple of Venus stood upon the spot; and near to it there was a fountain whose water was believed to conduce to pregnancy, and to an easy delivery. The modern superstition with regard to the fountain, which is close to the Convent, confirmed his opinion in a manner that he does not

(1) Ἄγρα, καὶ Ἄγραι, χωρίον, ἐνικῶς καὶ πληθυντικῶς. Stephanus. Vid. Meurs. lib. de Populis Atticæ, ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. Antiq. vol. IV. p. 683. *L. Bat.* 1699.

(2) Διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Εἰλισσὸν, χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον, καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. Pausan. c. 19. p. 45. *Lips.* 1696.

(3) So we believed the name to be pronounced; perhaps corrupted from some derivative of Σαλεύω, *fluctuo*; the water here continually gushing forth. Wheler calls this place *Hagios Kyriani*; Chandler, *Cyriani*; and Stuart has written it, in his Map of Attica, *Monastery of Syriani*.

(4) See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 145. *Oxf.* 1776.

not appear to have noticed: the priest told him, that "*a dove* is seen to fly down from heaven, to drink of the water annually, at the feast of Pentecost." It is remarkable that an ignorant superstition should thus have selected the *bird* which was peculiarly sacred to *Venus:* and Chandler also adds, that the Greek women still repair to the Monastery at particular seasons. Being earnest in the pursuit of antiquities, we neglected to attend, as we ought to have done, to the traditions of the inhabitants; but we found enough to convince us that this was the site of some antient temple. We observed in the church of the Monastery several Ionic columns; also the shaft of a pillar of granite; and at the fountain we saw the head of a bull, or of a cow[5], sculptured upon a white marble *Soros,* now used as a cistern. This Monastery is visible from Athens. The water from the fountain falls into the Ilissus. We found here a slab of white marble, with an inscription; the stone had been brought from some ruins near another convent, higher up than the Monastery, and upon an opposite eminence towards Athens. Our guide wished much to conduct us thither; but we postponed going, in order to copy this inscription, until it was too late; as we wished to reach the summit of Hymettus before noon, that we might there estimate the temperature of the atmosphere, and

(5) The Venus of *Egypt* and of *Phœnice* had this form. The image of Isis, according to Herodotus (*lib.* ii.), had the form of a woman with the horns of *a cow* upon her head, as the Grecians represented Io. Wheler seems to allude to this piece of sculpture, (*See Journey into Greece, Book* VII. *p.* 411. *Lond.* 1682.) but he calls it "a sheep's head."

CHAP. XIV.

and also avail ourselves of the clearness and serenity of the weather for other observations. From the distant view we had of those ruins, added to the description given of them, there seemed to be a ground-plot and foundation as for a temple. This marble, which had been brought from the spot, will of course render the place worthy the examination of future travellers. The subject of the Inscription relates to the genealogy of some family. We have since found that it has been already published by Chandler, who takes no notice of the place where it was originally discovered; but as it may be consulted in the works of that author, we shall not offer it a second time to the public[1].

Visit to the Summit of the Mountain.

From this Monastery it is practicable to ride the whole way to the summit of Hymettus; but we preferred walking, that we might the more leisurely examine every object, and collect the few plants in flower at this late season of the year[2]. We saw partridges in great abundance; and bees, in all parts of the mountain; not only at the Monastery, where a regular apiary is kept, but also in such number dispersed and feeding about the higher parts of Hymettus,* that the primeval breed[3] may still exist among the numerous wild stocks which inhabit the hollow trees and clefts of

(1) Vid. Inscript. Antiq. p. 64. ΔΑΔΟΥΚΟ, κ. τ. λ.

(2) Our specimens were all lost in the wreck of the Princessa merchantman; but Wheler has given a catalogue of the plants collected by him, in the month of February, upon this mountain. *See Journey into Greece, Book* VI. *p.* 414. *Lond.* 1682.

(3) The Antients belived that bees were first bred here, and that all other bees were but colonies from this mountain.

of the rocks. Their favourite food, the *wild Thyme* (ἔρπυλλον, *Thymus Serpyllum, Linn.*), in almost every variety, grows abundantly upon the mountain, together with *Salvia pomifera*, and *Salvia verbascum;* and to this circumstance may be owing the very heating quality of the honey of Hymettus. The powerful aromatic exhalation of these plants fills the air with a spicy odour: indeed, this scented atmosphere is a very striking characteristic of Greece and of its islands, but it peculiarly distinguishes the mountains of Attica. The Θύμος of Theophrastus and Dioscorides was used as incense in the temples. We could hear nothing of the silver mines[4] mentioned by Strabo, where the

(4) "The Athenians, we are informed, obtained copper from Colone, close to Athens; where Sophocles has laid the scene of one of his most beautiful plays. Silver was procured from Laurium, and was the metal in general circulation: there were ten different coins of silver, from the tetradrachm to the quarter of an obolus. Lead was purchased from the Tyrians: Τὸν μολύβδον τὸν ἐκ τῶν Τυρίων, are the words of Aristides. II. *De Cur. Rei Fam.* 396. Gold was so scarce, at one time, in Greece, that the Lacedæmonians could find none to gild the face of the statue of Apollo at Amyclæ, (οὐκ εὑρίσκοντες ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι χρύσιον, *Athene*, 232.) and therefore sent to Lydia for it. There was an abundance when the Temple of Apollo was plundered by the Phocian tyrants, and when Alexander had pillaged, says Athenæus, the treasures of Asia: lib. vi. 231. It is worth remarking, that we can tell pretty nearly the century in which the mines of silver of Laurium (which was about thirty miles S. E. from Athens) began to fail; at least according to the opinion of the Antients. Thucydides mentions them in two places of his History (Book ii. and vi.): in the sixth book he talks of the revenue derived from the silver mines. It is the object of a treatise of Xenophon to recommend the Athenians to work the silver mines of Laurium (περὶ πόρων). But what do Strabo and Pausanias say? The latter asserts that they had failed. Strabo's words are decisive as to this point: (Book ix.) 'The silver mines in Attica, formerly celebrated, are now deficient. The men who work there, submitting again to the operation of fire the former refuse and scoria (σκωρίαν), find silver still in it: the Antients having used their furnaces without any skill.' The ground about Laurium is covered frequently, for many yards, with great quantities of scoria, lying in the road." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

CHAP. XIV.

the best honey of Hymettus was found. The ascent was truly delightful; the different prospects varying in extent and magnificence, as we pursued a devious track among the rocks, in our way upwards to the top of the mountain. We reached the summit about twelve o'clock: there was no wind, and the sky was without a cloud. We had some difficulty to find a shaded situation for the thermometer: however, the difference amounted only to three degrees of Fahrenheit, whether the scale remained in the shade, or exposed to the sun's rays. The mercury stood at 48° in the former situation, and it rose only to 51° in the latter; affording sufficient proof of the mild climate of Attica, in this warm temperature upon the summit of its loftiest mountain, in the beginning of the month of November[1]. Even upon this elevated spot, and upon the naked surface of the limestone, without an herb or a drop of water to allure it, one of the wild bees came and settled upon the scale of the thermometer, as if curious to inquire what singular intrusion interrupted its aërial solitude. We did not perceive any remarkable difference between the appearance of this insect upon Hymettus, and the common bee of our own country, except that we considered the former as rather smaller, and of a more golden colour. Lusieri had already placed himself upon a sloping part of the summit facing the south, and was beginning to delineate the wonderful

(1) It may perhaps be asked why the author did not carry a *barometer*, rather than a *thermometer*, to the summit of Hymettus:—simply, because such instruments are not found in any part of the Turkish Empire; nor indeed anywhere else, in perfection, except in England.

wonderful sight he beheld. From the spot where he was seated, a tremendous chasm of Hymettus, awfully grand, extended, in one wide amazing sweep, from the summit to the base of the mountain. Into this precipitous ravine there projected from its sides the most enormous crags and perpendicular rocks. These he had chosen to be the fore-ground of his sublime picture; the eye looking down into an abyss which at the bottom opened into a glorious valley, reaching across the whole promontory of Attica, from sea to sea. All beyond was the broad and purple surface of the Ægean, studded with innumerable islands, and shining with streaks of the most effulgent light. While he was engaged in his delightful employment, we undertook a task of less difficulty; namely, that of making a *panoramic* survey of all the principal objects; noting their situation according to the points of a mariner's compass, which we placed upon the upmost pinnacle of the mountain; beginning with the *north* point, and proceeding regularly from left to right, so as to complete an entire circumference whose centre is the summit of Hymettus.

Panoramic Survey *of* Attica, *the* Ægean Sea, *&c. from the Summit of* Hymettus.

North.

Panoramic Survey of the Country.

Parnes mountain, and the valley east of Athens, leading to Pentelicus: the highest point of *Parnes* bearing due *north*.

North North-East.

A very high mountain covered with snow, of a conical form, but at so great a distance that we could not decide with certainty as to its name: possibly it may have been the

the mountain mentioned by Wheler, belonging to *Eubœa*, and now called *Delphi*[1]; but the bearing, according to his observation, was *north and by east*. Nearer to the eye, in this direction (N. N. E.), is one of the mountains of EUBŒA, extending from *north and by east* to *north-east*; that is to say, the mountainous chain of *Negropont*.

North-East.

PENTELICUS mountain, intercepting, with its summit, the visible range of the Negropont mountains.

North-East and by East.

The range of EUBŒAN MOUNTAINS (*olim*, *Ocha Mons*), extending to *east and by south*: the Sea of MARATHON intervening in front.

East.

The SOUTHERN PROMONTORY OF EUBŒA, called *Caristo*.

East and by South.

The strait between ANDROS and EUBŒA.

East South-East.

The SUMMIT OF ANDROS.

South-East and by East.

TENOS: nearer to the eye, and nearly in the same direction, the north point of *Macronisi*, or ISLE OF HELENA, extending thence towards *south-east and by south*.

South-East.

GYAROS, now called *Jura*; and half a point more towards the south, MYCONE, and the DELIAN ISLES.

South-

(1) See Journey into Greece, p. 410. *Lond.* 1682.

South-East and by South.

Eastern point of *Zïa*, CEOS; this island concealing all the *Cyclades* excepting CYTHNUS, now *Thermia*.

South South-East.

Island of CEOS, now *Zïa*.

South and by East.

CYTHNUS, now *Thermia*, appearing beyond the southern point of CEOS; and nearer to the eye, a mountain extending across the promontory of Attica from sea to sea, being opposed to HYMETTUS, (perhaps that called *Elimbo*). Still nearer, beneath the view, the GREAT VALLEY which lies between the two mountains, composing the three grand features of all ATTICA, south-east of Athens.

South.

CAPE SUNIUM, bearing into the sea, in a line from *north-east* to *south-west*.

South and by West.

A lofty cape, with lower islands so much resembling the Cape and Precipice of SAMOS, with the *Samian Boccaze*, and the Isles of *Fourni* and *Nicaria*, that nothing but its situation by the compass could convince us to the contrary. The rude sketch made upon the spot will give an idea

of its appearance. We know not the name either of the cape or of the islands. The distance in which they are here

CHAP. XIV. here viewed was the utmost stretch of the *radius* of our circle: they were seen only by the outline of their forms, thus interrupting the horizontal line of the sea. The only land in this direction, as laid down in D'Anville's Chart of the Archipelago, that could have been visible to us, is the Island of *Falconéra*; *Milo* being to the east of the south. Nearer to the eye, in the same direction, we saw the Island of *St. George D'Arbori.*

Between South and by West, and South South-West.

An island at an immense distance, perhaps *Caravi:* it had some resemblance to Patmos; and our stupid guide insisted upon it that it was actually Patmos; calling it also Ἁγιανίσι, "*Holy Island.*"

South South-West.

The open sea. Close to the eye, upon the coast of Attica, a large mountain, forming, on this side of Hymettus, a profound and magnificent valley with precipitous sides.

South-West and by South.

An island somewhat resembling Amorgos in its shape, but quite in a different situation, appearing beyond the south-eastern point of *Hydra;* perhaps *Belo Poulo.*

South-West.

ARISTERA, now called *Hydra*; extending in a line from the *south-east* towards the *north-west.*

South-

South-West and by West.

The SCYLLÆAN PROMONTORY, and entrance to the GULPH OF ARGOS; *a small island* lying in the mouth of it: the whole territory of ARGOLIS being visible in this direction; its mountainous ridges exhibiting vast irregular undulations, like the boiling of a troubled sea.

West South-West.

SINUS SARONICUS: the Island of ÆGINA, backed by the Mountains of EPIDAURUS.

West and by South.

More distant summits of PELOPONNESUS, even to *Arcadia*, seen between two small islands north-west of *Ægina*.

West.

Smaller Isles, and Rocks, towards the north of the Saronic Gulph; and distant Mountains of Peloponnesus.

West and by North.

PHALERUM; and beyond it, the south-west part of the Island of SALAMIS.

West North-West.

PIRÆEUS; the Island of SALAMIS; the ACROPOLIS OF CORINTH, backed by very lofty mountains, separating ARCADIA and ACHAIA, in the interior of PELOPONNESUS.

North-

North-West and by West.

MEGARA; MONS GERANEA; and other high mountains more distant.

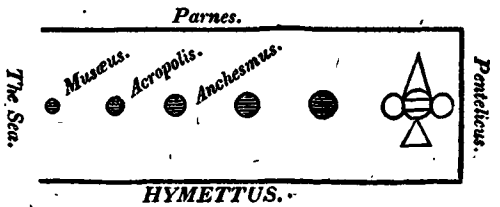
North-West.

ELEUSIS, backed by a mountainous territory: the extremity of the SARONIC GULPH: and in this direction the point of *Ægaleos* is visible where Xerxes is supposed to have sat during the battle of *Salamis*.

Then succeeds the Plain of Athens, covered, on the northern side, by extensive olive-plantations: afterwards, still nearer to the eye, appear the ACROPOLIS and CITY OF ATHENS, and all the ATHENIAN PLAIN at the foot of Hymettus. ATHENS, as viewed from this situation, makes a most beautiful appearance: a description of it may be written as from a model. It lies in a valley, having PHALERUM and THE SEA to the *west*; MOUNT PENTELICUS to the *east*; the mountainous range of PARNES, or *Nozia*, to the *north*; and HYMETTUS upon the *south*. In the plain of this fine valley, thus surrounded by vast natural ramparts, there are other very remarkable geological features. A series of six insular mountain rocks, of *breccia*, surmounted by *limestone*, rise in the plain in very regular succession, from the *east* towards the *west*; (that is to say, from *Pentelicus* towards the *sea*;) gradually diminishing in that direction. The *Hill of Musæus* is the *last* of the succession; that is to say, it is the *sixth* in the series towards *Phalerum*. The *Acropolis of Athens* stands upon the *fifth*, or the *last but one*, towards the sea. The *fourth* is the lofty rock called *Mount Anchesmus*;

Anchesmus; and this rock, by some convulsion of Nature, has been separated into two parts: farther towards the east are *three* other, carrying on the series towards *Pentelicus*[1]. On the northern side of the city is a range of olive plantations: between these and Hymettus, in the plain, occurs the chain of rocks, extending east and west: the south side of the plain, nearer to the base of Hymettus, wears a barren aspect[2], broken by *mountainets*, hills, and rocks. Parnes,

(1) No person will accuse an author of being prolix who endeavours to make his Readers familiar with this interesting territory, by every possible mode of description. The most youthful Student may be taught to model it with the greatest facility. By placing three books on a table, in the form of a Greek Π, he will have the juxta-position of the three mountains, *Parnes*, *Pentelicus*, and *Hymettus*, and the *sea* in front upon the open side; then if he place six counters, or pebbles, diminishing in size in a right line within the area, between the two parallel sides, in this manner, he will bear in his memory a key to the topography of Athenian history, which will not easily be lost.



(2) "On the road from *Marathon* to the monastery on *Pentelicus*, and on that from *Keratia* back to *Athens*, we passed some spots which in beauty of natural scenery might vie with any thing we had seen in Greece. The Athenians were very partial to a country life (*Thucydides, lib.* ii.); and many of these places, like that beautiful village of Cephissias, seven miles to the north of Athens, which Aulus Gellius has described, were the favourite abodes of the Athenians, whenever they could retire from the noise of the popular assemblies at Athens. It does not however appear that they attended much to the agriculture of the country: "Every man," says Xenophon, (*de Œcon.*) "may be a farmer; no art or skill is requisite:" a very good proof, observes Hume, that agriculture was not much understood. When we consider this, and the natural sterility of Attica, which the Antients so often mention, (*see the Schol. on Olym. 7. of Pindar,*) we cannot but wonder at the great population which the country was able to maintain. Heyne says barley was indigenous in the north of Attica: and the olive-tree, which abounds in this country, might have contributed to the

CHAP. XIV.

Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus, are all barren, and, from this elevation, seem to be destitute of trees.

North-West and by North.

Exceeding high mountains of BŒOTIA and PHOCIS; one, nearer to the eye, shaped like a *saddle*, forming a range with *Parnes* from E. N. E. to W. S. W. In this direction, and immediately under the view, lies the double-rock of *Anchesmus*, in the Athenian plain, to the east of Athens. With regard to the distant mountains, they are probably HELICON, now *Zagara*, and CITHÆRON, now *Elatæa*. Wheler lays the first N. W. by W.; and the second, he says, begins N. W. by W. and ends N. W. by N.

North North-West.

Another distant and very lofty mountain, appearing with its blue peak towering behind the range of Mount *Parnes*, and possibly PARNASSUS.

North and by West.

Part of the range of PARNES; and, nearer to the eye, the fine valley or plain of Athens.

North.

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support of great numbers; it being used antiently, as it is now, for a common article of daily food. But immense supplies of corn were constantly imported from Sicily, Egypt, and the Euxine. Attica was not able to maintain her inhabitants: these we may calculate, in the year 312 A.C. at 524,000; supposing the text in Athenæus to be not corrupted. There were 21,000 citizens, and 10,000 strangers: allowing to each of these a wife and two children, we have the number of free persons, 124,000; and adding the slaves, (*according to Athenæus,*) 400,000, we find 524,000 to be the aggregate. Attica contained 855 square leagues." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

North.

Has been already noticed. The Circle is therefore here completed.

The desire of leaving a memorial of the visit one has paid to any memorable spot, seems to be so natural, that however the practice may have been derided, the most eminent travellers, in common with the most insignificant, have left their names in some conspicuous situation: those of Wheler and Spon have been observed upon the walls of the Temple of Theseus; that of Shaw remains in the Franciscan Convent at Jerusalem; that of Pococke at Thebes, in Upper Egypt; and that of Hasselquist upon the principal pyramid of Memphis. Upon the summit of Hymettus no such inscriptions appeared; but the naked surface of the limestone seemed to be so well calculated for their preservation, that we felt a reluctance to return without carving our names, as indelibly as our time would allow, upon the top of the mountain. Having done this, we descended once more towards the Convent, where we arrived late in the evening, and immediately proceeded to Athens.

The following day was attended by a singular adventure. We had agreed to spend the greater part of that day with Lusieri, among the antiquities of the Citadel; and for this purpose Mr. Cripps accompanied him to the Acropolis soon after breakfast. The author followed towards noon. About half-way up the steep which leads to the *Propylæa*, he heard a noise of laughter and of many clamorous voices,

proceeding

CHAP. XIV.

Singular Adventure that befel the Author.

proceeding from a building situated in an area upon the left hand, which had the appearance of being a public bath. As it is always customary for strangers to mingle with the Mahometans in such places without molestation, and as it had been the author's practice to bathe frequently for the preservation of his health, he advanced without further consideration towards the entrance, which he found to be covered with a carpet hanging before it. Not a human creature was to be seen without the bath, whether Turk or Greek. This was rather remarkable; but it seemed to be explained in the numbers who were heard talking within. As the author drew nigh unto the door of the building, the voices were heard rather in a shriller tone than usual; but no suspicion entering into his mind, as to the sort of bathers which he would find assembled, he put aside the carpet, and, stepping beneath the main dome of the bagnio, suddenly found himself in the midst of the principal women of Athens, many of whom were unveiled in every sense of the term, and all of them in utter amazement at the madness of the intrusion. The first impulse of astonishment entirely superseded all thought of the danger of his situation: he remained fixed and mute as a statue. A general shriek soon brought him to his recollection. Several black female slaves ran towards him, interposing before his face napkins, and driving him backwards towards the entrance. He endeavoured, by signs and broken sentences, to convince them that he came there to bathe in the ordinary way; but this awkward

awkward attempt at an apology converted their fears into laughter, accompanied by sounds of *Hist! Hist!* and the most eager entreaties to him to abscond quickly, and without observation. As he drew back, he distinctly heard some one say in Italian, that if he were seen he would be shot. By this time the negro women were all around him, covering his eyes with their hands and towels, and rather impeding his retreat, by pushing him blindfolded towards the door; whence he fled with all possible expedition. As the sight of women in Turkey is rare, and always obtained with difficulty, the Reader may perhaps wish to know what sort of beings the author saw, during the short interval that his eyes were open within the bagnio; although he can only describe the scene from a confused recollection. Upon the left hand, as he entered, there was an elderly female, who appeared to be of considerable rank, from the number of slaves sumptuously clad and in waiting upon her. She was reclined, as it is usual in all Turkish baths, upon a sort of *divân*, or raised floor, surrounding the circular hall of the bath, smoking and drinking coffee. A rich embroidered covering of green silk had been spread over her. Her slaves stood by her side upon the marble pavement of the bath. Many other women of different ages were seated, or standing, or lying, upon the same *divân*. Some appeared coming in high wooden clogs from the *sudatories* or interior chambers of the bath, towards the *divân*; their long hair hanging dishevelled and straight, almost to the ground: the temperature of those cells had flushed their faces with a warm glow, seldom seen upon the pale and faded cheeks of the Grecian and Turkish women.

Description of the Ceremonies of the Women's Bath.

CHAP. XIV.

women. Some of them were very handsome. Within the centre of the area, immediately beneath the dome, the black women and other attendants of the bath were busied heating towels, and preparing pipes and coffee for the bathers; according to the custom observed when men frequent these places.

The cause of this mistake remains now to be explained. This bath was not peculiarly set apart for the use of females: it was frequented also by the male inhabitants; but at stated hours the women have the privilege of appropriating it to their use; and this happened to be their time of bathing; consequently the men were absent. Upon such occasions, the Greek and Turkish women bathe together: owing to this circumstance, the news of the adventure was very speedily circulated over all Athens. As we did not return until the evening, the family with whom we resided, hearing of the affair, began to be uneasy, lest it had been brought to a serious termination; well knowing that if any of the *Arnaouts*, or of the Turkish guard belonging to the Citadel, had seen a man coming from the bath while the women were there, they, without hesitation or ceremony, would have put him instantly to death: and the only reason we could assign for its never being afterwards noticed, was, that however generally it became the subject of conversation among the Turkish females of the city, their Mahometan masters were kept in ignorance of the transaction.

Further observations in the Acropolis.

We remained in the Citadel during the rest of the day; not only to avoid any probable consequences of this affair, but also that we might once more leisurely survey the interesting

Engraved by B. Pollard.

An ATHENIAN LADY in the DRESS commonly worn.

interesting objects it contains; and, lastly, have an opportunity of seeing, from the Parthenon, the sun setting behind the Acropolis of Corinth; one of the finest sights in all Greece.

It was mentioned in the preceding Chapter, that the frieze of the *Erecthéum*, and of its porticoes, consists of a bluish-grey limestone, resembling slate; and that the tympanum of the pediment is likewise of the same stone; but the rest of the temple is of marble. Perhaps this kind of limestone was introduced into those parts of the building intended to contain inscriptions; because the letters, when cut, being of a different colour from the polished stone, would thereby be rendered the more conspicuous. A circumstance which renders this probable, is, that inscriptions are often found upon this kind of limestone, among the remains of buildings constructed of marble. The author found the following Inscription this day, in the Acropolis, upon a blue slate-like limestone:

ΠΟΛΥΛΛΟΣΠΟΛΥΛΛΙΔΟΥΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ
ΕΙΚΟΝΑΤΗΝΔΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ
ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΗΝΘΝΗΤΟΥΣΩΜΑΤΟΣΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ.

The name written in the first line, *Polyllus*, seems to have been inscribed beneath the statue (*image*) of a person who belonged to one of the δῆμοι of Attica. Παιανιὺς δῆμος, that is to say, *Pæaniensis populus;* for in the verses which follow, we read, that "*Polystratus raised this representation —his own brother; an immortal memorial of a mortal body.*"

If

CHAP. XIV.

If the statue were of white marble, the blue limestone placed below it may have been selected as better adapted for the purpose of adding the inscription.

We also copied an Inscription of the Roman times, relating to "*Pammenes the son of Zeno of Marathon,*" who is mentioned as Priest; but it is in a very imperfect state:

ΜΟΣΟΕΛΙΕΩΜΙΙΙΚΑΙΣ....ΓΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΤΡΑ.....ΥΝΤΟΣ..ΠΙΤ
ΤΑΣΠΑΜΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΟΥΣΗΝΩΝΟΣΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥΙΕΡΕΩΣΘΕΑΣ

ΜΗΣΚΑΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΣΩΤΗΡΟΣΕΠΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΕΠΙΙΕΡΕΙΑΣΑΘΗ
ΠΟΛΙΑΔΟΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΣΤΗΣΑΣΚΑΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΑΛΑΙΕΩΣΘΥΓΑΤ..

Afterwards, Lusieri shewed to us an inscribed marble which he had been ordered to send to England with the spoils of the Parthenon; but as the author does not know whether it met with the fate of a large portion of the sculpture in Cerigo Bay, or ultimately reached its destination, he will subjoin the copy he made of this Inscription upon the spot, because it is one of the most antient that have been found in Greece. It is written in what are called *Cadmæan* letters; recording the names of certain Athenians and their tribes. The double vowels were not in general use before the Archonship of Euclid, in the ninety-fourth Olympiad. Instead of Ξ we have here ΧΣ as in ΤΙΜΟΧΣΕΝΟΣ. The forms also of the *Gamma, Lambda,* and *Sigma,* are most antient; they are thus written ⋀, ⋁, and Σ. The Η is used for the aspirate, as in ΗΙΠΟΘΟΝΤΙΔΟΣ. In other respects, as it is merely a list of names, this is all which may be here requisite for its illustration.

ΕΡΙ . . ΡΕΥΞ	. . . . ΞΤΡ .
ΓΑΥΞΑΔΕΞΙ	ΤΓ . . ΑΝ . . .
ΦΙΛΙΓΓΙΔΕΞ	ΕΓ . . ΒΑ . . .
ΚΕΚΡΟΓΙΔΟΞ	ΙΓΕΞ
ΛΥΝΟΜΕΔΕΥ	
ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΞ	ΟΝ . . . . .
ΛΥΚΙ . Ο .	ΕΓ
ΑΝΑ . Ι . ΙΟΞ	ΧΑΕ
ΑΕΝΕΚΛΕΞ	ΔΕΜΟΞΤΡΑΤ
ΦΡΥΝΙΚΟΞ	ΚΕΓ . ΟΓΙΔΕΙ
ΗΙΓΟΘΟΝΤΙΔΟΞ	ΛΥΚΕΝ . . . :
ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΞ	ΤΙΜΟΞ . . Ι . . ΓΕ
ΞΚΥΡΟΚΛΕΞ	ΞΟΙΓΙΥΤΙ . .
ΧΑΡΙΑΞ	ΛΕΟΚΔ . . . .
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΙΟΞ	
ΝΙΚΟΞΤΡΑΤΟΞ	ΑΙΑΙ . . . .
ΘΡΑΞΥΜΑΧΟΞ	ΑΛΑΥΚΓ . . .
ΦΑΝΙΑΞ	ΟΡΑΞΟΝ
ΚΑΛΛΙΚΙΕΞ	ΑΝΤΙΦΟ
ΕΧΕΟΓΙΑΔΕΞ	ΑΝΤΙΟΦ
ΑΙΑΝΤΙΔΟΞ	ΕΙ . ΙΤΕΛΙΔ
ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΞ	ΕΥΘΥ . . ΔΧΟ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΟΞ	ΝΙΚΙΓΓΟ
ΑΡΙΞΤΟΜΕΔΕΞ	
ΑΜΕΙΝΟΚΤΕΞ	Ε
ΑΙΞΧΙΝΕΞ	Ν . Ε . . .
ΓΑΝΤΑΚΛΕΞ	Α . Ξ . . .
ΧΑΡΙΔΕΜΟΞ	ΞΟΧΞΟΙΑΛ
ΤΙΜΟΧΞΕΝΟΞ	
ΑΝΤΙΦΑΝΕΞ	ΑΥΓΙΚ
ΕΜΓΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΞ	
ΓΑΝΤΑΚΛΕΞ	ΔΕΧΜΟΞ
ΑΓΝΟΔΕΜΟΞ	ΜΝΕΑΘΡΑΞ
ΑΡΧΙΑΞ	ΠΕΡΙ ΕΓΙΔΕΞ
ΕΝΑΜΦΙΓΟΛΕΙ	ΗΕΙ ΦΙΛΟΞ
ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝ	ΟΝΕΞΙΜΟΞ
ΕΓΙΘΡΑΙΚΕΞ	ΗΙΕ . . . Ε
ΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΞ	ΑΝΑ . . .
ΕΜΓΥΛΟΙΞ	ΧΞΕΝΦΙ
ΕΓ . . . . ΙΑΞ	ΑΘΕΝ ΑΡΙΞ
ΕΝΞΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΙ	ΕΥΦΡΑΙΟΞ
ΓΟΛΥΜΝΕΣΤΟΞ	ΧΑΙΡΥΞ Ν
ΕΞΞΙΛΛΟΙ	ΓΟΞΕ . . . ΤΟΞ
ΓΑΥΞΙΑΞΙΞΞ	ΜΕΝΟ . . .
Α . Ξ .	ΞΤΡΑΤΟ

CHAP. XIV.

The other Inscriptions which we collected here, and in the lower city, have been already published. Some of them are in Gruter; others may be seen either in Spon or in Chandler[1]; with the exception of one which we afterwards found in a school-room, near the celebrated *Temple of the Winds*. It was inscribed upon a marble bas-relief, representing a female figure seated, holding by the hand an old man who is standing before her. As this brief inscription will be the last we shall notice in Athens, it may be here introduced as a companion of those already given in this Chapter. The Reader is referred to *Suidas* and *Harpocration* for an illustration of the word Αἰγιλιεύς. ÆGILIA was one of the Attic δῆμοι, and belonged to the tribe *Antiochis*.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣΜΕΙΞΙΑΔΟΥΑΡΧΙΠΠΗ
ΑΙΓΙΛΙΕΥΣΜΕΙΞΙΑΔΟΥ

Additional remarks upon the *Parthenon*.

The sun was now setting, and we repaired to the *Parthenon*. This building in its entire state, either as a Heathen temple, or as a Christian sanctuary, was lighted only by means of lamps: it had no windows; but the darkness of the interior was calculated to aid the Pagan ceremonies by one

(1) The celebrated *Marmor Atheniense* has been, however, inaccurately edited by the last of these authors. It was lately found in a neglected state in the British Museum; and has since exercised the erudition and critical acumen of that accomplished scholar, and learned antiquary, Richard Payne Knight, Esq. As this marble was originally removed from the *Acropolis*, it may be proper here to add, that it preserves a record of a very interesting nature; nothing less than the name of the architect who built the *Erecthéum*; namely, PHILOCLES OF ACHARNÆ. This part of the Inscription was recovered by W. Wilkins, Esq. who communicated the circumstance to the author.

one of the most powerful agents of superstition. The priests at Jerusalem have profited by a similar mode of construction for their pretended miracle of the "*holy fire*" at the *Tomb of the Messiah*; and the remains of many antient crypts and buildings in Egypt and in Greece seem to prove that the earliest places of idolatrous worship were all calculated to obstruct rather than to admit the light. Even in its present dilapidated state, the *Parthenon* still retains something of its original gloomy character: it is this which gives such a striking effect to the appearance of the distant scenery, as it is beheld through the portal by a spectator from within, who approaches the western entrance. The *Acropolis of Corinth* is so conspicuous from within the nave, that the portal of the temple seems to have been contrived for the express purpose of guiding the eye of the spectator precisely to that point of view. Perhaps there was another temple, with a corresponding scope of observation, within the Corinthian Citadel. Something of this nature may be observed in the construction of old Roman-Catholic churches, where there are crevices calculated for the purpose of guiding the eye, through the darkness of the night, towards other sanctuaries remotely situated; whether for any purpose of religious intercourse, by means of lights conveying signs to distant priests of the celebration of particular solemnities, or as beacons for national signals, it is not pretended to determine. As evening drew on, the lengthening shadows began to blend all the lesser tints, and to give breadth and a bolder outline to the vast objects in the glorious prospect seen from this building; so as to exhibit

Effect of Sun-set behind the Mountains of Peloponnesus.

CHAP. XIV.

exhibit them in distinct masses: the surface of the *Sinus Saronicus*, completely land-locked, resembled that of a shining lake, surrounded by mountains of majestic form, and illustrious in the most affecting recollections. There is not one of those mountains but may be described in the language of our classic bard as "breathing inspiration." Every portion of territory comprehended in the general survey has been rendered memorable as the scene of some conspicuous event in Grecian story; either as the land of genius, or the field of heroïsm; as honoured by the poet's cradle, or by the patriot's grave; as exciting the remembrance of all by which human-nature has been adorned and dignified; or as proclaiming the awful mandate which ordains that not only talents and virtue, but also states and empires, and even the earth itself, shall pass away. The declining sun, casting its last rays upon the distant summits of Peloponnesus, and tinging with parting glory the mountains of Argolis and Achaia, gave a grand but mournful solemnity both to the natural and the moral prospect. It soon disappeared. Emblematical of the intellectual darkness now covering these once enlightened regions, night came on, shrouding every feature of the landscape with her dusky veil.

E.D. Clarke del. Etched by Lady Byron.

Ruin upon the site of the Temple of Apollo upon Mount-Cynorium.

CHAP. XV.

PELOPONNESUS.

Departure from Athens for the Peloponnesus—*Extraordinary talents of a* Calmuck *Artist—Further account of the* Piræeus—*the* "long walls"—*Tomb of* Themistocles—*its situation*—*remains of this monument—Objects visible in passing the Gulph*—Ægina—*Temple of* Jupiter Panhellenius—*Antiquities near to the port*—Anchestri *Isle—Ignorance of the Pilot*—Epiâda—*Greek Medals*—Arbutus Andrachne—*Appearance of the Country*—Ligurió—Conâk, *or inn*—Coroni—Cathedra *of a Greek Theatre*—Hieron—*Mountains —Temple of* Æsculapius—Stadium—*Architectural* Terra-cottas—*Temple of the* Coryphæan Diana—*Temple of* Apollo—*Circular edifice—Theatre of* Polycletus—*Epidaurian serpent—Aspect of the* Coilon—*Perfect state of the structure*—*dimensions and detail of the parts—Journey to* Nauplia—Lessa—*Dorian and Egyptian antiquities*—Arachnæus Mons—Cyclopéa—Nauplia—*House of the Consul—*

Consul—Turkish Gazette—Public rejoicings—Athletæ—Pyrrhica—*Population—Air—Commerce—Gipsies*—*Characteristic features of Grecian cities*—Tiryns—*Celtic and Phœnician architecture—Origin of the* Cyclopéan *style—History of* Tiryns—*character of its inhabitants.*

CHAP. XV.

Departure from Athens for the *Peloponnesus.*

ON Thursday, November the fifth, we left Athens at sun-rise, for the *Pirœeus;* having resolved to sail to *Epidaurus;* and after visiting *Epidauria* and *Argolis,* to return through the northern districts of PELOPONNESUS, towards *Megara* and *Eleusis.* The Governor of Athens had kindly commissioned a relation of his family, a most amiable and worthy Turk, to accompany us in the capacity of *Tchohadar;* a word which we shall not attempt to translate: it is enough to say that such was his title, and that he travelled with us as an officer who was to provide for us, upon all occasions, and to be responsible, by his authority, for our safety among the Albanians. Our *caïque* had remained at anchor since our arrival: the men belonging to her had been daily employed in repairing the sails and rigging. *Lusieri* offered to accompany us as far as *Ægina;* having long wished for an opportunity of seeing that island: although rich in valuable antiquities, it had been strangely overlooked by almost every traveller, excepting Chandler. As he expected ample employment for his pencil, he was desirous of being also attended by one of the most extraordinary characters that has been added to the list of celebrated artists since the days of Phidias. This person was by birth a *Calmuck,* of the name of *Theodore*;

Extraordinary Talents of a *Calmuck* Artist.

B. Cooper sculp.

The CASIOT MASTER of the CAÏQUE.

as taken from the Life by THEODORE the CALMUCK *during the Voyage to Ægina.*

Theodore; he had distinguished himself among the painters at Rome, and had been brought to Athens to join the band of artists employed by our Ambassador, over which Lusieri presided. With the most decided physiognomy of the wildest of his native tribes, although as much humanized in his appearance as it was possible to make him by the aid of European dress and habits, he still retained some of the original characteristics of his countrymen; and, among others, a true Scythian relish for spirituous liquor: by the judicious administration of brandy, Lusieri could elicit from him, for the use of his patron, specimens of his art, combining the most astonishing genius with the strictest accuracy and the most exquisite taste. *Theodore* presented a marvellous example of the force of natural genius unsubdued by the most powerful obstacles. Educated in slavery; trained to the business of his profession beneath the active cudgels of his Russian masters; having also imbibed with his earliest impressions the servile propensities and sensual appetites of the tyrants he had been taught to revere; this extraordinary man arrived in Athens like another *Euphranor*, rivalling all that the Fine Arts had produced under circumstances the most favourable to their birth and maturity. The talents of *Theodore*, as a painter, were not confined, as commonly is the case among Russian artists, to mere works of imitation: although he could copy every thing, he could invent also; and his mind partook largely of the superior powers of original genius. With the most surprising ability, he restored and inserted into his drawings all

CHAP. XV.

all the sculpture of which parts only remained in the mutilated bas-reliefs and buildings of the Acropolis. Besides this, he delineated, in a style of superior excellence, the same sculptures according to the precise state of decay in which they at present exist[1].

There are many Ruins about the three ports, *Munychia*, *Phalerum*, and the *Piræeus*; and we may look to future excavations in their vicinity as likely to bring to light many valuable antiquities. The remains of the *long walls* which joined the *Piræeus* to Athens, (making of it a burgh similar to what *Leith* is with respect to Edinburgh[2],) although very indistinct, yet may be traced sufficiently to ascertain the space they formerly included. These walls appear to have had different names (distinguishing them from the town walls of *Piræeus*) among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. By the former they were termed either Μακρὰ τείχη, the *long walls*, or Μακρὰ σκέλη, literally answering to a *nick-name* bestowed upon one of our kings of England, who was called *Long-shanks*. We find them alluded to under this appellation by *Diodorus Siculus*; as a term whereby they are distinguished from the *Piræean walls*[3]. The Romans adopted a different appellation: by

Further Account of the *Piræeus*—the "*long walls.*"

(1) See Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, p. 5. *Lond.* 1811.

(2) *Edinburgh* exhibits a very correct model of a Grecian city: and with its Acropolis, Town, and Harbour, it bears some resemblance to *Athens* and the *Piræeus*.

(3) Συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην, ὥστε ΤΑ ΜΑΚΡΑ ΣΚΕΛΗ, καὶ ΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΩΣ, περιελεῖν. Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. ap. Meurs. Pir. Vid. Gronov. Thesaur. Gr. tom. V. p. 1932. *L. Bat.* 1699.

by them the "*long-shanks*" were called the "*arms*," or "*long arms.*" They are thus mentioned by *Livy*[4], and by *Propertius*[5]. A corrupt mode of writing the word *Piræeus* seems to have been adopted by some authors, who express Πειραιεὺς by *Piræus*. *Meursius*, upon the testimony of all the early Greek authorities, is decisive for the former reading[6]. In his admirable treatise upon this harbour and its antiquities, he has concentrated with wonderful erudition every thing that the Antients have left concerning its history. In its original state it had been an island, whence it received its name[7], like many later towns[8], from its *ferry*[9]. Travellers have pretended to recognise the tomb of Themistocles. A square stone resting on a simple base, and destitute of any ornament, was all that denoted the place of his interment. It was near to the principal harbour[10], of course that of *Piræeus*[11], containing three

Tomb of Themistocles.

(4) "Inter angustias semiruti muri, qui duobus *brachiis* Piræeum Athenis jungit." *Livius, lib.* xxxv. *ap. Meurs. Pir. ut suprà.*

(5) "Inde ubi Piræi capient me littora portus,
Scandam ego Theseæ *brachia longa* viæ."
Propertius, lib. iii. *Eleg.* 20. ap. Meurs. ut suprà.

(6) Meursii Piræeus, *passim.* Sic Suidas, Stephanus, Hesychius, &c. &c.

(7) Τόν τε Πειραῖα, νησιάζοντα πρότερον, καὶ πέραν τῆς Ἀκτῆς κείμενον, οὕτως φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι. Strabon. Geog. lib. i. p. 86. *Oxon.* 1807.

(8) *Trajectum ad Mosam*, Maestricht in Brabant; *Trajectum ad Rhenum*, Utrecht, *Trajectum ad Mœnum*, Francfort upon Mœne; *Trajectum ad Oderam*, Francfort upon the Oder.

(9) Ἦν πρότερον ὁ Πειραιεὺς νῆσος· ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα εἴληφεν, ὑπὸ τὴν διαπεραν. "Primitus insula erat Piræeus: unde et nomen accepit, *à trajectu.*" *Suidas.*

(10) Καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. *Pausan. Attic. p.* 3. *Lips.* 1696.

(11) "Piræeus, qui et ipse, magnitudine, ac commoditate, primus." *Meurs. Pir. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Gr. tom.* V. *p.* 1931. *L. Bat.* 1699.

CHAP. XV.

three smaller ports, as *docks*[1]: for the port of *Phalerum*, within the *road* of that name, was very small[2]. Its situation seems to be so clearly designated by a passage in *Plutarch*, at the end of his life of Themistocles[3], that it would seem almost impossible to mistake the spot. It was situated at the promontory of *Alcimus*, where the land, making an elbow, sheltered a part of the harbour; here, above the still water, might be seen the tomb. The base, although simple, as stated by *Pausanias*, is by *Plutarch* said to have been of no inconsiderable magnitude[4]; and the tomb itself, that is to say, the *Soros*, resembled an altar placed thereon. Guided by this clue, we felt almost a conviction that we had discovered all that now remains of this monument. The promontory

Situation of the Tomb of Themistocles.

(1) It contained three ὅρμοι, or *docks*; the first called Κάνθαρος, from a hero of that name; the second Ἀφροδίσιον, from Ἀφροδίτη, or *Venus*, who had these two temples; the third Ζέα, from *bread-corn*, which was called by the Grecians ζειὰ. (*Potter's Arch. vol.* I. *p.* 43. *Lond.* 1751.) Scylax mentions its three ports: Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας ἔχει τρεῖς. (*Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus, p.* 47. *L. Bat.* 1697.)

"On the twenty-fourth of June we anchored in the convenient little harbour of the PIRÆEUS, where the chief objects that call for one's attention are, the remains of the solid *fortifications of Themistocles*; the remains of *the moles* forming the smaller ports within the PIRÆEUS; *two monuments* on the sea-shore; and palpable vestiges of the *long walls* which connected the harbour with Athens, a distance of about four miles and a half." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

(2) "Cùm Phalero portu, *neque magno, neque bono*, Athenienses uterentur, hujus consilio triplex Piræei portus constitutus est." *Cornelius Nepos in Themistocle, ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Gr: tom.* V. *p.* 1934. *L. Bat.* 1699.

(3) Περὶ τὴν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου, πρόκειταί τις οἷον ἀγκών. καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντὸς, ᾗ τὸ ὑπούδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστιν εὐμεγέθης, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς, τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. Plutarch. in extremo Themist. tom. I. *Lond.* 1729.

(4) Εὐμεγέθης.

promontory alluded to by *Plutarch* constitutes the southern side of the entrance to the harbour[5]: jutting out from the *Pirœean* or *Munychian peninsula*, it forms, with the opposite promontory of *Eëtion*, the natural mouth of the port, lying towards the west, that is to say, beyond the artificial piers whereby it was inwardly closed[6]. Here we landed; and found precisely the sort of base alluded to by the historian; partly cut in the natural rock, and partly an artificial structure; so that a person ascended to the *Soros*, as by steps, from the shore of the sea. Our position of the tomb may be liable to dispute: the Reader, having the facts stated, will determine for himself. Of the *Soros* not a trace is now remaining.

Remains of this Monument.

As we sailed from the *Pirœeus*, we soon perceived the *Acropolis of Corinth*, and, behind it, high mountains which were much covered by clouds, although the day was remarkably fine. We lost some time in the harbour, and were afterwards detained by calms. About three o'clock, P. M. we passed a small island, called *Belbina* by *D'Anville*[7]: About an hour before, we had observed the thermometer, in the middle of the gulph: the mercury then stood at 68°

Objects visible in passing the Gulph.

Belbina.

of

(5) Voy. Barthel. "*Plan des Environs d'Athènes pour le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*" Troisième edit. *à Paris*, 1790.

(6) "Ut non tantum arte tutus, sed naturâ etiam esset." *Meursii Pirœeus, ap. Gronov. Thes. Gr. tom.* V. *p.* 1935. *L. Bat.* 1699.

(7) Its modern name is *Lavousa*, according to D'Anville's CHART of the Archipelago. Chandler considers the Island of *Belbina* as lying towards the mouth of the Gulph. *See Trav. in Greece, p.* 11. *Oxf.* 1776.

CHAP. XV.

of Fahrenheit. A mountain of very great elevation was now visible behind the lofty rock of the Corinthian Citadel, and at a great distance. Lusieri insisted upon its being *Parnassus;* and Theodore was of the same opinion. Judging from our position, it could not have been one of the mountains of *Peloponnesus;* and therefore, supposing it to have been situated either in *Ætolia* or *Phocis,* the circumstance alone is sufficient to shew how little agreement our best maps have with actual observations, as to the relative position of places in Greece. *De L'Isle*[1] is perhaps, in this respect, more disposed to confirm what is here written, than *D'Anville:* yet in neither of their maps of the country would a line drawn from the island we have mentioned through the *Acro-Corinthus,* reach the mountainous territories to the north of the Gulph of Corinth. Such a line, traced upon *D'Anville's* Map of Greece[2], would traverse the *Sinus Corinthiacus,* far to the south of all *Phocis* and the land of the *Locri Ozolæ;* and would only enter *Ætolia,* near the mouths of the *Evenus* and *Acheloüs* rivers. *D'Anville's* Chart of the Archipelago[3] is liable to the same *remarks;* we dare not call them *objections,* until they have been confirmed by other travellers. About five, P. M. we were close in with ÆGINA: and as we drew near to the island, we had a fine view of the magnificent remains of

Ægina.

(1) Græciæ Antiquæ Tabula Nova. *Paris, Oct.* 1707.
(2) Published at *Paris* in 1762.
(3) Dated, *Paris, Oct.* 1756.

CHAP. XV.

Temple of *Jupiter Panhellenius.*

of the *Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius;* its numerous Doric columns standing in a most conspicuous situation upon the mountain *Panhellenius,* high above the north-eastern shore of the island, and rising among trees, as if surrounded by woods. This is the most antient and the most remarkable Ruin of all the temples in Greece: the inhabitants of *Ægina,* in a very remote age, maintained that it was built by *Æacus.* Chandler had given so copious a description of *Ægina,* and of this temple, that to begin the examination of the island again, without being able to make any excavations, we considered as likely to be attended with little addition to our stock of information; and almost as an encroachment upon ground already well occupied. We therefore resolved to continue our voyage as soon as we had landed Lusieri and the Calmuck[4]. Sailing round the north-western point of the island,

(4) We had good reason afterwards to repent of our folly in making this resolution; for although Chandler spent some time upon the island, it has, in fact, been little visited by travellers. Lusieri found here both medals and vases in such great number, that he was under the necessity of dismissing the peasants who had amassed them, without purchasing more than half that were brought to him; although they were offered for a very trifling consideration. The medals and the vases which he collected were of very high antiquity. The medals were either in silver or lead; and of that rude globular form, with the *tortoise* on one side, and a *mere indentation* on the other, which is well known to characterize the earliest Grecian coinage; indeed, the art itself of coining money was first introduced by the inhabitants of this island. Of the *terra-cotta vases* which he collected, we afterwards saw several in his possession: they were small, but of the most beautiful workmanship; and as a proof of their great antiquity, it is necessary only to mention that the subjects represented upon them were *historical,* and the figures *black* upon a *red ground.* We have since recommended it to persons visiting Greece, to be diligent in their researches upon Ægina; and many valuable antiquities have been consequently discovered upon the island.

CHAP. XV.

Antiquities near to the port.

island, we observed a very large *barrow*, upon the shore; this is noticed by Chandler[1] as the mound of earth (χῶμα) raised by *Telamon* after the death of *Phocus*, as it was seen by *Pausanias* in the second century[2]. Near to this mound there was a *theatre*, next in size and workmanship to that of the *Hieron* in *Epidauria*, built by *Polycletus*[3] and it had this remarkable feature, that it was constructed upon the sloping side of a *stadium* which was placed behind it; so that the two structures mutually sustained each other[3]. Afterwards, entering the harbour, we landed to view the two Doric pillars yet standing by the sea side; these may be the remains of the *Temple of Venus*, which stood near the port principally frequented[4]: and *Ægina*, even for small vessels, is elsewhere difficult of access, owing to its high cliffs and latent rocks[5]. We saw none of the inhabitants; but sent the *Tchohadar* in search of a pilot to conduct our *caïque* into the port of *Epidauria*. He returned with a man who

(1) Travels in Greeee, p. 15. *Oxford*, 1776.

(2) Οὕτως ἐς τὸν κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας νύκτωρ, ἐποίει χῶμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν, καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι μένει. (Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 180. *Lips.* 1696.) In a preceding passage of the same chapter it is stated, that the tomb (τάφος) of *Phocus*, which is also called χῶμα, was near to the ÆACEUM: Παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον, Φώκου τάφος χῶμα ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ. The *Æacéum* was a *tetragonal peribolus* of white marble, in a conspicuous part of the city: Ἐν ἐπιφανέστατα δὲ τῆς πόλεως, τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου.

(3) Vid. Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 180. *Lips.* 1696.

(4) Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὁρμίζονται, ΝΑΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ. Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 179. *Lips.* 1696.

(5) Προσπλεῦσαι δὲ ΑΙΓΙΝΑ ἐστι νήσων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπορωτάτη. πέτραι τε γὰρ ὕφαλοι περὶ πᾶσαν, καὶ χοιράδες ἀνεστήκασι. Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 178. *Lips.* 1696.

who pretended to have a perfect knowledge of the coast, and we took him on board; leaving the two artists, both of whom were already busied in drawing.

As we drew near to PELOPONNESUS, the mountains of *Argolis* began to appear in great grandeur. We passed along the northern shore of an island called by our mariners *Anchestri Isle.* *Anchestri:* it was covered with trees[6]. As the evening drew on, we discovered that our stupid pilot, notwithstanding all his boasting, knew no more of the coast than the *Casiot* sailors. As soon as fogs or darkness begin to obscure the land, the Greek pilots remain in total ignorance of their situation: generally, losing their presence of mind, they either run their ships ashore, or abandon the helm altogether and have recourse to the picture of some Saint, supplicating his miraculous interference for their safety. It more than once happened to us, to have the responsibility of guiding the vessel without mariner's compass, chart, or the slightest knowledge of naval affairs. It may be supposed that under such circumstances an infant would have been found equally fit for the undertaking. This was pretty much the case upon the present occasion: we were close in with a lee-shore: fortunately, the weather was almost calm; and our interpreter *Antonio,* by much the best seaman of a bad crew, had

Ignorance of the Pilot.

stationed

(6) The name of this island is written *Angistri* by D'Anville; and by Mr. Gell, in his valuable Map of ARGOLIS: *(See Itin. of Greece, Pl.* XXVIII. *by W. Gell, Esq. M.A. Member of the Society of Dilettanti. Lond.* 1810.) Chandler wrote it nearly as we have done, *Anchistre*: (*Trav. in Greece, p.* 200. *Oxf.* 1776.) he says it contained "a few cottages of Albanians."

CHAP. XV.

stationed himself in the prow of the *caïque*, and continued sounding as we drew nigh to the land. Presently, being close in with the shore, we discerned the mouth of a small cove; into which, by lowering our sails, and taking to the oars, we brought the vessel; and, heaving out the anchor, determined to wait there until the next morning.

When day-light appeared, we found ourselves in a wild and desert place, without sign of habitation, or any trace of a living being: high above us were rocks, and among these flourished many luxuriant evergreens. We did not remain to make farther examination of this part of the coast; but got the anchor up, and, standing out to sea, bore away towards the south-west. We had not a drop of fresh water on board, but drank wine as a substitute, and ate some cold meat for our breakfast,—the worst beverage and the worst food a traveller can use, who wishes, in this climate, to prepare himself for the fatigue he must encounter. Our pilot, being also refreshed with the juice of the grape, affected once more to recognise every point of land, and desired to know what port we wished to enter. Being told that we were looking out for the harbour of *Epidaurus*, or, as it is now called, ΠΙΔΑΥΡΟ, he promised to take the vessel safely in. It was at this time broad day-light, and we thought we might venture under his guidance; accordingly, we were conducted into a small port nearly opposite to *Anchestri*. Here we landed, at ten o'clock A. M. and sent the *Tchohadar* to a small town, which the pilot said was near to the port, to order horses. We were surprised in finding

finding but few ruins near the shore; nor was there any appearance to confirm what he had said of its being *Pidauro:* we saw, indeed, the remains of an old wall, and a marsh filled with reeds and stagnant water, seeming to indicate the former existence of a small inner harbour for boats that had fallen to decay. The air of this place was evidently unwholesome, and we were impatient to leave the spot. When the *Tchohadar* returned with the horses, he began to cudgel the pilot; having discovered that *Pidauro* was farther to the south-west; this port being called ΕΠΙΑΔΑ, pronounced *Epi-atha*, the Δ sounding like our TH, harsh, as in *thee* and *thou.* It is laid down in some Italian maps under the name of *Piada.* The pilot now confessed that he had never heard of such a port as *Pidauro* in his life. As it would have been a vain undertaking to navigate any longer under such auspices, we came to the resolution of dismissing our *caïque* altogether. We therefore sent back the pilot to *Ægina;* ordering the good Captain to wait there with his vessel for the return of Lusieri and the Calmuck; and promising him, if he conveyed them in safety to the *Piræeus,* to give him, in addition to his stipulated hire, a silver coffee-cup, to be made by an Athenian silversmith, and to be inscribed with his name, as a token of our acknowledgments for the many services he had done for us. The poor man seemed to think this cup of much more importance than any payment we had before agreed to make; and we left him, to commence our tour in the PELOPONNESUS.

CHAP. XV.

Epidda.

The road from the port to the town of EPIADA extends

CHAP. XV.

through olive-plantations and vineyards. The town itself is situated upon a lofty ridge of rocks, and was formerly protected by an old castle, still remaining. In consequence of our inquiry after antient medals, several Venetian coins were offered to us; and the number of them found here may serve to explain the origin of the castle, which was probably built by the Venetians. But besides these coins, the author purchased here, for twenty piastres, a most beautiful silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, as finely preserved as if it had just issued from the mint; together with some copper coins of Megara. The Greek silver medals, as it is well known, are often covered with a dark surface, in some instances quite *black*, resembling *black varnish*: the nature of this investment perhaps has not been duly examined: it has been sometimes considered as a *sulphuret*; but the colour which sulphur gives to silver is of a more dingy nature, inclining to *grey*: the *black* varnish is a *muriat* of silver[1]. It may be decomposed by placing the medals in a boiling solution of potass; but antiquaries in general do not choose to have the dark varnish removed. All Greek silver coins are not thus discoloured; many of them retain, in the highest perfection, the natural colour and lustre of the metal: those only exhibit the appearance of a *black crust* or *varnish* which have been exposed to the action of muriatic acid, either by immersion in sea water, or by coming into contact with

Greek Medals.

(1) It once happened to the author to open a small case of silver medals that had been sunk in sea-water. The medals had been separately enveloped in brown paper,

with it during the time that they have remained buried in the earth. As it had been our original intention to land at *Epidaurus*, to examine the remains of that city, so we determined now to go first to that port; but the people of *Epiáda* told us that there were scarcely any vestiges even of ruins there: that all the antiquities we should find consisted of a headless marble statue (answering to the description given by Chandler[2]); and that the remains of the *Temple of Æsculapius*, whom they called Ἀσκλαπιὸς, were near to *Liguriò*. "There," said one of the inhabitants, "are the Ruins of his Temple; but the seat of his government and his palace were at Epidaurus *(Pidauro)*, although nothing now remains excepting a few broken pieces of marble." The person who gave us this information seemed to be possessed of more intelligence than it is usual to find among the Greeks: we therefore profited by his instructions, and set out for *Liguriò*.

The temperature on shore, this day at noon, was the same as it had been upon the preceding day in the middle of the gulph; that is to say, 68° of Fahrenheit. It was four o'clock

paper, which was now become dry. To his great surprise, he found every one of them covered with a fine impalpable powder, as white as snow. Placing them in a window, the action of the sun's rays turned this powder to a dark colour: when a brush was used to remove it, the silver became covered with a black shining varnish, exactly similar to that which covers the antient silver coinage of Greece; and this proved to be a *muriat* of silver.

(2) Trav. in Greece, p. 221. *Oxf.* 1776. Chandler calls it "a maimed statue of bad workmanship."

CHAP. XV.

o'clock P. M. before we left *Epiâda*. We noticed here a very remarkable mineral of a jet black colour; which at first sight seemed to be *coal*, but, upon further examination, it rather resembled *asphaltum*. It was very soft, and, in places where water had passed over it, the surface was polished. The specimens being lost, this is all the description of it we can now give. Our journey from *Epiâda* towards the interior of *Epidauria* led us over mountains, and through the most delightful valleys imaginable. In those valleys we found the *Arbutus Andrachne*, with some other species of the same genus flourishing in the greatest exuberance, covered with flowers and fruit. The fruit, in every thing but flavour and smell, resembled large hautbois strawberries: we found the berries to be cooling and delicious, and every one of our party ate of them[1]. This shrub is found all over the Mediterranean: it attains to great perfection in Minorca; and from thence eastward as far as the coast of Syria it may be found adorning limestone rocks, otherwise barren, being never destitute of its dark green foliage, and assuming its most glorious appearance at a season when other plants have lost their beauty. The fruit is one entire year in coming to maturity; and when ripe, it appears in the midst of its beautiful flowers. The inhabitants of *Argolis* call this plant *Cúckoomari:* in other parts of Turkey, particularly at Constantinople, it is called *Koomaria*, which is very hear

Arbutus Andrachne.

(1) "Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fraga legebant."

near to its Greek name, Κόμαρος. It is the Ἀνδράχνη of Theophrastus.

We passed an antient edifice: it was near to a windmill, in a valley towards the right of our road and at some distance from us. Nothing could exceed the grandeur of the scenery during the rest of our ride to *Liguriò*. On every side of us we beheld mountains reaching to the clouds; although we rode continually through delicious valleys, covered by cultivated fields, or filled with myrtles, flowering shrubs, and trees. Every fertile spot seemed to be secluded from all the rest of the world, and to be protected from storms by the lofty summits with which it was surrounded. A white dress, worn by the peasants, reminded us of the garments often seen upon antient statues; and it gave to these delightful retreats a *costume* of the greatest simplicity, with the most striking effect. Lusieri had spoken in rapturous terms of the country he had beheld in *Arcadia:* but the fields, and the groves, and the mountains, and the vales of *Argolis*, surpassed all that we had imagined, even from his description of the finest parts of the PELOPONNESUS. To render the effect of the landscape still more impressive, shepherds, upon distant hills, began to play, as it were an evening service, upon their reed pipes; seeming to realize the ages of poetic fiction, and filling the mind with dreams of innocence, which, if it dwell anywhere on earth, may perhaps be found in these retreats, apart from the haunts of the disturber, whose "whereabout" is in cities and courts, amidst wealth and ambition and power. All that seems to be

Appearance of the Country.

CHAP. XV.

be dreaded in these pastoral retreats, are the casual and rare visits of the Turkish lords: and, unfortunately for us, it was necessary that our arrival at *Liguriò* should be announced by one of their agents; namely, *Ibrahim* the *Tchohadar*; who, though a very excellent man in his way, had been brought up under a notion that Greeks and Albanians were a set of inferior beings, whom it was laudable to chastise upon every occasion, and to whom a word should never be administered without a blow. It was nearly dark when we reached the town; if a long straggling village may bear this appellation. Ibrahim rode first, and had collected a few peasants around him, whom we could just discern by their white habits, assembled near his horse. In answer to his inquiries concerning provisions for the party, they replied, in an humble tone, that they had consumed all the food in their houses, and had nothing left to offer. Instantly, the noise of Ibrahim's lash about their heads and shoulders made them believe that he was the herald of a party of Turks, and they fled in all directions: this was "the only way," he said, "to make those misbegotten dogs provide any thing for our supper." It was quite surprising to see how such lusty fellows, any one of whom was more than a match for Ibrahim, suffered themselves to be horse-whipped and driven from their homes, owing to the dread in which they hold a nation of stupid and cowardly Mahometans. We should not have seen another *Ligurian*, if Antonio had not intercepted some of the fugitives, and pacified their fears, by telling them who the travellers really were; and that Englishmen would accept of nothing from

Liguriò.

from their hands without an adequate remuneration. After this assurance, several times repeated, and a present being made to them of a few *parâs*, we were conducted to what is called a *Conâk*, or inn; but in reality a wretched hovel, where horses, asses, and cattle of every description, lodge with a traveller beneath the same roof, and almost upon the same floor. A raised platform about twelve inches high, forming a low stage, at one extremity of the building, is the part appropriated to the guests; cattle occupying the other part, which is generally the more spacious of the two. Want of sleep makes a traveller little fastidious where he lies down; and fatigue and hunger soon annihilate all those sickly sensibilities which beset men during a life of indolence and repletion. We have passed many a comfortable hour in such places; and when, instead of the *Conâk*, we were invited to the cleanly accommodation offered beneath the still humbler shed of an Albanian peasant, the night was spent in thankfulness and luxury.

Conâk, or Inn.

Here, as at *Epiâda*, the coins which were brought to us, as antient medals, were evidently Venetian; some of them had this legend, ARMATA · ET · MOREA · but without any date. The *Ligurians*, like the inhabitants of *Epiâda*, amused us with traditionary stories of *Asclapius*, considering him as a great king who had once reigned in *Epidauria*. Immense plants of the *Cactus Ficus Indica* flourished about this place. We set out for the sacred seat of ÆSCULAPIUS, at sun-rise. The Ruins are situated at an hour's distance from *Liguriò*, at a place now called JÉRO, pronounced *Yéro*, which is evidently a corruption of Ἱερὸν (*sacra ædes*). Chandler converted this word

CHAP. XV.

word *Jéro* into *Gérao*, which is remarkable, considering his usual accuracy. Our friend Mr. Gell, who was here after our visit to the spot, and has published a description and plan of the Ruins[1], writes it *Iero*, as being nearer to the original appellation. Circumstances of a peculiar nature have conspired to render these Ruins more than usually interesting. The remains, such as they are, lie as they were left by the antient votaries of *the god:* no modern buildings, not even an Albanian hut, has been constructed among them to confuse or to conceal their topography, as it generally happens among the vestiges of Grecian cities: the traveller walks at once into the midst of the consecrated *Peribolus*, and, from the traces he beholds, may picture to his mind a correct representation of this once celebrated *watering-place*—the *Cheltenham* of Antient Greece—as it existed when thronged by the multitudes who came hither for relief or relaxation. Until within these few years, every vestige remained which might have been necessary to complete a plan of the antient inclosure and the edifices it contained[2]. The *Ligurians*, in the time of Chandler, remembered the removal of a *marble chair* from the theatre, and of statues and inscriptions which were used in repairing the fortifications of *Nauplia*, and in building a mosque at *Argos*[3]. The discovery of

(1) Itinerary of Greece, p. 103. *Lond.* 1810.

(2) Mr. Gell, from the remains existing at the time of our visit to the place, did afterwards complete a very useful Plan, as a Guide for Travellers, both of the inclosure and its environs: this was engraved for his "Itinerary of Greece." *See Plate facing p.* 108 *of that work. Lond.* 1810.

(3) See Trav. in Greece, p. 226. *Oxf.* 1776.

CHAP. XV.

Cathedra of a Greek Theatre.

of a single *marble chair*, either within or near to almost every one of the celebrated theatres of Greece, is a circumstance that has not been sufficiently regarded by those who are desirous to illustrate the plan of these antient structures. We afterwards found a relique of this kind at *Chæronea*, near to the theatre; whence it had only been moved to form part of the furniture of a Greek chapel: another has been already noticed in the description of *Athens*; and the instances which have been observed by preceding travellers it is unnecessary now to enumerate. These *chairs*, as they have been called, have all the same form; consisting each of one entire massive block of white marble, generally ornamented with fine sculpture. Owing to notions derived either from Roman theatres, or from the modern customs of Europe, they have been considered as *seats* for the chief magistrates; but even if this opinion be consistent with the fact of there being one *Cathedra* only in each theatre, it is contrary to the accounts given of the places assigned for persons of distinction in Grecian theatres, who were supposed to have sate in the *Bouleuticon*; that is to say, upon the eight rows of benches within the middle of the (Κοῖλόν) *Cavea* of the theatre, between the eighth and the seventeenth row[4]. How little beyond the general form of a Greek theatre is really known, may be seen by reference to a celebrated work in our

(4) This is the part of a Greek theatre assigned for the βουλευτικὸν by *Guilletiere*, (*see p.* 510, *Ch.* XII. *of this Section*,) who has founded his observations upon a careful comparison of the accounts left by the Antients with the actual remains of the theatres themselves.

CHAP. XV.

our own language[1], written professedly in illustration of the "*Antiquities of Greece.*" Yet this author, upon the subject of the Λογεῖον, or Θυμέλη, commonly translated by the word *pulpit*, states, distinctly enough, that it stood in the middle of the *orchestra*[2]; which, as far as we can learn, is nearly the spot where these marble reliques have been found: hence a question seems to arise, whether they were not intended, each as a conspicuous place in the *orchestra* of the theatre to which it belonged, for the better exhibition of those performers who contested prizes upon any musical instrument, or were engaged in any trial of skill, where one person only occupied the attention of the audience. The sculpture upon one of them, as thrice represented in the third volume of Stuart's Antiquities of Athens[3], seems to favour this idea of their use; because its ornaments are actually those prizes which were bestowed upon successful candidates;—a vessel of the oil produced by the olive-tree that grew in the *Academia;* and three wreaths, or chaplets, with which victors at the *Panathenæa* were crowned.

Proceeding

themselves. But *Potter*, and after him other authors who have written upon Grecian Antiquities, consider the *lowest* part of the COILON as the place appropriated to the seats of the magistrates; which agrees with a custom still retained in some countries, particularly in Sweden. In the theatre at Stockholm, the King and Queen sate, in two chairs, in the pit, in front of the orchestra. For the βουλευτικὸν, the reader is referred to *Aristophanes*, and to *Julius Pollux*, lib. iv. c. 19.

(1) Archæologia Græca, by John Potter, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury.

(2) See vol. I. p. 42. *Lond.* 1751.

(3) See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. pp. 19, 29. "Whether they have been *seats* for a magistrate in a court of judicature, or of officers in a Gymnasium, is not easily determined from their situation." *Ibid. p.* 25. *Lond.* 1794.

Coroni.

Proceeding southward from *Liguriò*, we soon arrived at a small village called *Coroni*[4], whose inhabitants were shepherds. Here we noticed a noble race of dogs, similar to the breed found in the province of *Abruzzo* in Italy; and it is somewhat singular that the very spot which still bears an appellation derived from the name of the mother of *Æsculapius* should be now remarkable for the particular kind of animal materially connected with his history. It was a shepherd's dog who guarded *the infant god* when exposed upon Mount *Titthion*[5]. We bought a young one, for ten piastres, of great size and beauty. It resembled a wolf, with shining black hair. To complete all the circumstances of analogy, they had given to it the name of Κοράκι, as if in memory of the κόραξ which *Apollo* set to watch *Coronis* after she became pregnant. *Coráki* proved a useful companion to us afterwards; as he always accompanied our horses, and protected us from the attacks of the large dogs swarming in the Turkish towns and villages, and constantly assailing a traveller upon his arrival: indeed, sometimes it became a question

(4) "Possibly an antient name taken from the Nymph *Coronis*, the mother of *Æsculapius*." (*Gell's Itinerary of Greece, p.* 103. *Lond.* 1810.) It were to be wished that this industrious traveller would complete the design originally announced by the appearance of this publication, and extend it to the rest of Greece, all of which has been visited and accurately surveyed by him. Such a work, to use his own words, "*although it be only calculated to become a book of reference, and not of general entertainment,*" would be really useful; and its value would be felt, if not by an indolent reader at his fire-side, yet by the active and enterprising scholar, who wishes to be guided in his researches throughout these interesting regions.

(5) A *shepherd's dog* was represented as an accompaniment to the statue of the God, of ivory and gold, in his temple.

CHAP. XV.

question with us, whether *Ibrahim* or *Corâki* were the most intelligent and useful *Tchohadar*.

The *Hieron*.

At *Coroni*, turning towards the east, we had the first sight of the HIERON. Its general disposition may have been anticipated by the Reader, in the description already given of the features of *Epidauria*. It is a small and beautiful

Mountains.

valley, surrounded by high mountains; one of superior magnitude bounding the prospect on its eastern side. This, from its double summit, consisting of two rounded eminences, may be the *mamillary* mountain, thence called TITTHION, by Pausanias[1], from τιτθὸς; which word, among a great variety of other instances proving the common origin of the two languages[2], we have retained in our word *teat*; now becoming obsolete. In this valley were the *sacred grove*[3], and *Sanctuary of Æsculapius*, together with numerous *baths, temples*, a *Stadium*, a *Theatre*, and some *medicinal springs* and *wells*; the remains of all which may still be severally discerned. The first artificial object that appeared after we left *Coroni*, was

(1) Ὄρη δέ εἰσιν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος, τό τε ΤΙΤΘΙΟΝ, καὶ ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. Pausan. Corinth. c. 27. pp. 174, 175. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) The nation from whom the *Greeks* were descended, and the earliest settlers in *Britain*, spoke dialects of the same language. The numberless proofs that might be adduced of this are foreign to the object of this publication; but, as to an authority for the common origin of the two colonies, the author is proud to refer to his Grandfather's learned work on "*the Connection of the Roman and Saxon Coins*;"—a work that was highly prized by the greatest Grecian scholar England ever had; namely, the illustrious Porson; whose frequent illustrations and evidences of the fact here alluded to are recent in the recollection of all who knew him.

(3) Τὰ δὲ Ἱερὸν ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περιέχουσιν ὄροι παντάχόθεν. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 27. p. 172. *Lips.* 1696.

was a considerable Ruin, somewhat resembling a castle, at a short distance in the valley upon our right. Upon closer inspection, it proved to be a Roman edifice of brick-work, and of a square form; possibly one of the benefactions of *Antoninus Pius*, who, while a Roman senator, erected here an hospital for the reception of pregnant women and dying persons, that were before always removed out of the *Peribolus*[4], to be delivered, or to expire in the open air. Farther on we perceived the traces of a large building, divided into several chambers, and stuccoed; and it is known that the same senator also built the Bath of *Æsculapius*, besides making other donations. We soon came to what we supposed to have been the ground-plot of the *Temple:* its remains are seen only at one extremity, but the oblong plane upon which this immense fabric stood is clearly marked out by the traces of its foundations. We had no sooner arrived, than we were convinced that the time we proposed to dedicate to these Ruins would by no means prove adequate to any proper survey of them: we found enough to employ the most diligent traveller during a month, instead of a single day. Near to the temple is the *Stadium;* and its appearance illustrates a disputed passage in *Pausanias*[5], for it consisted principally of high banks of earth, which were only

Temple of *Æsculapius.*

Stadium.

(4) Οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες σφίσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, ib.

(5) Vid. Pausan. Corinth. c. 27. p. 173. lib. xiv. cum Annot. Xyland. et Sylb. Edit. Kuhnii. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XV.

only partially covered with seats. We observed here a subterraneous vaulted passage, now choked with rubbish, which conducted into its area[1], on the left side of it, and near to the principal entrance. This *Stadium* has fifteen rows of seats; but the seats are only at the upper end of the structure: the rest is of earth, heaped so as to form its sides. The *Theatre* is farther on towards the mountains, on the right hand; and it is one of the most remarkable in all Greece; not only from the state in which it remains, but in being mentioned by *Pausanias* as a work of POLYCLETUS, renowned for excelling all other architects in the harmony and beauty of his structures[2]. We found a subterraneous building, resembling a small chapel, without being able even to conjecture for what purpose it was constructed, unless it were for a bath. Near to it we saw also a little stone coffin, containing fragments of *terra-cotta* vases: it had perhaps been rifled by the peasants, and the vases destroyed, in the hope of discovering hidden treasure. But the most remarkable reliques within the sacred precinct were architectural remains in *terra cotta*. We found the ornaments of a *frieze*, and part of the *cornice* of a temple, which had been manufactured in *earthenware*. Some of these ornaments had been moulded for *relievos*; and others, less perfectly baked, exhibited painted surfaces. The colours

Theatre.

Architectural *Terra cottas.*

(1) Chandler says, it was a private way, by which the *Agonothetæ*, or Presidents, with the priests and persons of distinction, entered. *See Trav. in Greece, p.* 225.

(2) Ἁρμονίας δὲ ἡ καλλους εἵνεκα, ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος ἐς ἄμιλλαν Πολυκλείτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως; Πολύκλειτος γὰρ καὶ θέατρον τοῦτο, καὶ οἴκημα τὸ περιφερὲς ὁ ποιήσας ἦν. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 27. p. 174. *Lips.* 1696.

W. Wilkins Sen.r del.

Etched by Eliz.th Byrne.

PART of a TERRA-COTTA CORNICE and FRIEZE found in the HIERON of EPIDAURIA.

colours upon the latter still retained much of their original freshness: upon being wetted with water, they appeared as vivid as when they were first laid on; resembling the painted surfaces of those "*pictured urns*" (as they were termed by our English Pindar) upon which it is now usual to bestow the appellation of "*Grecian vases*." The wonderful state of preservation manifested by the oldest painted *terra cottas* of Greece has been supposed to be owing to the circumstance of their remaining in sepulchres where the atmospheric air was excluded: but these ornaments were designed for the outside of a temple, and have remained for ages exposed to all the changes of weather, upon the surface of the soil. In the description before given of the *Memphian Sphinx*, another striking example was adduced, proving through what a surprising lapse of time antient painting has resisted decomposition: and if the period of man's existence upon earth would admit of the antiquity ascribed by *Plato* to certain pictures in Egypt, there would have been nothing incredible in the age he assigned to them[3]. The colours upon these *terra cottas* were a bright straw-yellow and red. The building to which they belonged is mentioned by *Pausanias*; and to increase the interest excited by the discovery of these curious remains, we found the same passage of that historian cited by *Winkelmann*, to prove that such materials were used in antient architecture[4].

After

(3) *See p.* 149, *Chap.* IV. *of this Section.* "The walls of great edifices," says Pauw, (*ibid.*) "when once painted, remained so for ever."

(4) Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens, tom. II. p. 544. *Paris*, An 2.

CHAP. XV. After describing the *Theatre*, the *Stadium*, and other edifices, *Pausanias* adds[1]: "The *Hieron* once contained a portico (στοὰ), called that of *Cotys*; but the roof falling in, caused the destruction of the whole edifice, owing to the nature of its materials, which consisted of crude tiles."

We then went, by an antient road, to the top of a hill towards the east, and found upon the summit the remains of a temple, with steps leading to it yet remaining: there is reason to believe this to have been the Temple of the *Coryphæan Diana*, upon Mount *Cynortium*, from the circumstance of an Inscription which we discovered upon the spot. It is imperfect; but it mentions a priest of *Artemis*, of the name of *Apotatilius*, who had commemorated his *safety* from some disorder;

Temple of the *Coryphæan Diana*.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟCΑΠ
ΟΤΑΤΕΙΛΙΟCCΩΝ
ΕΡΑΠΟΛΗΑCΤΟC

By the side of this temple there was a bath, or reservoir, lined with stucco, thirty feet by eight, with some *Lumachella* columns of the *Doric* order: the foundations and part of the pavement of the temple yet exist, and these are not less than sixty paces in extent: we noticed some channels grooved in the marble, for conveying water in different directions. The traces of buildings may be observed upon all the mountains which surrounded the sacred

(1) Καὶ ἦν γὰρ στοὰ καλουμένη Κότυος· καταῤῥύεντος δέ οἱ τοῦ ὀρόφου, διέφθαρτο ἤδη πᾶσα, ἅτε ὤμης τῆς πλίνθου ποιηθεῖσα. Pausan. Corinthiaca, c. 27. p. 174. *Lips.* 1696.

sacred valley; and over all this district their remains are as various as their history is indeterminate. Some of them seem to have been small sanctuaries, like chapels; others appear as baths, fountains, and aqueducts. The Temple of the *Coryphæan Diana* is mentioned by Pausanias[2]; and being identified with this ruin, it may serve to establish a point of observation for ascertaining the edifices described by the same author as in its neighbourhood. It was upon the summit of CYNORTIUM; and had been noticed by *Telesilla* in her poems. We next came to a singular and very picturesque structure, with more the appearance of a *cave* than of a building. It was covered with hanging weeds, overgrown with bushes, and almost buried in the mountain: the interior of it exhibited a series of circular arches, in two rows, supporting a vaulted roof; the buttresses between the arches being propped by short columns. Possibly this may have been the building which Chandler, in his dry way, called "*a Church*," without giving any description of it; where, "besides fragments, he found an Inscription *to far-darting "Apollo*[3]*!*" He supposes the *Temple of Apollo* which was upon Mount *Cynortium* to have stood upon this spot.

Temple of *Apollo*.

Below this mountain, by the northern side of a water-course, now dry, and rather above the spot where it discharged itself into

Circular edifice.

(2) Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους, κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, οὗ καὶ Τελέσιλλα ἐποιήσατο ἐν ἄσματι μνήμην. Pausan. Corinth. c. 28. p. 175. *Lips.* 1696.

(3) See the Vignette to this Chapter. The arches may be as old as the time of Pausanias. The Inscription mentioned by Chandler is as follows: "*Diogenes the hierophant, to far-darting Apollo, on account of a vision in his sleep.*" Trav. in Greece, p. 225. *Oxf.* 1776.

CHAP. XV.

into the valley, is a small building of a circular form, covered by a dome, with arches round the top. We found a few imperfect Inscriptions, one of which mentions *Hierophants*, or *Priests of Mars*, (Πυρφόροι,) dedicating some votive offering. All that we could trace were these letters:

ΙΑΡΕ
ΦΑΩΝ
ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ

The circular building is too modern in its aspect, and too mean in its materials, for the THOLUS of Pausanias[1], of white marble, built by *Polycletus*, architect of the theatre; but it may perhaps correspond better with the fountain which he alludes to, as remarkable for its roof and decorations[2]; this kind of roof being almost unknown in Greece. The building, although smaller, bears some resemblance to the well-known *bath*, improperly called the *Temple of Venus* at *Baiæ*.

Theatre of *Polycletus*.

Hence we repaired to the *Theatre*, now upon our *left* hand, but upon the *right* to those entering the *Hieron* from *Coroni*, that is to say, upon its southern side[3]. Chandler speaks

(1) Οἴκημα δὲ περιφερὲς λίθου λευκοῦ καλούμενον ΘΟΛΟΣ, ᾠκοδόμηται πλησίον, θέας ἄξιον. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 27. p. 173. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) Καὶ κρήνη τῷ τε ὀρόφῳ καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ θέας ἀξία. Ibid. p. 174.

(3) Ἐπιδαυρίοις δέ ἐστι θέατρον ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩΙ, μάλιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θέας ἄξιον. (*Ibid.*) This expression of Pausanias, "Within the *Hieron*," or *sacred precinct*, has been by some preposterously rendered "*Within the Temple.*" A Theatre WITHIN A TEMPLE!!!

speaks of its "*marble seats*" as "overgrown with bushes[4];" we found those seats to consist of common *limestone*, a difference of little moment; but as we paid particular attention to the dimensions and figure of this splendid structure, one of the most entire of all the Grecian theatres, and in its original and perfect state one of the most magnificent[5], so we shall be very particular in giving an account of it. We found it tenanted by a variety of animals, which were disturbed at our approach,—hares, red-legged partridges, and tortoises: our new acquaintance *Coráki*, accompanied by his former master, a descendant of the goat-herd *Aresthanas*, bounded among the seats, and, driving them from their haunts, soon put us into sole possession. But an animal of a very different nature was dragged from his lurking-place by Mr. Cripps; who, delighted by the discovery he had made, came running with an extraordinary snake which he had caught among some myrtles, and held writhing in his hands. It was of a bright *yellow* colour, shining like burnished gold, about a yard in length, such as none of us had seen before. The peasants, however, knew it to be a species of harmless serpent, which they had been

Epidaurian Serpent.

(4) Trav. in Greece, p. 225. *Oxf.* 1776.

(5) This is evident from the manner in which it is always mentioned by *Pausanias*, who speaks of the comparative magnificence and architectural skill shewn in other theatres, with reference to this of *Polycletus* in Epidauria. Thus, when he is giving an account of a theatre in *Ægina*, he says of it, Θέατρόν ἐστι θέας ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπήν. Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 180. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XV.

been accustomed to regard with tenderness, and even with superstitious veneration; telling us it would be unlucky in any one who should do it injury. It was, in fact, one of the curious breed described by *Pausanias*, as peculiar to the country of the *Epidaurians*, being always *harmless*, and of a *yellow* colour[1]. We could not, however, assist Mr. Cripps in its preservation; no one of our party being able to divest himself sufficiently of a very common antipathy for serpents: and the consequence was, that being unwilling to put it to death, and the peasants wishing for its release, he suffered it to escape.

Aspect of the *Coilon*.

The *Coilon* of this theatre, as usual, has been scooped in the side of a mountain; but it faces the north. As the sea could not enter into the perspective, which seems to have been a general aim of the architects by whom such structures were planned throughout Greece, this position of the theatre may have been designed to afford it as much shade as its situation was capable of receiving. Its northern aspect, and the mountain towering behind it, must have protected the whole edifice, during a great portion of the day, from the beams of the sun; and we may suppose this to have been a consideration, rather than any circumstance of expediency as to the mountain itself, because the whole circumference of the *Peribolus* afforded declivities equally well adapted to the purpose of constructing a theatre: and it is also well known

(1) Δράκοντες δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἕτερον γένος ἐς τὸ ξανθότερον ῥέποντες χρόας, ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ νομίζονται, καί εἰσιν ἀνθρώποις ἥμεροι· τρέφει δὲ μόνη σφᾶς ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆ. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 28. p. 175. *Lips.* 1696.

known that the Greeks were frequently obliged to carry umbrellas (σκιάδεια) with them into their theatres; submitting to their incumbrance, rather than remain exposed to the sun's rays. The women upon such occasions were also attended by their umbrella-bearers (σκιαδηφόροι)[2]; and this custom, from the increase it occasioned in the throng, added to the embarrassment caused among the audience by the number of umbrellas intercepting the view of the stage, must have rendered a shaded theatre a very desirable acquisition. Indeed we know that, upon some occasions, temporary sheds and large awnings were erected for the convenience of the spectators. Every provision of this kind was doubly necessary in the *Hieron*; by its nature sultry, owing to its surrounding mountains, and filled with inhabitants selected from all the invalids of Greece,—the feeble, the enervated, the effeminated votaries of the God,—vainly seeking in these retreats a renovation of exhausted nature; or aged and infirm persons, anxiously looking for some gleam of cheerfulness, wherewith to gladden the termination of a career that knew no hope beyond the grave. It is evident that the disposition of this popular place of amusement was arranged with luxury as well as convenience; for, in addition to the shade it offered, the salutary waters of the HIERON flowed in the deep bed of a torrent immediately beneath its front[3]. With regard to the theatre itself, the *Scene*, or, as it has been sometimes

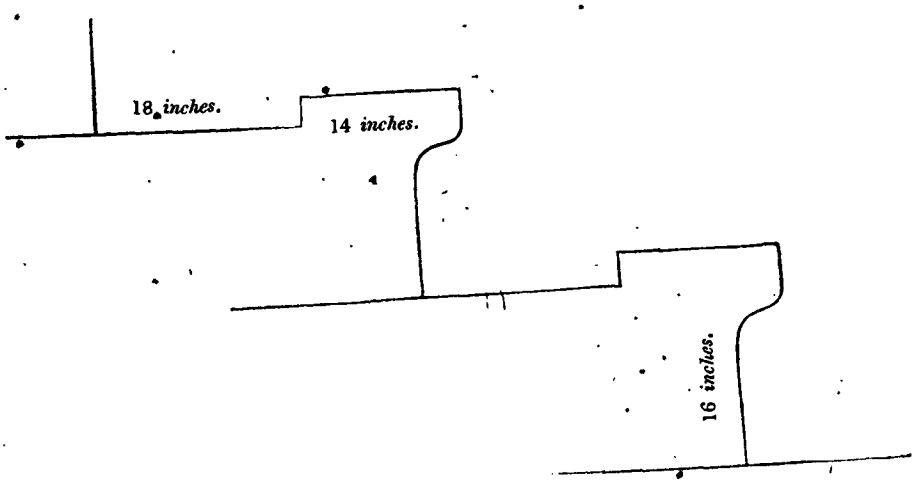
(2) Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. vi. c. 1. *Lips.* 1780.

(3) It is impossible to multiply the number of engravings so often as the insufficiency of a written description renders their aid requisite; but the Reader is particularly referred to

CHAP. XV.

sometimes improperly called, the *Proscenion*[1], has totally disappeared; and as it was here that *Polycletus* probably exhibited the greatest proof of those architectural talents so highly extolled by *Pausanias*, the loss of it is highly to be regretted: but such is the entire state of the structure within the *Coilon*, that not one of the seats is either missed or imperfect. Owing to their remarkable preservation, we were enabled to measure, with the greatest accuracy, the diameter of the *Conistra*, and the dimensions of all the parts appropriated to the spectators. There is something remarkable even in the position of the seats: their surface is not perfectly horizontal; the architect has given to them a slight inclination, perhaps that water might not rest upon them during rain. The section of these seats would exhibit a profile of this kind:

Perfect state of the structure.



By

to a view of this Theatre, of the torrent's course, which is now dry, and of the whole *Hieron*, as engraved from a drawing made upon the spot by W. Gell, Esq. See *Itinerary of Greece, Plate* 22. *p.* 104. *Lond.* 1810.

(1) This name applies only to the *Stage* of a Greek theatre.

Dimensions and detail of the parts.

By a simple contrivance, which is here visible, the seats of the spectators were not upon a level with the places for the feet of those who sate behind them; a groove, eighteen inches wide, and about two inches deep, being dug in the solid mass of stone whereof each seat consisted, expressly for the reception of the feet; and this groove extended behind every row of spectators, all around the theatre; by which means their garments were not trampled upon by persons seated above them. The width of each seat was fourteen inches, and its perpendicular elevation sixteen inches. The number of the seats, counted as steps from the *Conistra* or *Pit*, to the top of the *Coilon*, was fifty-six[2]: in the same direction from the *Pit*, upwards, the semicircular ranges of the seats were *intersected* at right angles by above twenty *flights* of little stairs; each *flight* being twenty-eight inches and a half wide, and each *step* exactly half the height of one of the benches: these, crossing the several rows from *the Pit* upwards, enabled persons to ascend to the top of the theatre, without incommoding the spectators when seated. *Guilletiere*, speaking of such stairs, says, that near to them were passages leading to the outer porticoes, by which the spectators entered to take their places[3]. He seems to have founded this notion upon the plan of a Roman theatre, the view of which he has given in his work[4]. We do

(2) Mr. Gell says fifty-five.

(3) See Chap. XII. p. 510, of this Vol. line 15.

(4) See Plate facing p. 1, from a design by *Guillet*; engraved by *Gobille*, "Athènes ancienne et moderne." *Paris*, 1675.

CHAP. XV.

do not remember ever to have seen in Grecian theatres any such *retreats* or *entrances*, near to the little stairs for crossing the benches: the entrances to a Greek theatre were either vaulted passages at the sides, near to what we should call the *stage-boxes*, or in the exterior front of the *Scene*, behind the stage itself[1]. Many authors speak of those porticoes, as being erected behind the *Cavea*; which, as applied to the theatres of Greece, is ridiculous[2]; for what can be more absurd than to tell of buildings behind seats, which were either integral parts of a mountain, or were adapted to its solid surface. The porticoes to which the audience retired for shelter, in rainy weather, must have had a different situation. The whole of the *Coilon*, or *Cavea*, that is to say, of the *seats* taken altogether, was separated into two parts, an upper and a lower tier, by a *diazoma* or *corridor*, half way from the top, running parallel to the rows of seats; and in this, as upon a platform, there was space from one extremity of the circular arch to the other. The two parts of a theatre thus separated are perhaps all that Vitruvius intended by the "two distinct elevations of the rows of benches," which *Guilletiere* complained of being unable to reconcile with anything now remaining of antient theatres[3]. The diameter of the *Conistra*, or *Pit*, taken in the widest part, is one

(1) See a View of the Theatre at Telmessus, Chap. VIII. of the former Section, facing p. 236. *Broxbourne, Second Edit.*

(2) See Potter's Archæolog. Græc. vol. I. p. 42. *Lond.* 1751. Harwood's Græc. Antiq. p. 18. *Lond.* 1801, &c. &c.

(3) See p. 508, line 13. Chap. XII. of this Volume.

one hundred and five feet; but as the circular arch of the Theatre is greater than a semicircle, the width of the *orchestra*, that is to say, the *chord of the arch*, is barely equal to ninety feet[4]. Facing the Theatre, upon the opposite bank of the bed of the torrent before mentioned, are the foundations of an edifice of considerable size: but it were endless to enumerate every indistinct trace of antient buildings within this celebrated valley; nor would such a detail afford the smallest portion of satisfactory information. With the description of the *Theatre* we shall therefore conclude our observations upon the HIERON; hoping that nothing worthy of consideration has been omitted, respecting one of the most perfect structures of the kind in all Greece.

Journey to *Nauplia*.

We returned by the way of *Coroni*; and near to *Ligurió* took a western course in the road leading towards *Nauplia*, the antient port of *Argos*[5]. After journeying for about an hour, through a country resembling many parts of the Apennines, we saw a village near the road, with a ruined castle upon a hill, to the right, where the remains of *Lessa* are situated. This village is half way between *Ligurió* and *Nauplia*; and here was the antient boundary between *Epidauria* and the *Argive* territory[6]. Those Ruins have not yet been visited by any traveller: indeed, there is much to be done

Lessa.

(4) Mr. Gell states it as equal to eighty-nine feet. *See Itin. of Greece, p.* 108. *Lond.* 1810.

(5) Ἡ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΑ, τὸ τῶν Ἀργείων ναύσταθμον. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 505. ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

(6) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λῆσσαν ἔχεται τῆς Ἀργείας ἡ Ἐπιδαυρίων. Paus. Corinth. c. 26. p. 169. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XV.

Dorian and Egyptian Antiquities.

done throughout *Argolis*: this country, particularly, merits investigation. The antiquities that occurred in our route were principally of a sepulchral nature, near to the antient road leading from *Nauplia* towards *Lessa* and *Epidaurus;* but so peculiarly characterized, as to form and structure, that it is evident they were the works of the earliest colonies in Peloponnesus, and probably of *Dorian* origin. One of these monuments is decidedly mentioned by Pausanias, as we shall presently shew; the only author to whom we can refer for information concerning this part of the Peloponnesus. Strabo makes but few remarks upon the *Argive* territory; and even these are delivered from the observations of *Artemidorus* and *Apollodorus*; not having himself visited the spot[1]. We passed some tombs that were remarkable in having large rude stones, of a square form, placed upon their tops; a custom alluded to by Pausanias in the description he has given of the *tumulus* raised by *Telamon* upon the shore of *Ægina*, near to the *Æacéum*. The (χῶμα) *heap* had upon the top of it (λίθος τραχὺς) "a rugged stone," once used, according to a tradition in the second century, by *Peleus* and *Telamon*, as a *discus*, with which *Peleus* slew *Phocus* during a game of quoits[2]. It has been a common notion everywhere, that antient heroes were men of gigantic stature. The fable, therefore,

(1) Ἐπίδαυρος, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρός φησιν. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ, κ. τ. λ. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. pp. 534, 535. edit. *Oxon.* 1807.

(2) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 29. pp. 179, 180. *Lips.* 1696.

therefore, as related to *Pausanias* by the *Æginetans*, is of little moment; but the fact of a stone so placed is sufficient to prove that such a substitute for the *Stélé* was found upon a *Dorian tumulus* of very remote antiquity; and the observation of the historian is in some measure confirmed by the existence of similar tombs in *Argolis* corresponding with his description of the mound in *Ægina*; the *Dorians* having possessed this island and the Argive territory nearly twelve centuries before the Christian æra: at that time the *Peloponnesus* was the principal seat of their power, and by them the city of *Megara* was then founded. Upon the *left*-hand side of the road we also observed an Egyptian sepulchre, having a *pyramidal* shape; and agreeing so remarkably, both as to form and situation, with a monument mentioned by *Pausanias*, that we believed ourselves to be actually viewing the identical tomb seen by him[3]. He supposes the traveller coming in a contrary direction from the line of our route; that is to say, from *Argos* towards *Epidauria*; and in so doing he describes a pyramidal structure as being upon the *right* of the observer. It contained, he says[4], *shields* of an *Argolic* form; for a battle had once been fought in the place, between the armies of *Prœtus* and *Acrisius*, upon which occasion shields were first used, and those who fell on

(3) Ἐρχομένοις δ' ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν, ἔστιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν δεξιᾷ πυραμίδι μάλιστα εἰκάσμενον, κ. τ. λ. Paus. Corinth. c. 25. p. 168. *Lips.* 1696.

(4) Ibid.

CHAP. XV.

on either side were here buried in one common sepulchre. However, he is evidently describing a sepulchre nearer to *Argos*; for he adds, that upon quitting the spot, and turning towards the right hand, the Ruins of *Tiryns* appear[1]: therefore the pyramidal form may have been common to many antient sepulchres in Argolis. *Lessa* was but a *village* in the time of Pausanias[2], as it now is: but it was remarkable for a *temple* and wooden image[3] of Minerva; and upon the mountain above the village, perhaps where the castle now stands, there were altars of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, whereon sacrifices were offered in times of drought[4]. The mountain then bore the name of *Arachnæus:* its antient appellation, under *Inachus*, had been *Sapyselatón*[5].

Arachnæus Mons.

During this part of our journey the more distant mountains of the Morea appeared extremely lofty, elevating their naked summits into the pure æther, with uncommon sublimity. The road led through a mountain pass that had been strongly fortified. We saw everywhere proofs of the fertility of the soil; in the more open valleys, plantations of pomegranate and mulberry trees; and even amidst the most rocky situations there sprouted myrtles, beautiful heaths, and flowering shrubs, among which sheep and goats were browsing

(1) Προτοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν, Τίρυνθός ἐστιν ἐρείπια. Pausan. Corinth. c. 25. p. 169. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον εὐθείαν, ἔστι ΚΩΜΗ Λῆσσα. Ibid. p. 169.

(3) Ναὸς καὶ ξόανον. Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Σαπυσελάτων. Ibid.

browsing in great number. We met several herds upon the road, each herd containing from seven to nine hundred head of cattle. As we drew near to the sea-side, we passed a very extensive plantation of olive-trees; and came to an antient paved road, leading from *Nauplia* towards *Argos* the once renowned capital. Sepulchres, as old as the age of *Danaus*, appeared among the rocks before we reached the town. Strabo assigns to them even an earlier date; he says they were called *Cyclopéa*, as having been the work of the Cyclops[6]; it being usual to attribute to a race of men who, from their power, were considered by after-ages as giants, any result of extraordinary labour[7]. The beauties of the scenery, and the interesting nature of the country, had detained us so long, that we did not reach NAUPLIA until the gates were shut[8]; and there was no possibility of causing a request to be conveyed to the Governor for their being opened; neither would any attention have been paid to such our petition, if it had been made. The worst of the scrape was, that all our beds and baggage, being with the sumpter-horses and guides, had already entered the town before the gates had

Cyclopéa.

Nauplia.

(6) Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ναυπλία τὰ σπήλαια, καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομητοὶ λαβύρινθοι· ΚΥΚΛΩΠΕΙΑ δ' ὀνομάζουσιν. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 536. ed. *Oxon.*

(7) "*Cyclopéa* autem dicta hæc videntur, ob magnitudine: '*nam*,' inquit vetus Papinii interpres (ad Theb. l. i. ver. 251.) '*quicquid magnitudine suâ nobile est, Cyclopum manu dicitur fabricatum.*' Vid. Annot. Casaub. in Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 536. (4.) edit. *Oxon.* 1807.

(8) Mr. Gell makes the distance from *Ligurió* to *Nauplia* five hours and forty-eight minutes; not quite equal to sixteen miles English. *See Itin. of Greece, p.* 101. *Lond.* 1810.

CHAP. XV.

had been closed. There seemed, therefore, to be no other alternative but that of ending a long day of entire fasting without any hope of nourishment, and with the certainty of passing the rest of the night houseless in the suburbs of *Nauplia*. After some time, the *Tchohadar* found a miserable shed, whose owner he compelled to provide a few boards for us to sit upon; but neither the offers of money, nor Ibrahim's boasted resource of *flagellation*, from which we found it almost impossible to restrain him, availed any thing towards bettering either our lodging or our fare. Weary, cold, and comfortless, we remained counting the moments until the morning; without fire, without light, without rest, without food: but the consciousness of being upon *terra firma*, and that we were not exposed, as we had often been, under circumstances of equal privation, to the additional horrors of a tempestuous sea, made our situation comparatively good, and taught us to be thankful.

As soon as day-light appeared, the worthy Consul, Mr. Victor Dalmar, who had received our baggage, and was uneasy for the safety of his expected guests, caused the gates to be opened rather earlier than usual [1]. The Governor, to whom he had made application, sent orders to the gate, desiring to see us. We begged to decline this honour, pleading our fatigue and indisposition as an apology for not waiting upon him; but sent the *Tchohadar* as our representative.

(1) "The Turks suspend a sabre over the gateway, as a memorial that the place was taken by assault." *Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

sentative. Ibrahim, having put on his fur pelisse, and a fine tall *calpack* with a turban of white muslin, looked like a Vizier, and quite as respectable as any Pasha of three tails throughout the Grand Signior's dominions. When we arrived at the Consul's house, we found sitting in a little hot close room, smelling most unpleasantly of stale tobacco fumes, a short corpulent man, about fifty years of age, who began talking to us very loud, as people often do with foreigners, believing them to be deaf: he announced himself to us as our host; and, from the appearance of everything around him, we expected indifferent accommodation. In this, however, we were mistaken: we were shewn to some rooms lately whitewashed; the chambers of the Consul's house, as usual, surrounding a court, and communicating with each other by means of a gallery. In these rooms there was not a single article of furniture; but they were clean, and we were able to spread our matrasses upon the floor; and soon found ourselves comfortably lodged in as hospitable a mansion as any in all Greece; our benevolent host contriving everything for our welcome, and endeavouring to prolong our stay as much as possible. After we had taken a little rest, we were roused by the firing of Turkish cannon in the Citadel; and Ibrahim, returning from his mission, brought the Governor's message to the Consul, informing him that he had just received from Stambôl (Constantinople) intelligence of the expulsion of the French from Egypt; and that he had orders from his Government to make it publickly known. We were shewn a copy of the *Takhrīr*, or *official note*, the only Turkish Gazette we had ever seen, announcing an event nearly a quarter of a year after

House of the Consul.

Turkish Gazette.

CHAP. XV.

after it had happened. It was in manuscript, and Mr. Dalmar translated it for us. The nature of the intelligence was curious enough: it set forth, after a long pompous preamble, that "*public rejoicings were to be held throughout the Ottoman Empire for the deliverance of (Misr) Egypt from the hands of cursed Infidels forsaken of God, owing to the bravery and prudence of Hussein Pasha and of the troops belonging to the Sublime Porte of solid glory, led on by their great Prophet,*" *&c. &c.* The only mention made of any obligation to Great Britain was tagged on in the form of a postscript, merely stating that "*the English Djowrs* (Infidels) *had acted friendly upon the occasion.*" Thus the deliverance of Egypt, purchased at the price of British blood, and for which Abercrombie died, throughout the immense empire of Turkey was ascribed to a dastardly banditti, who were idle spectators of the contest, encumbering rather than aiding the operations of our armies.

Public Rejoicings.

The rejoicings at *Nauplia* began immediately: they consisted of an irregular discharge of small artillery most wretchedly managed, and the exhibition of athletic sports before the Governor's windows; followed afterwards by a few bad fireworks, displayed without any effect, by day-light.

Athletæ.

The *Athletæ* were principally wrestlers. We saw two of them advance into the arena where the combat was to take place: they came hand in hand, capering and laughing as if highly gratified by the opportunity of shewing their skill: presently they put themselves into various attitudes, and began to make faces at each other. These men afforded a perfect representation of the antient Παλὴ, the oldest of all the exercises.

exercises[1]. They wore tight leather breeches well soaked in oil; in other respects their bodies were stark naked, except being anointed with oil[2], and rubbed over with dust[3]. To gain the victory, it was necessary not only that one of the combatants should throw the other, but that, having thrown him, he should be able to keep his adversary lying upon his back until he, the conqueror, regained his feet; for in the struggle they always fell together[4]. We had also the satisfaction of seeing that most antient military dance the *Pyrrhica*, as it had perhaps existed in Greece from the time of its introduction by the *Son of Achilles*, or by the *Corybantes*. In fact, it was a Spartan dance, and therefore peculiarly appropriate at a neighbouring *Nauplian* festival. It consisted of men armed with sabres and shields, who came forward in a kind of broad-sword exercise, exhibiting a variety of martial evolutions to the sound of Turkish flutes. Such amusements and customs are never likely to be discontinued in any country, so long as any portion of the original inhabitants remains: indeed, they often continue to exist when a new race

Pyrrhica.

(1) Even the origin of its name, Παλη, is uncertain. Virgil derives the exercise from the Trojans, *Æn. lib.* iii. 280.

"Actiaque Iliacis celebramus littora ludis."

(2) "Exercent patrias oleo labente palæstras
Nudati socii"—— Ibid. 281.

(3) *Vid. Ovid. Met.* ix. 35. *Stat. Theb.* vi. 846. *Lucian. de Gymn. p.* 270. Among the Antients, the *dust* for the wrestlers was kept in a particular place. *Plutarch. Sympos.* II. *Probl.* 4. *p.* 638. *C. Vitruv.* V. 11. Leisner's Notes to Bos.

(4) The same rule, according to Mr. Thornton, is observed in other parts of Turkey. (*See Thornton's Turkey, vol.* II. *p.* 207. *Lond.* 1809.) In antient wrestling, the prize was obtained by throwing an adversary three times.

CHAP. XV.

race has succeeded to the old inhabitants; being adopted by their successors [1].

Population.

The population of *Nauplia* consisted of two thousand persons at the time of our arrival. The plague had raged during three successive years, and had carried off six thousand of its inhabitants. When free from this scourge, it is a very unhealthy place, the people being attacked

Bad Air.

annually with a *malaria* fever. The few merchants who reside here have generally country-houses, and leave the town in the summer months. The night we had passed in the suburb exposed us to an attack of this kind; the author having caught the fever, and all our party being in a certain degree affected by the unwholesome air. The only remedy is the red *Peruvian bark*; but it must be administered in very powerful doses. A traveller in Greece should consider this medicine as absolutely necessary to his existence, and never

Commerce.

journey unprovided [2]. The commerce of *Nauplia* has been for some time upon the decline. The exports are oil, spunges, and wine. Formerly, the produce of the Morea for exportation, in the first of these articles alone, (and almost all of it went from *Nauplia*,) amounted, in a good year, to one million of Turkish *quilots*: even now, if the crops have not been deficient, the produce of *Corinth*, *Misitra*, *Nauplia*, *Argos*, &c. is

(1) All the invasions and conquests to which our island has been liable, during nineteen centuries, have not abolished the rites of the *Misletoe*; and some of the games of the earliest inhabitants of Great Britain are still practised in the country.

(2) Perhaps the arsenic solution, called "*tasteless ague drops*," might prove even a more potent remedy; and it would be more portable, owing to the small quantity of arsenic necessary in its preparation.

is sufficient for the freightage of twenty-five vessels. A barrel of fine oil sells here for twenty-six or twenty-eight piastres; each barrel containing forty-eight okes. The other exports of the Morea, from this port, are Velani-acorns, vermilion, and wine, of which a great quantity is made, the soil of the Peninsula being particularly favourable to vineyards. The people of *Nauplia* were early renowned for the cultivation of the vine: they formerly worshipped, as an idol, *an ass's head*; because that animal, by browsing the vines, taught them the art of pruning[3]. Very excellent oil is made at *Mitylene*, whence a considerable quantity comes to *Nauplia* to be exported. They receive also from *Misitra* forty or fifty thousand okes of silk; and this is of three sorts or qualities: the finest is called (ὀψέ) *Opsé*; the second sort, *Karatch. kemi litchi*; and the third, *Kassagico*[4]. There is perhaps no place in Greece where the *antient medals* of the country may be purchased in greater number, or found in a higher state of perfection, than at *Nauplia*. We obtained here the oldest silver medals of *Corinth*, of *Argos*, of *Dorium*, in *Messenia*, and of *Ægina*. Old Roman copper coins might be had literally by the handful. Silver medals of the *Achaian League*, with the *head of Jupiter, laurelled*, in front, and the monogram on the obverse side, were very common. Upon the oldest Corinthian silver, the *head of Pallas* was represented, within

(3) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 38. p. 201. *Lips.* 1696.

(4) We cannot pretend to accuracy in writing these words; they are merely an adaptation of the letters of our alphabet to sounds, as they seemed to be uttered. The *Karatch* is a capitation tax, levied upon Greeks and Jews; and possibly the second sort of silk may be the result of such a tax taken in kind.

CHAP. XV.

within an indented square; or the figure of *a flying Pegasus* with the wings curved towards the head, and beneath the animal the Phœnician letter ϙ *Koph.* Some, upon their obverse sides, exhibited only the indented square, divided into four parts, with *a grain* in each.

Gipsies.

We had not seen any Gipsies since we left Russia; but we found this people in *Nauplia*, under the name they bear in Moldavia, of *Tchinganehs*. How they came hither, no one knew; but the march of their ancestors from the north of India to Europe, so lately as the beginning of the fifteenth century, will account for their not being found farther towards the south; and this is now so well ascertained, that no one would expect to meet a Gipsy upon any of the southern shores of the Mediterranean. To have found them in the Peloponnesus is rather remarkable, considering that their whole tribe, at the first, did not exceed half a million; and this number has subsequently much diminished. Their progress towards this peninsula may have been through Bulgaria, Thrace, and the other northern parts of Greece, from Moldavia, Transylvania, and Wallachia, where they are numerous, and find employment in collecting gold from the alluvial deposit of the rivers. Through the same countries they may have reached *Asia Minor*; but we believe that the *Morea* has been the ultimate of their journey towards the south, since the period of their first migration[1].

The

(1) Beaujour mentions them as forming part of the population of *Salonica*, under the name of TCHINGHÉNAIS. *Tableau de la Comm. de la Grèce, tom.* I. *p.* 53. *Paris*, 1800.

The streets of *Nauplia* are as they probably existed in the time of Pausanias; narrow, dark, and dirty. It is mentioned both by *Xenophon*[2] and by *Euripides*[3]; but its antient name of *Nauplia* is now corrupted by the Italians into *Napoli di Romania*. The high and abrupt mountain upon which the Acropolis is situated, still retains the name of the hero *Palamedes*, son of *Nauplius*, in the appellation *Palamedi*. There is nothing remarkable in the town itself, excepting its situation; and this, like the site of many other Grecian cities, borrows from Nature some of her grandest features, each disposition of them being at the same time distinguished by something peculiar to itself. *Athens*, *Argos*, *Nauplia*, *Corinth*, and many more, had each their lofty citadel, with its dependent burgh, and fertile plain: in this they resembled each other; but in certain characteristics they all differ. ATHENS appears as a forsaken habitation of *holiness:* for a moment, unmindful of the degrading character of its Divinities, the spectator views with a degree of awe its elevated shrines, surrounded on every side by a mountain barrier, inclosing the whole district as within one consecrated Peribolus. ARGOS, with less of a *priestly* character, but equal in dignity, sits enthroned as the mistress of the seas: facing the sun's most powerful beams, she spreads her flowery terraces, on either side, before the lucid bosom of the waters in *regal* majesty.

Characteristic features of Grecian cities.

(2) Xenophont. Hellenic. lib. iv. Annot. Forst. in Strabon. lib. ix. p. 535. ed. *Oxon.*

(3) Euripides in Oreste, ver. 53. Ibid.

Ἥκει γὰρ εἰς γῆν Μενέλεως Τροίας ἄπο,
Λιμένα δὲ Ναυπλίειον ἐκπλεῦσας πλάτῃ,
Ἀκταῖσιν ὁρμεῖ.——

CHAP. XV.

majesty. NAUPLIA, stretching out upon a narrow tongue of land, and commanded by impregnable heights, rich in the possession of her port, "the most secure and best defended in the Morea[1]," but depending always upon *Argos* for supplies, was fitted, by every circumstance of natural form, to become a *mercantile* city, and the mart of Grecian commerce. CORINTH, the Gibraltar of the Peloponnesus, by its very nature a *fortress*, is marked by every facility that may conduce to military operations, or render it conspicuous for its *warlike aspect*. In every part of Greece there is something naturally appropriate to the genius and the history of the place; as in the bubbling fountains and groves of EPIDAURIA, sacred to *Æsculapius*; the pastoral scenes of ARCADIA, dedicated to the *Muses* and to *Pan*; the hollow rocks of PHOCIS, echoing to *Pythian oracles*; and perhaps the custom of making offerings to *all the Gods*, upon the summits of OLYMPUS and PARNASSUS, did not so much originate in any Eastern practice, as in the peculiar facility wherewith the eye commanded from those eminences almost every seat of sanctity in Greece[2].

On

(1) Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 227. *Oxf.* 1776.

(2) The old Grecian custom of uttering the Κύριε ἐλέησον ("*Lord have mercy upon us!*") and making sign of reverence upon coming in sight of any place of worship, is still retained among Greek Christians, but particularly in Russia: the Russians use the same expression literally translated, "*Ghospodi pomilui!*" As the practice enjoined reverence to every *particular* shrine, it must necessarily become a *general* homage to all the Divinities, when temples belonging to all the Gods where rendered visible at the same time, with as much ease, and more strikingly, than churches become conspicuous to the common people, who, in every Christian country, frequently employ themselves in counting them from the tops of their hills. Perhaps this may explain the beginning

On Wednesday, November the ninth, we left *Nauplia*, accompanied by the two sons of Mr. Dalmar, to visit the remains of TIRYNS[3], and thence proceed to *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Neméa*, in our way to *Sicyon* and *Corinth*. The lofty Citadel of *Palamedi* towered above us, on our right hand. We passed several gardens, and some pleasing *kiosks*, or summer-houses, situated near the town. The walls of *Tiryns* are not more than an English mile and a half distant from *Nauplia;* or half an hour, according to the Turkish mode of reckoning[4]. The sight of them, in a moment, carried our reflections back to the most distant ages of history: we seemed, in fact, to be once more among the Ruins of Memphis. By whomsoever they were built[5], they are

Tiryns.

beginning of those *offerings to all the Gods* which were made by the Antient Greeks upon the summits of their mountains; rather than the ridiculous notion of being nearer to their Divinities. The first *temples* were *tombs;* and these were not upon the tops of mountains, but in the plains below, near to the cities and public roads: therefore, by going to the summits of mountains, they, in fact, went *farther* from their Gods. This suggestion is, however, only made with reference to *Polytheism*, and to the nature of the offering: the worshippers of *one God*, as we learn from Herodotus, with regard to the Persians who built no temples, chose the tops of the highest hills and mountains for their places of worship. (*Herodot. Hist. lib.* i.) Strabo also observes of them, that they had neither images nor altars, but paid their adoration upon some high place. (*Strabon. Geog. lib.* xv.) Cyrus having had a dream, forewarning him of his approaching death, sacrificed upon the summit of a mountain. (*Vid. Xenophon. lib.* viii.) The inhabitants of Pontus and Cappadocia practised the same kind of worship. (*Appian. lib. de bello Mithrid. p.* 366.)

(3) Μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαίμονα πόλις ἐστὶν ΑΡΓΟΣ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΑ πόλις, καὶ λιμήν. Ἐν μεσογείᾳ δὲ ΚΑΕΩΝΑΙ, καὶ ΜΥΚΗΝΑΙ, καὶ ΤΙΡΥΝΘΑ. Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus, p. 43. *L. Bat.* 1697.

(4) See Gell's Itinerary of Greece. *Lond.* 1810.

(5) It is said by *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and other historians, that the walls of *Tiryns*, were built by the *Cyclops*, the same persons to whom Strabo ascribes the origin of the

Nauplian

CHAP. XV.

Celtic and Phœnician Architecture.

are decidedly of Egyptian origin, and one of the greatest curiosities in all Greece. The coming of an Egyptian colony to this part of Peloponnesus, about fifteen centuries before our æra, is a fact attested by the highest authority of written testimony[1]; but there is something in the style of the architecture here, which, when compared with other remains of a similar nature, and added to a few historical facts, seems rather to prove it of *Celtic*, than of *Egyptian* origin. We purposely avoid entering into any detailed description of the dimensions of this gigantic building, because a most faithful delineator has already anticipated whatever we might have said upon the subject. To his work we must therefore refer the Reader[2]; merely stating of the walls of the Citadel, that, with the exception of the interior structure of the Pyramids, a more marvellous result of human labour has not been found upon earth. The *Celts* have left in Great Britain a surprising specimen of the *Cyclopéan* style in architecture: and it may be said of their temple at *Stonehenge*, that it has all the marks of a Phœnician building[3]: hence a conclusion might

Nauplian Caves. Of the *Cyclops* nothing certain is known. They were supposed to be the sons of *Cœlus* and *Terra*; and this notion is enough to prove that all concerning their history is involved in fable. There were no less than three distinct races of men who bore this appellation. *(Vid. Casaubon. Annot. in Strabon. lib.* viii.) Some allusion to the builders of *Tiryns* will be again introduced in the next Chapter.

(1) ΑΦ ΟΥ ΝΑΥΣ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΚΩΠΩΝ ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΕΠΛΕΥΣΕ, κ. τ. λ.

Vid. Chronicon ex Marmor. Arundel. Epoch. ix.

(2) See Gell's Itinerary of Greece, pp. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58. Plates xv. xvi. xvii. *Lond.* 1810.

(3) *Stonehenge* might be considered as a *Phœnician* building, from its resemblance to the style of the architecture observed upon the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, added

CHAP. XV.

might be deduced, that the *Celts* were originally Phœnicians, or that they have left in *Phœnice* monuments of their former residence in that country. If it be asked, in what region of the globe a taste originated for the kind of architecture termed by the Greeks *Cyclopéan*[4], perhaps the answer may be, that it was cradled in the Caves of India; for many of these, either partly natural, or wholly artificial, whether originally sepulchres, temples, or habitations, it matters not, are actually existing archetypes of a style of building yet recognised over all the western world, even to the borders of the Atlantic ocean: and the traveller who is accustomed to view these *Cyclopéan* labours, however differing in their ages, beholds in them as it were a series of family resemblances, equally conspicuous in the caverns of Elephanta, the ruins of Persepolis, the sepulchres of Syria and of Asia Minor, the remains of the most antient cities in Greece and Italy, such as *Tiryns* and *Crotona*, and the

Origin of the *Cyclopéan* style.

added to the knowledge we have of *Phœnician* settlements upon our south-western coasts: but the same kind of building exists in the northern parts of our island, and in Ireland, and may be noticed over all the territories of the *Belgæ* and *Cimbri*. Having accidentally alluded to this remarkable structure, it would be worse than mere omission to avoid noticing an observation concerning it by that learned antiquary *R. P. Knight, Esq.* as founded upon a fragment of the writings of HECATÆUS. "From a passage of *Hecatæus*, preserved by *Diodorus Siculus*, I think it is evident that *Stonehenge*, and all the other monuments of the same kind found in the North, belonged to the same religion, which appears, at some remote period, to have prevailed over the whole northern hemisphere. According to the same historian, *the Hyperboreans inhabited an island beyond Gaul, as large as Sicily, in which Apollo was worshipped in a circular temple considerable for its size and riches.*"

(4) See a former Note upon the application of this term among the Greek writers.

CHAP. XV.

the more northern monuments of the *Celts*, as in the temples called *Druidical*; especially that of *Stonehenge*, in the south of England. The destruction of *Tiryns* is of such remote antiquity, that its walls existed nearly as they do at present in the earliest periods of Grecian history. Ælian says its inhabitants fed upon *wild figs*[1], and the Arcadians upon acorns[2]. The Argives laid waste the city, and removed its inhabitants to their own capital. *Pausanias*, by whom this is mentioned[3], makes frequent allusion to its marvellous walls[4], considered by him not less entitled than the Pyramids of Egypt to rank among the wonders of the antient world[5]. The prodigious masses of which they consist were put together without cement; and they are likely to brave the attacks of time through ages even more numerous than those which have already elapsed since they were built. Owing to its walls, the city is celebrated in the poems of Homer[6]; and the satisfaction of seeing an example of the military architecture of the heroic ages, as it was beheld by him, is perhaps

History of *Tiryns*.

(1) This is rather an argument for their Ægyptian origin; for by the *wild fig* is probably intended the *Ficus Sycomorus*, the fruit of which is still eaten in Egypt. We did not, however, notice this tree in Greece.

(2) Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. iii. c. 39.

(3) Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τιρυνθίους Ἀργεῖοι, συνοίκους προσλαβεῖν, καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἐπαυξῆσαι θελήσαντες. Pausan. Corinth. c. 26. p. 169. *Lips.* 1696.

(4) Vid. Pausan. in Achaic. c. 25. p. 589. in Bœotic. c. 36. p. 783, &c. *Lips.* 1696.

(5) Τὰ τείχη τὰ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἤγαγον μνήμης, οὐδὲ ὄντα ἐλάττονος θαύματος. Ibid. p. 783. Bœotic. c. 36. *Lips.* 1696.

(6) Οἵ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον, Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν.
Iliad. β. ver. 559.

perhaps only granted to the moderns in this single instance. They have remained nearly in their present state above three thousand years. It is believed that they were erected long before the Trojan war: as to the precise period, chronologists are so little agreed with regard even to the arrival of the *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* colonies under *Cadmus* and *Danaus*, that a difference of at least a century may be observed in their calculations[7]. The celebrity of their *Citadel* is almost all that is now known of the *Tirynthians*, excepting their natural tendency to mirth and frivolity. If we may rely upon an anecdote cited by the Abbé Barthelemy[8] from *Athenæus*[9], in their characteristic disposition they were nearly allied to the *Parisians* of the present day; and, for want of a better argument, the Members of the French Academy may recur to the story, in support of a very probable truth; namely, that the *Tirynthians* and the *Gauls* were only *earlier* and *later* scions of the same *Indo-Europæan* stock. Such was their remarkable levity, that the most serious and important concerns served among them merely to give a turn to a *bon mot*. At last, even *fun* became a *bore*; and they applied to the Oracle of Delphi, to be

Character of the Tirynthians.

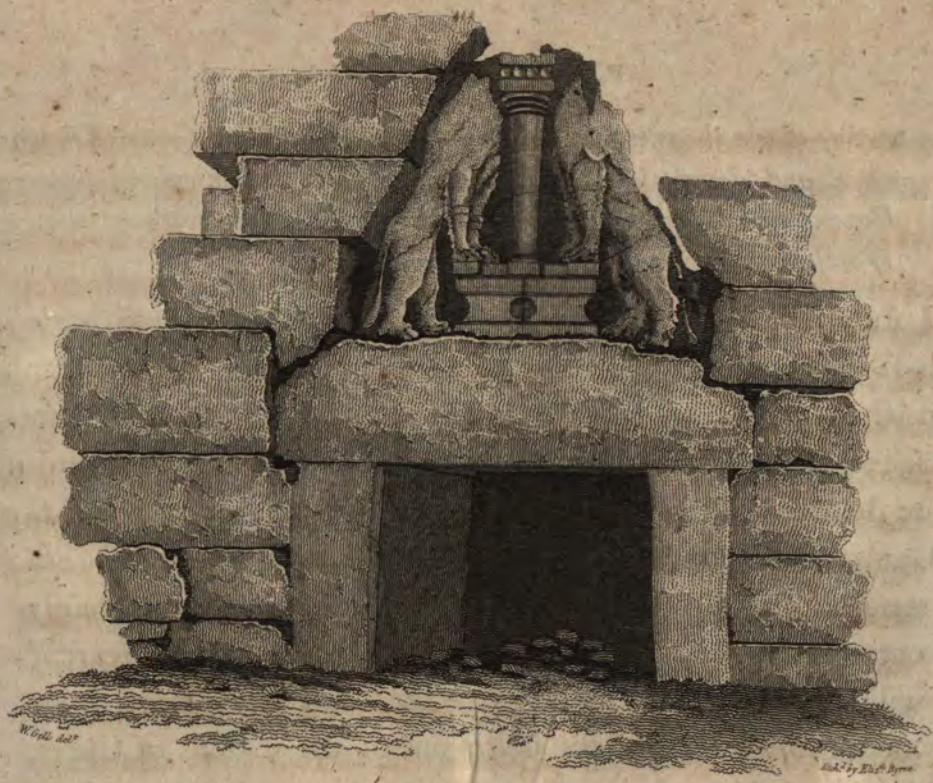
(7) The Editor of the Chronicle improperly called *Parian* (which we stated to have been found in *Ceos*) dates the coming of Cadmus to Thebes 1519 years before Christ: but he adds, in a Note, "Diodorus and Eusebius make Danaus go into Greece, before Cadmus went in search of Europa. Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 329. Our chronologer places Cadmus eight years before Danaus." (*See p.* 25. *Lond.* 1788.) Others date the arrival of Cadmus 1493 before Christ.

(8) Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, tom. iv. p. 349. *à Paris*, 1790.

(9) Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. vi. c. 17. p. 261. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. xviii. p. 1839. lin. 47.

CHAP. XV.

be delivered from the *ennui* of its perpetual recurrence. The answer of the Oracle put them to a trial, which only served to render their natural character the more conspicuous: it promised relief, upon condition, that, after having *gravely* sacrificed a bull to Neptune, they should *as gravely* cast it into the sea. For this purpose the *Tirynthians* assembled upon the shore; taking especial care to prevent the juvenile members of their society from being present at the solemnity. A young pickle, however, made his way into the crowd; and finding they were eager to drive him from the ceremony, exclaimed, "*Are ye then afraid lest I should swallow your bull?*" The words were no sooner uttered, than a general roar of laughter burst from the whole assembly; and being thus persuaded of their incurable disposition, they submitted to their destiny.



Propylæa of Mycenæ.

CHAP. XVI.

PELOPONNESUS.

Further inquiry into the Origin of Tiryns—*Road to Argos*—*River* Inachus—*Plants and Minerals*—Argos—Terra-cotta *Vases*—*Ignorance of their Sepulchral use*—*Hecate's Supper*—*Lectisternium*—*Probable cause of depositing Earthen Vessels in Sepulchres*—*Origin of the custom*—*Population of Argos*—*Antiquities*—*Theatre*—Hieron *of* Venus—Diras—Cyclopéa—*Alcyonian Lake*—*Oracular Shrine*—*Other remains of the city*—*Character of the antient Argives*—*View of the Argive Plain*—*Fabulous Contest between Neptune and Juno*—Hieron *of* Ceres Mysias—*Antiquity of* fictile *materials in building*—Mycenæ—*State of the Ruins*—*Extraordinary Sepulchre*—*not the Treasury of Atreus*—*Heroum of Perseus*—Sophocles—*internal evidence of his having visited the spot*—*of the* Δῶμα *and* Προπυλαία—Tomb *of* Agamemnon—*Interior of the* Tumulus—*Enormous lintel*—*Use of the* triangular cavity

cavity *above the entrance*—*Inner chamber*—Leonine *Gate*—*Dimensions and description of the* Propylæa—*Mythological Symbols*—*Consecrated Gates*—*Of the* Pylagoræ—*Ægyptian characteristics*—*Worship of the Sun*—*Walls of* Mycenæ.

CHAP. XVI.

Further inquiry into the origin of *Tiryns*.

THE advocates for the early origin of "the pointed style" in *Gothic* architecture will have cause enough for triumph in the *Cyclopéan Gallery* at TIRYNS; exhibiting "lancet arches" almost as antient as the time of Abraham[1]: and if the learned *Pezron* have not erred in his history of the Gauls, the Citadel itself may be considered as a *Celtic* structure[2]. Be this as it may, the subject is certainly curious; and if it serve only as an amusing topic of research, will perhaps be gratifying to the studious Reader. In tracing the march of the *Celtæ* out of the regions of Upper Asia, he brings a colony, under the name of *Titans*, from *Phrygia* into *Peloponnesus*, some years before the death of the patriarch Abraham[3]. These men, owing to their astonishing power and prowess, and the mighty works whereby they became signalized, he believes to have been the *Giants* and *Titans* of the Septuagint version of *Isaiah*[4] and of *Judith*[5]; *men* who became afterwards the omnipotent and sovereign

(1) The author would have accompanied this by an engraving, but it has been superseded by Mr. Gell's most accurate representation of the Gallery at Tiryns, as published in his Work, to which the Reader is particularly referred. *See Gell's Itinerary of Greece; Plate* XVI. *p.* 56. *Lond.* 1810.

(2) See a most ingenious Dissertation on the "*Antiquities of Nations*," by Paul Pezron. *Lond.* 1809.

(3) "I have shewn, in treating of those princes who ruled over the *Titans*, that they were the contemporaries of *Abraham*, and even of his father *Terah*." *Pezron's Antiq. of Nations, p.* 185. *Lond.* 1809. *See also p.* 83.

(4) Γίγαντες οἱ ἄρξαντες τῆς γῆς. Isaiah, xiv. 9.

(5) Judith, lib. vi. ver. 6, and 7. *vioὶ* Τιτάνων.

sovereign *gods* of Greece and Rome; according to the common practice among the Antients, of deifying their deceased monarchs. He finds, moreover, the names of all their Princes in the *Celtic* language[6]. In a work of this kind we must leave such profound researches to the investigation of antiquaries and philologists. Let us only see, with reference to *Tiryns* (concerning whose origin any sound information is as light shining in darkness), whether there be aught connected with its history likely to corroborate *Pezron's* opinion. All the writers by whom its builders are mentioned, attribute its architecture to the identical race he has mentioned; that is to say, to the *Giants*, under a different appellation of *Cyclops:* and this name was bestowed upon them in consequence of a custom which any *Celtic* helmet would illustrate, namely, that of having only one aperture for sight, in the middle of the visor. They came also from the country whence *Pezron* deduces his *Titan* colony; from the southern provinces of PHRYGIA MAGNA, *Caria*, and *Lycia*[7]. In the next place occurs a circumstance of a more decisive nature, calculated to confirm the observations of that author in a very striking manner;

(6) Pezron's Antiq. of Nations. Pref. p. xviii. Also B. I. c. 14. p. 111. B. II. c. 1. p. 185, &c. *Lond.* 1809.

(7) "Casaubonus, ex Apollodoro, *Cyclopas* in Lycià invenit, et eos in Græciâ regnante Jobate habitâsse ait. Jobates Bellerophonti fuit coævus, qui tertiâ ætate ante bellum Trojanum extitit. Quo tempore *Tiryns* forsan fuit condita. Strabo Κάρας quosdam ad Epidaurum ducit. Caria Lyciæ proxima est, ergo *Cyclopes* Lycii cum coloniâ Carum forsan *Tirynthem* advenerunt." *Vid. Annot. in Stralon. Geog. lib.* viii. *p.* 540. *ed. Oxon.* 1807.

CHAP. XVI.

manner; although by him unnoticed. It is found in an antient name of the *Inachus*, flowing between *Tiryns* and *Argos*. This river was called HALIACMON, from a person who is mentioned by Plutarch[1] as of *Tirynthian* race, but bearing, in fact, the same name as the father of *Uranus*, by whom the *Titan-Celts* were conducted into *Peloponnesus*[2]. His name was ACMON; but Sanchoniathon, who wrote, as it is believed, his history of *Phœnice* before the Trojan war, plainly intimates that this prince was styled, in the language of that country, ELION (*Most high*), answering to the Greek title ΥΨΙΣΤΟΣ, *altissimus*[3]. In Phrygia there was a town called *Acmonia*[4]; and one of the *Cyclops* had the name of *Acmonides*[5]. Hence it seems evident that the *Titan-Celtæ* were of the same race as the *Cyclops*, who constructed the *Tirynthian* Citadel; and, consequently, that the walls of *Tiryns* are of *Celtic* original.

Road to *Argos*.

We crossed the INACHUS at its junction with the *Charadrus*, in our road from *Tiryns* to ARGOS. The distance is about six English miles. Nothing can exceed the magnificence of the scenery all around the Gulph; and it cannot be

(1) Ἴναχος πόταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἀργείας χώρας. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ πρότερον Καρμάνωρ. Ἁλιάκμων δὲ τῷ γένει Τιρύνθιος, ἐν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ ποιμαίνων ὄρει, καὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν τῇ Ῥέαι συγγινόμενον τῆς Διὰ θεασάμενος, ἐμμανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ μεθ' ὁρμῆς ἐνεχθεὶς, ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ποταμὸν Καρμάνορα, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ΑΛΙΑΚΜΩΝ μετωνομάσθη. Plutarch. de Fluviis, pp. 58, 59. *Tolosæ*, 1615.

(2) See Pezron's "Antiquities of Nations," B. I. c. 9. p. 61. *Lond.* 1809.

(3) Sanchon. apud Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. i. c. 10.

(4) Step. Byzantin. *Acmonia*.

(5) Ovid. Fast. IV. v. 288.

be necessary to enumerate the interesting recollections that serve to render it still more impressive. In this ride from *Tiryns* to *Argos*, the prospect is particularly striking: the antient Capital, even in its state of wretchedness, with scarcely a wreck remaining, has still an appearance which is, in every sense of the term, *imposing*. It leads the traveller to believe that he shall find, upon his arrival, the most ample traces of its pristine greatness. This is principally owing to a cause already assigned; to the prodigious contribution made by the geological features of the country, in the plans of Grecian cities; where Nature has herself supplied, upon a most stupendous scale, what Art would otherwise more humbly have contrived. In various parts of Greece, where the labours of man have been swept away,—where time, barbarians, nay, even earthquakes, and every other moral and physical revolution, have done their work, an eternal city seems still to survive; because the *Acropolis*, the *Stadium*, the *Theatre*, the *Sepulchres*, the *Shrines*, and the *votive receptacles*, are so many "sure and firm-set" rocks; slightly modified indeed by the hand of man, but upon which the blast of desolation passes like the breath of a zephyr. *Argos* is conspicuous in this class of cities: and if in the approach to it from *Tiryns*, where Art seems to have rivalled Nature in the eternity of her existence, the view be directed towards the sea, a similar and not less striking object is presented, in the everlasting Citadel of *Nauplia*. The INACHUS, separating the two capitals of *Acrisius* and *Prœtus*, is now, as it was formerly, a wide, but shallow water-course, sometimes

The River *Inachus*.

CHAP. XVI.

entirely dry. It was dry when we passed. Callimachus mentions its beautiful waters[1]. On account of its periodical exsiccation, it has been considered by travellers as having been the subject of a greater alteration than it has really sustained. Antient stories, it is true, pretended that it was once remarkable for suicides, committed by persons who had precipitated themselves into its *flood*[2]: but these events might happen in an occasional torrent, as well as in a perennial river[3]. A circumstance related by *Agathocles* the *Milesian*, and cited from his writings by *Plutarch*[4], in his description of the *Inachus*, may prove that the state of the river now does not differ from its antient condition. *Agathocles* maintained, that being thunderstruck by Jupiter, it became dry in consequence of the heat[5]. *Strabo's* description of it is applicable to a water-course, rather than to a flowing river[6]. *Plutarch* has stated a few observations connected with its natural history, which our time did not enable us to verify. Speaking of its *plants* and *minerals*, he says, that the herb CYURA grew in the bed of the river, celebrated for its properties in assisting parturition: it resembled *Peganum*[7]; and this word the Latin

Plants and Minerals.

(1) See the Hymn of Callimachus upon the Baths of Pallas.

(2) Vid. Plutarch. de Fluviis, pp. 58, 59. *Tolos.* 1615.

(3) "Most of the Grecian streams are winter torrents, and dry in the summer." *Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

(4) Plutarch. de Fluv. ut suprà, p. 60.

(5) Διὰ πανουργίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κεραννωθέντα, ξηρὸν γενέσθαι. Ibid.

(6) Χαραδρώδης ποταμός. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 537. *Ed. Oxon.*

(7) Πεγάνῳ προσόμοιος. Ibid.

Latin translator of *Plutarch* has rendered by *Ruta;* perhaps from the extraordinary virtues ascribed universally to *Rue,* which caused it to receive at an early period in our country the name of "*Herb of grace*[8]." *Rue* has been celebrated as an antidote against poison, pestilence, and the devil; being used in *exorcisms,* and extolled and recommended by almost all medical writers from *Hippocrates* to *Boerhaave.* But the herb called PEGANUM by *Theophrastus* and *Dioscorides* differs from *Ruta*[9]. The plant mentioned by *Plutarch* remains therefore to be ascertained; because, as Πυρὴ was the more antient name, particularly in Peloponnesus[10], and Πήγανον the more modern, it may be supposed that *Plutarch* would have bestowed the former appellation upon it, if it had been applicable. The same author mentions also the herb SELENE, producing a species of *foam* (ἀφρὸς), which the peasants collected in the beginning of summer, and applied to their feet as an antidote against the venom of reptiles[11]. Its minerals were, the BERYLL[12], and a stone called CORYBAS[13], of a raven colour, used as a charm against fearful dreams. The latter was probably nothing more than the dark fetid limestone, to which imaginary virtues are still ascribed in the East:

(8) ——"there's RUE for *you*;—here's some for *me*;—we may call it *Herb of grace* o' sundays." *Shakspeare's Hamlet.*

(9) "As CELASTRUS from EUONYMUS." *See Martyn's Edit. of Miller, vol.* II. *Part* 1. *Lond.* 1807.

(10) Ibid. Vol. II. Part 2.

(11) Plutarch de Fluv. p. 62. *Tolos.* 1615.

(12) Ibid. p. 60.

(13) Ibid. p. 64.

CHAP. XVI.

East: we found it among the most antient amulets in the catacombs of *Saccára* in Egypt. With regard to the former, it is exceedingly difficult at this time to determine the particular stone called *Beryll* by the Antients. We learn from *Epiphanius*, that it was of a *yellow* colour[1], and found near Mount Taurus. But there were other varieties of *Beryll;* one resembling the pupil of a serpent's eye[2]; another like *wax*, found near the mouth of the Euphrates[3]. Hence it is evident that different minerals bore this name among the Antients: the first variety may have been our *Topaz;* the second and third were in all probability different appearances of *Chalcedony*. Theophrastus does not mention the *Beryll;* and in Pliny's account of the stone, fifty different minerals may be included. He begins by placing it among Emeralds[4]; and the account he gives of the *hexangular* shape preserved by the lapidaries in polishing, seems to prove that it had the natural form of our Emerald, care being taken to polish it upon its lateral planes: but his subsequent remarks, added to his concluding observation that all *Berylls* are liable to *capillary* blemishes, and to be vitiated by extraneous substances, brings his *Beryll* at once to our *Quartz;* and this also crystallizes in the *hexagonal* form.

We

(1) Λίθος ΒΗΡΥΛΛΙΟΝ, γλαυκίζων μέν ἐστι, κ.τ.λ. Epiphanius de XII Gemmis, quæ erant in veste Aaronis. p. 10. *Tigur.* 1565.

(2) Ταῖς κόραις τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τοῦ δράκοντός ἐστι παραπλησία. Ibid.

(3) Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη πάλιν ὁμοία κηρῷ. Ibid.

(4) Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. p. 535. tom. III. *L. Bat.* 1635.

CHAP. XVI.
ARGOS.

We arrived at ARGOS, and were most hospitably received by the English *Baratary*[5], Mr. *Blasopûlo*, pronounced *Vlasōpŭlo*. He presented us, upon our arrival, a silver medal of Ptolemy, and some beautiful *terra-cotta* vases found in sepulchres at a village called *Pesopodæ*, near the *Inachus*, situated to the north of *Argos*. The Albanian peasants by whom they were discovered had broken many more; not choosing to use vessels that had been taken from graves, and conceiving them to be of no value. They were all evidently Grecian, and made in an age when the Arts were much advanced, if not in their most splendid æra[6]. A *patera* with two handles, of

Terra-cotta Vases.

(5) A *Baratary* is a person who enjoys the protection of some nation in alliance with the *Porte*. Mr. *Blasopûlo* was protected by the *British* nation.

(6) The annexed Plate exhibits *thirteen* of the most remarkable of the *terra cottas* found here or at *Sicyon*, or in other parts of the *Peloponnesus*.

Fig. 1. is evidently a PATERA; but for what particular use this vessel was designed by the Greeks, is not so conspicuous. Such *pateras* are sometimes represented in the hands of female Bacchanals; possibly therefore it was used for drinking wine: the Turks drink *sorbet* out of vessels of the same form, but without foot or handle. *Virgil*, in describing *Dido's* royal feast, says, "*Implevit mero pateram.*" After the fair Queen had made a libation, she presented the *patera* to *Bitias*, who drank the whole of its contents:

"Tum *Bitiæ* dedit increpitans: ille impiger hausit,
Spumantem *pateram.*"——

The blood of victims was received in such vessels; and it is highly probable that their form was originally derived from the top part of the *human scull*, used by all the *Celtic* tribes in drinking the blood of their enemies, and as a drinking vessel. A *bumper* in Norway is still called a *Skool*; and the *sorbet* cups of the Turks, being without handles and feet, have exactly the shape of the upper part of the *cranium*. Upon the subject of PATERAS, *Gale*, in his "Court of the Gentiles," has the following observations: "The Levite having killed the victime, the Priest received the blood in a vessel; which Moses (*Exod.* xxiv. 6.) calls אגנות *Aganoth*; and the Chaldee מזרקיא, that is to say, an *Aspersorie*: the Lxx render it κρατῆρας; so the Vulgate, *Crateras*. In imitation whereof, the *Popa* having killed the victime, the Priest received the blood in a vessel; which vessel the Atticks call σφάγιον. Homer (Odyss. γ.) styles it ἄμνιον: the Latin, *Pateras*. So Virgil:

(*Æn.*

CHAP. XVI.

of the most perfect form and exquisite workmanship, was almost covered with a white incrustation, like mortar, as hard as flint. After placing it for thirty-six hours in diluted muriatic

(*Æn. l.* iii.) '*Sanguinis et sacri pateras;*'—which he understands of the *victimes*, as Servius."

Fig. 2. A LIBATORY VESSEL, four inches in height, painted with dark stripes upon a yellow ground; perhaps for containing oil. It has no orifice above the neck: the only opening is like the spout of a tea-pot, a part being broken off; but the rest is seen between the right handle and the neck of the vessel.

Fig. 3. A beautiful double-handled Cup and Cover, curiously painted red and black upon a yellow ground, four inches high, and five inches in diameter. It was probably intended for honey, the handles being stouter than in the others, and the cover perhaps designed to preserve its contents from flies or other insects.

Fig. 4. A LAMP of red clay; perhaps one of the *νερτέρων ἀγάλματα* mentioned afterwards in the text. Sometimes the representation of a human head is found with a handle and spout, as a drinking vessel, like the toys sold in our potteries. The forms of various animals also occur as *lamps* and *vessels of libation*.

Fig. 5. The GREEK PITCHER, for milk, or water, 5¾ inches high to the top of the handle, 4½ inches to the lip.

Fig. 6. A LACHRYMAL PHIAL of coarse dark clay, nine inches in length: we found several of these in *Sicyon*. This is the most antient form of the *Lachrymatory:* in later ages they were smaller, and of glass. "PUT THOU MY TEARS INTO THY BOTTLE." *Ps.* viii. 8.

Fig. 7. A LACHRYMATORY, found upon the site of antient *Cromyon*, of the same material as the preceding: this is 4½ inches high. It has white circles upon a dark ground, the common colour of *marl*.

Fig. 8. Three of this form, beautiful LIBATORY VESSELS, with black ornaments on a red ground, were found in *Epidauria*. The plant painted upon them is that which architects call *Acanthus*, and antiquaries sometimes the *Lotus*.

Fig. 9. Above twenty vessels of this shape, of different sizes, were found in *Epidauria;* the largest not being more than four inches high, and about five inches in diameter, of a bright red colour; sometimes almost covered with black varnish, shining like polished jet; but of the most delicate workmanship, and nearly as thin as paper.

Fig. 10. A LAMP, of dark, coarse, heavy clay.

Figs. 11, 12. Small vessels, the largest being only one inch in height, and two inches diameter: perhaps designed for the same use to which they are still applied by modern nations; namely, as stands for *salt*.

Fig. 13. Small LACHRYMATORY, of red clay.

muriatic acid, during all which time the extraneous cement dissolved with effervescence, there appeared upon its surface a beautiful black varnish, shining like polished jet, not in the slightest degree affected by the acid. Within the lower superficies of the foot of the vessel, the maker's name was expressed by a Greek monogram; proving either that a Grecian potter was proud to acknowledge this masterly piece of workmanship, or that it was usual to inscribe the names of places celebrated in the manufacture of *earthen-ware;* and in this case, the monogram may be intended for ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. It consisted of the letters ΜΕ, which had been inscribed with the point of a sharp instrument, and written in this manner:

There were other *pateras* of the same manufacture, but not entire: also a number of *lachrymatories,* and *libatory vessels,* adorned with monochrome painting; cups resembling our sugar-basons, with covers, variously decorated by yellow, red, and black colours; singularly formed lamps, some representing human figures; smaller cups, and however minute in their size, each of these had its double handle. The *Baratary* shewed to us a very remarkable *intaglio,* because, although antient, it had been cut in glass of a green colour; the only instance of the kind we had ever seen.

We requested that our host would in future spare no pains in his endeavours to collect all the *terra cottas* found in the neighbourhood; promising him that we would find purchasers for them in England, and patrons who would amply repay him for all his expense and trouble as soon as he

CHAP. XVI.

he should give us information that he had succeeded in his researches. He said he would gladly undertake the work, if it were only to afford a proof of his gratitude for the protection he enjoyed from the British nation: but we received no intelligence from him afterwards. It is a most extraordinary fact, that in all the elaborate treatises we possess touching the funerals of the Antients, no satisfactory cause has been assigned for the quantity of earthen vases found in Grecian sepulchres. In the View of *Charon's Ferry*, engraved as a *Vignette* for a former Chapter, the *Cymba sutilis*, fashioned like a Welch *Coracle*, or rather an American canoe[1], is freighted, besides passengers, with empty *Amphoræ:* but these are not the sort of vases found within any of the tombs; although, sometimes, as *symbols of departed souls*, they were placed upon the outsides of the immediate receptacles for the body[2]. The vases within the graves are of a much finer quality; and sometimes contain little gilded representations of herbs and fruit. There is a passage in the *Dialogues of Lucian*, where *Mercury* is asked by *Charon* what he carries in the satchel, with which we see him so often represented; and he answers,[3] "*Lupines, so please you! and a supper for Hecate.*" This raillery seems to be levied against a practice among his countrymen, of providing

Ignorance of their sepulchral use.

Hecate's Supper.

(1) Herodotus (*lib.* i.) mentions the boats made of skins. The Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius (*lib.* ii. *v.* 168.) describes them as universally in use.

(2) See p. 528 of this Volume.

(3) Θέρμους, εἰ θέλεις, καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης τὸ δεῖπνον. Luciani Dialog. Mort. *Charon, Menippus,* et *Hermes.*

Angelica Clarke del.

Etched by Eliz.th Byrne

TERRA-COTTAS found in the SEPULCHRES of PELOPONNESUS

providing deceased persons with some of the good things of this world, as a passport for their admission to the next; rather than as an allusion to the monthly offerings made at the expense of the wealthy, when a public (δεῖπνον) *supper* was provided for the poor[4]. Hecate's supper, we may suppose, would be regulated by the rank and wealth of the deceased[5]; *lupines* being considered as the mean and miserable diet of the lowest persons: and hereby is explained the reason why sometimes a single vase is found, of the poorest quality; and why, in certain instances, the number has been increased to forty, of the most costly workmanship. It should be observed, that *Lectisternium*, or the custom of giving a *supper* in a *temple* to the Gods, may have originated in the funeral feast at *tombs*, from what has been already said of the origin of *temples*[6]. This practice of feasting at funerals has existed from the days of Homer[7]; and still exists among the descendants of the antient *Celts*, both in Ireland and Scotland; and it was once common in England[8]. An author has indeed observed, that *Lectisternium* began about

Lectisternium.

(4) See Potter on the ΈΚΑΤΗΣΙΑ. Archæologia Græca, vol. I. p. 386. *Lond.* 1751.

(5) Or by the *age*; for of this we have curious testimony in the following answer of *Apollo*, when interceding for the life of *Alcestis*:

Κᾆν γραῦς, ὅληται πλουσίως ταφήσεται.

(6) See Part I. of these Trav. Ch. XVII. p. 400. *Broxb.* 1811.

(7) ——ὁ οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα,
Ἤτοι ὁ τῆς κτείνας δαίνυ τάφον Ἀργείοισιν
Μητρός τε στυγερῆς καὶ ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο.
Hom. Odyss. lib. iii.

(8) ——"the *funeral baked meats*
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables."
Shakspeare's Hamlet, Act I. sc. 2.

CHAP. XVI.

about A. U. C. 356.[1] that is to say, it was then adopted by the Romans; but it was a much older ceremony in Greece: and the occasion of its introduction among the Romans shews that it was connected with offerings for the *dead*[2], as it was during a solemn supplication for deliverance from the plague. We do not know precisely the nature of the offering that was placed within any of these earthen vases, in Grecian tombs: the cake of flour and honey (μελιτοῦντα) was put into the mouth of the deceased, together with a piece of money (δανάκη) as *Charon's fare*, and not into any vessel by the side of the corpse: but there were other offerings, rarely noticed by any writer, of which these vessels may be examples; namely, the κόσμοι that were carried to the grave in honour of the funeral. We have before stated that the sepulchral *terra-cottas* have sometimes the form of *images*. Every person who attended the ceremony of a Grecian funeral brought a complimentary token (τὸν κόσμον) of his respect for the deceased; such as *Admetus*, in *Euripides*[3], denied his father the liberty to give to his wife, which all the rest of the company had previously presented. The nature of the κόσμοι has never been explained; any more than of the νεκρέων ἀγάλματα[4], said to be carried by those who followed the corpse; by some translated *imagines;* by others, *grata munera*. From the light thrown upon the subject by a view of the sepulchres themselves, there is every reason to believe

Probable cause of depositing Earthen Vessels in Sepulchres.

(1) Q. Walker on Coins and Medals, ch. vi. p. 89. *Lond.* 1697.

(2) "They joined themselves unto Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." *Psalms*, cvi. 28.

(3) Κόσμον δὲ τὸν Σὸν οὔποθ' ἡ δ' ἐνδύσεται. Euripid. in Alc. v. 630.

(4) Ibid. v. 612.

believe that these beautiful *vases*, with all the *lamps*, *lachrymatories*, and *earthen vessels*, found in Grecian tombs, many of them being highly ornamented, were the gifts alluded to by Euripides, either to the *dead*, or to the *Gods of the dead*. Hence perhaps we arrive at the meaning of the Inscription mentioned in the fourteenth Chapter, as found upon an Athenian lamp,—"*Socrates, accept this animal!*" Pure clay was an offering to the Gods[5]. Another curious subject of inquiry suggested by the sight of them is, Whence the custom originated? for it is undoubtedly of much earlier date than any thing purely Grecian. It is impossible to discuss this question here; but it may briefly be stated, that in the most antient sepulchres of the *Celts*, in all parts of Europe, earthen vessels are also found of the simplest form and rudest workmanship, apparently possessing a degree of antiquity far beyond the age denoted by any of the Grecian *terra-cottas*. Pausanias mentions a *terra-cotta Soros* that was dug up at Argos, supposed to have been that wherein Ariadne had been buried; thereby demonstrating its great antiquity[6]. Such vessels are also found in the *Tumuli* or *Mounds* of Tartary, and in North America; their situation, construction, form, and contents, being so similar, that there can be no hesitation in ascribing their origin to the same people[7]. The

Origin of the Custom.

(5) See Greek Marbles, p. 70. *Camb.* 1809.

(6) Κεραμέαν σορόν. Paus. Corinth. c. 23. p. 164. ed. *Kuhnii.*

(7) See Harris's Tour into the Territory North-west of the Alleghany Mountains, p. 175. *Boston*, 1805.

CHAP. XVI.

The supposed tomb of *Theseus*, opened by *Cimon* son of *Miltiades*, in the Isle of *Scyros*, from the description given of the weapons found within it, appears to have been one of these aboriginal sepulchres. *De Stehlin*, who was secretary to the Imperial Academy at Petersburg, declared that there is not one instance of such a *Tumulus* being found to the northward of the fifty-eighth degree of north latitude[1]. This perhaps is doubtful. A full account of those monuments ought to constitute an independent work; and whenever the subject is properly treated, the observations it is calculated to introduce will illustrate a part of history hitherto entirely unknown.

We employed the whole of this day in examining the Town and its Ruins; a period certainly too short for the undertaking; but where much is to be effected, some things must be done quickly. *Argos* is a large straggling place, full of cottages, with few good houses: and, as we have before alluded to *Celtic* remains in this part of *Peloponnesus*, it may be proper to mention, that the roofs here are not flat, as in almost all parts of the East, but slope like those of Northern nations. The same style of building may be observed in Athens, and in other parts of Greece. Whether introduced by Albanian workmen, or owing to customs which antiently existed in the country, we have not been able to learn. The women were busied in collecting their cotton from the fields; and at this season of the year all

(1) See Harris's Tour, p. 171. *Boston*, 1805.

all the marriages take place. The present population consists of six thousand, including females and children[2]. There is a school kept by a Greek priest. Being desirous to know what the children were taught, we visited the master, who seemed pleased by our inquiries, as if he had bestowed pains upon his scholars. He said they were instructed in writing, arithmetic, astronomy, physic, and rhetoric. About forty years before, it had been customary for the principal families of *Nauplia* and *Argos* to send their children to *Athens* for instruction. The Consul at *Nauplia* had been there educated: it was in giving us an account of his journeys to Athens that we first heard any mention made of the *Statue of Ceres* at *Eleusis*; for this had excited his curiosity when a boy, and was regularly visited by him in his way to and from Athens. The houses in *Argos* are built with a degree of regularity, and fitted up with some comforts uncommon in this part of the world, although in other respects wretched hovels. They are all ranged in right lines, or in parallel lines; and each house consisting of a single story has an oven; so that even the Albanians do not bake their unleavened cakes upon the hearth, as it is usual elsewhere in their cottages. From *Argos*, the distance to *Mantinea* is only eight hours; and it is but a day's journey to *Tripolizza*, the capital of the *Morea*. When we heard this, and the pressing invitation of our *Baratary* to visit with him a part of *Arcadia*, whose mountains are actually visible from

(2) "Not four thousand," according to Mr. Gell; (*Itin. of Greece*, p. 69.) perhaps not including children and women.

CHAP. XVI.

from the Citadel, and also to extend our journey to *Misitra*, we gladly ordered horses for the expedition; but a powerful antidote to enterprise, the *mal-aria* fever, returning amongst us with its most violent paroxysms during the night, had so considerably reduced our stock of energies before the morning, that with deep regret we were compelled to abandon the design of seeing *Mantinea*, *Megalopolis*, and *Sparta*, and to adhere to our original plan. How few are the travellers who have seen the interior of the *Morea!* and in that small number, where may we look for *one* who has given any intelligence that may be called *information*, respecting the Ruins of the cities which that country is known to contain[1]? Perhaps the time is at hand when we shall know more of a region as easily to be visited as the County of Derbyshire, and where the traveller is not exposed to half the dangers encountered every night in the

(1) Yes! there is *one* traveller, whose qualifications for this purpose are well known, and have been already noticed in this Work; but who could never be prevailed upon to estimate the value of his own observations high enough to induce him to publish them. This traveller is *John Hawkins, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge:* and as any thing coming from one who has the satisfaction to rank among his friends, may be imputed to partiality, an Extract from the *MS. Letters of Colonel Squire* to his brother may here be considered appropriate. "With Greece" (*says Col. Squire*) "our most learned scholars have but a small acquaintance: few travellers have published their observations; many events in history have been misunderstood; and translators and commentators have been entirely bewildered, owing to their ignorance of its topography. The writers, to whom we refer as our best authorities, are trifling, inaccurate, and superficial. There is, however, a Gentleman in England, *Mr. Hawkins*, brother of Sir Christopher Hawkins, a man of shrewd sagacity, erudition, and indefatigable exertion, who has explored every part of the country, and now possesses very ample means to render a signal service by the publication of the materials he has collected." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

the neighbourhood of London. Groundless apprehensions, calculated only to alarm children, concerning imaginary banditti, and the savage nature of its inhabitants, have been hitherto powerful enough to prevent travellers from exploring its interior; but these are beginning to vanish; and we may hope that many years will not elapse before the shepherds of *Arcadia* and *Laconia*, of *Messenia* and *Elis*, will have become as good guides to the antiquities of their mountains and valleys, as the natives of *Puzzoli* now are to the Ruins of *Baiæ*.

Antiquities.

The antiquities of Argos, once so numerous[2], may now be comprised within a very short list. It will be useful for other travellers if we give a brief summary, omitting statues and altars, as they existed in the second century; and then introduce a description of the principal remains, as we found them; for these are not likely to be much affected by any lapse of time. It is useless to refer to Strabo upon this occasion, because he was not upon the spot; but *Pausanias*, as αὐτόπτης, coming from *Mycenæ* to *Argos*, before he arrives at the *Inachus*, mentions the *Hieron* of *Ceres Mysias*; containing one of those curious temples of which we discovered some remains in *Epidauria*; (Ναὸς ὀπτῆς πλίνθου) not merely a temple *roofed* with *baked tiles* (for it stood within another building originally itself *roofed*, although in ruins when *Pausanias* saw it), but actually a *terra-cotta temple*. The fragments of this building may yet be discerned; although we could find no part of it so entire

(2) See the long list of them in the Second Book of *Pausanias*, chapters 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, from p. 149 to p. 167, of the edition by Kuhnius. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XVI.

entire as the beautiful *terra-cotta* cornice and frieze we had been so fortunate as to discover in *Epidaüria*. Thence entering *Argos*, by the *Gate of Lucina*,[1] the same author notices in the lower city, as the *most conspicuous*[2] of all the *temples*, that of *Apollo Lycias*. Afterwards, it is difficult to enumerate all the other temples mentioned by him, because we do not distinctly know what he intends by the word Ἱερὸν, as distinguished from Ναός. Thus, for example, he mentions the *most antient Temple*[3] of Fortune, and the *Hieron* of the Hours[3]. We have proved already that *Hieron* does not necessarily signify a *Temple*, nor even a *building*: any thing containing what was *sacred* received this appellation; a *Cave*; a *Grove*; a *portable Shrine*; and perhaps a *Clepsydra*. There were, however, many *Temples* in *Argos*. There were also *Sepulchres* and *Cœnotaphs*; a *Theatre*; a *Forum*; a *Mound of Earth*[4], believed to be the *Tomb of the head of the Gorgon Medusa*; a *Gymnasium*; and a *subterraneous edifice*. After this, beginning his ascent towards the *Acropolis*, *Pausanias* notices the *Hieron* of *Juno Acræa*, and a *Temple of Apollo*, situated upon a *ridge* called *Diras*[5]. Here was an *Oracle*, where answers were given so lately as the time when *Pausanias* saw the temple. Close to this temple there was also a *Stadium*[6]; and this circumstance is enough to prove that by DIRAS *Pausanias* does not mean the summit of the hill; for after

(1) Ἐπιφανέστατον. lib. ii. c. 19. p. 152. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου ΝΑΟΣ. Ibid. c. 20. p. 154.

(3) Ὡρῶν ΙΕΡΟΝ ἐστιν. Ibid. p. 155.

(4) Χῶμα γῆς ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν Μεδούσης λέγουσι τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλήν. Ibid. p. 159.

(5) Ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται ΔΕΙΡΑΣ. Ibid. c. 24. p. 165.

(6) Ibid.

after leaving the *Stadium* he continues his ascent by the *monument of the sons of Ægyptus,* on the *left-hand* side of his road, until he arrives (ἐπ' ἄκρα) upon the *summit* called *Larissa,* where he finds the temples of *Jupiter Larissæus* and of *Minerva.* And in a subsequent part of his description, speaking of the roads from *Argos* to *Mantinæa*[7], and to *Lyrcea*[8], he says they began from the gates near *Diras*; consequently the *Oracular Temple* must have been lower than the summit, although upon the hill of the *Acropolis.* With so much information, and some of the monuments yet remaining in *Argos,* it would not be difficult for a traveller, having leisure and opportunity, to complete a plan of the antient city. This our time would not permit; but we ascertained some of the antiquities: and first the THEATRE, upon the south-eastern side of the hill of the Acropolis; one of the principal objects noticed by *Pausanias* upon entering the city. Some of the SEPULCHRES also may be observed.

Antiquities.

The THEATRE is a very remarkable structure. As usual, it is entirely an excavation of the rock; but it differs from every other theatre we saw in Greece, in having two wings, with seats, one on either side of the *Cavea*; so that it might be described as *a triple Coilon.* We could not conceive for what purpose these side cavities were designed; unless for minor representations; or as steps in ascending to the central sweep: but if the latter were intended, there would

Theatre.

(7) Pausan. Corinth. c. 25. p. 167.
(8) Ibid.

CHAP. XVI.

would have been no necessity for the curved shape that has been given to them; making the whole structure wear the appearance rather of *three* theatres than of *one*. Within the centre *Cavea* there were sixty-four seats remaining; the height of each seat being thirteen inches. Opposite to this structure are the remains of a very large edifice, built entirely of tiles; probably a part of the *Castellum* (χωρίον) which was near to the *Theatre*; called *Criterion*, once a court or tribunal of judgment. Above the Theatre[1] was the *Hieron of Venus*; and this we certainly found. Within this temple there was a statue of the Poetess *Telesilla*, the MANUELLA SANCHO of her day; who, like the modern heroine of *Saragossa* at the head of a band of female warriors, repelled from the walls of the city the enemies of her country, when the *Lacedæmonians* attacked *Argos*. "She was represented," says *Pausanias*[2], "standing upon a pillar, with the books of her poetry scattered at her feet, in the act of regarding a helmet which she was about to put upon her head." And when the *Spanish Telesilla*, who has so nobly followed the example offered by her Grecian predecessor, shall have a monument consecrated to the memory of her illustrious achievements, her countrymen may find in this description a classical model for its design.

Hieron of Venus.

(1) The expression is ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον: and this by Amasæus (*vid. Paus. Cor. c. 20. p. 156. ed. Kuhnii*) is rendered *supra theatrum*; but ὑπὲρ, in many instances, is by *Pausanias* used to signify *beyond*; that is to say, the next object occurring in the line of his observation. In this instance the building alluded to was above the Theatre, upon the hill towards the Acropolis.

(2) Vid. Paus. in Corinth. c. 20. pp. 156, 157. ed. *Kuhnii*.

design. The site of the *Hieron* is now occupied by a Greek chapel, but it contains the remains of columns whose capitals are of the *most antient* Corinthian order; a style of building unknown in our country, scarcely a model of it having ever been seen in England; although it far exceeds in beauty and simplicity the gaudy and crowded foliage of the *later* Corinthian. The temples of Venus being generally of the *Corinthian* order, we have reason to believe that the *Hieron*, in this instance, was one of them; and we have therefore, in this chapel, another point of observation, as a beacon, in ascertaining the antiquities enumerated by *Pausanias*. We observed this building in our way down from the Citadel towards the sea; therefore it will be better to describe the objects first noticed in our ascent from the modern town.

Going up to the fortress, we saw towards our *left*, that is to say, upon the north-eastern side of the hill of the *Acropolis, the ridge* called *Diras* by *Pausanias*, where the Temple of *Apollo Diradiotes* was situated. A monastery now occupies the site of the *temple*, standing upon a high rock, with precipices above and below. It is said to contain a cavern, well suited to the contrivance necessary for the *oracles*[3] delivered here in the time of that author. Afterwards, as we proceeded, we saw the remains of antient works also upon our *left*; and it was upon his *left* hand in ascending to the *Acropolis* that *Pausanias* observed

Diras.

(3) See *Gell's Itin. of Greece, p.* 67. Mr. Gell says, there is here also space enough for a *Stadium*; and this agrees with the description of *Pausanias*, who says the *Stadium* adjoined the *Temple of Apollo*.

CHAP. XVI.

observed a monument of the sons of *Ægyptus*[1]. The way up a mountain is little liable to alteration; and probably the track we pursued was nearly, if not entirely, the same that was trodden by him. The fortress itself is evidently a modern building, for its walls contain fragments of antiquities used as materials in building them[2]; but on the sides and lower part of it we observed the remains of *Cyclopéan* architecture, as antient as the Citadel of *Tiryns*, and built in the same style. This structure is mentioned by *Pausanias*, in his seventh book; where he states that the inhabitants of *Mycenæ* were unable to demolish the wall of the Argives, built, like that of *Tiryns*, by the *Cyclops*[3]. The *Cyclopéan walls* and *towers* of *Argos* are also noticed by *Euripides*, *Polybius*, and *Seneca*. Hence we had a glorious view of almost all *Argolis*, and great part of the *Arcadian* territory, even to the mountains of *Laconia*, visible from this eminence[4]. Placed centrally with regard to the *Sinus Argolicus*, the eye surveys the *Laconian* and *Argolic* Promontories; and looks down upon *Nauplia*, *Tiryns*, and all the south-western side of the Gulph, almost with the same facility as it regards the streets of *Argos*. We saw the *Alcyonian*

Cyclopéa.

(1) Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσιν ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων καὶ ταύτῃ μνῆμα. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 24. p. 165. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Mr. Gell found here a very antient Inscription; and says that *Villoison* intimates the existence of a very curious one at Argos. *See Itin. of Greece, p.* 68. *Lond.* 1810.

(3) Pausan. in Corinth. lib. vii. c. 25. p. 589. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(4) See this prospect as engraved from a most accurate drawing made upon the spot by Mr. Gell. *Itin. of Greece, Plate* XIX. *p.* 68. *Lond.* 1810.

Alcyonian Lake in the last direction, now a weedy pool[5]: the natives of Argos relate of it, as did *Pausanias*[6], that nothing swims upon its waters. On this side of the Gulph we saw also the Plain of *Lerna*, once fabled to be infested with the *Hydra*; and, in the same direction, the road leading to *Tripolizza*, until it lost itself in the mountains; following with our eyes great part of a journey we were desirous to accomplish more effectually.

Alcyonian Lake.

Hence we descended towards the sea; and came to the remains of the *Temple of Venus* before mentioned, above the Theatre, where the Greek chapel is situated[7]. We were unable to discover any remains of the *Stadium*; but this, in all probability, will not elude the researches of other travellers. After again visiting the Theatre, we found, at the foot of the hill of the Acropolis, one of the most curious *tell-tale* remains yet discovered among the vestiges of Pagan priest-craft: it was nothing less than one of the *Oracular* Shrines of

Oracular Shrine.

(5) There cannot, however, be much alteration in this piece of water since the time of *Pausanias*; who describes it as *a pool*, measuring in diameter only one third of a stadium (*about seventy-three yards*), and lying amongst grass and bulrushes. (*Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 37. p. 200. ed. Kuhnii.*) As to its prodigious depth, it would be curious to ascertain what foundation there was for the account given of its fathomless nature, by the same author; who relates that Nero could not reach the bottom with lead fastened to ropes many stadia in length.

(6) The account given of it by *Pausanias* is, that it draws persons to the bottom who venture to swim upon its surface. The same sort of story is often related, by the common people in this country, of any deep water.

(7) Mr. Gell afterwards found here a broken Inscription, "evidently," he says, "relating to *Venus*." It were to be wished, although a fragment, that he had preserved and published it; as an inscription so decidedly identifying one of the *beacons* mentioned by *Pausanias* would materially tend to facilitate future researches upon the spot. *See Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 64. Lond.* 1810.

CHAP. XVI.

of *Argos* alluded to by *Pausanias*, laid open to inspection, like the toy a child has broken in order that he may see the contrivance whereby it was made to speak. A more interesting sight for modern curiosity can hardly be conceived to exist among the ruins of any Grecian city. In its original state, it had been a *temple*; the farther part from the entrance, where the altar was, being an excavation of the rock, and the front and roof constructed with *baked tiles*. The altar yet remains, and part of the *fictile* superstructure: but the most remarkable part of the whole is a secret subterraneous passage, terminating behind the altar; its entrance being at a considerable distance towards the right of a person facing the altar; and so cunningly contrived as to have a small aperture, easily concealed, and level with the surface of the rock. This was barely large enough to admit the entrance of a single person; who having descended into the narrow passage, might creep along until he arrived immediately behind the center of the altar; where, being hid by some colossal statue or other screen, the sound of his voice would produce a most imposing effect among the humble votaries, prostrate beneath, who were listening in silence upon the floor of the sanctuary. We amused ourselves for a few minutes by endeavouring to mimic the sort of solemn farce acted upon these occasions: and as we delivered a mock oracle, *ore rotundo*, from the cavernous throne of the altar, a reverberation, caused by the sides of the rock, afforded a tolerable specimen of the "*will of the Gods*," as it was formerly made known to the credulous votaries of this

now-

now-forgotten shrine. There were not fewer than twenty-five of these juggling places in *Peloponnesus*, and as many in the single province of *Bœotia*: and surely it will never again become a question among learned men, whether the answers in them were given by the inspiration of evil spirits, or whether they proceeded from the imposture of priests; neither can it again be urged that they ceased at the birth of Christ; because *Pausanias* bears testimony to their existence at *Argos* in the second century[1]. Perhaps it was to the particular shrine now described that his evidence refers: its position, however, does not exactly warrant this opinion; for the oracle he mentions corresponded rather with the situation of the monastery upon a *ridge* of the hill of the Acropolis. In this situation he places other shrines; namely, the *Hieron* of *Jupiter Saviour*, together with a *cell* (οἴκημα) or *abiding place*, where the Argive women were wont to mourn the death of Adonis[2]: and as not only Heathen *deities*, but also *heroes*, were rendered subservient to these purposes of priestcraft, the worship of *Adonis* might have contributed to swell the list of temples where *oracles* were delivered. Near to the same spot we saw the remains of an *Aqueduct*: and to this there seems also an allusion by *Pausanias*, in the obscure account he gives of a channel inducting

Other Remains of the City.

(1) Μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς. Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 24. p. 165. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν σωτῆρος. καὶ παριοῦσιν εἰς τὸ οἴκημα, ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἄδωνιν αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀργείων ὀδύρονται. Ibid. c. 20. p. 156.

CHAP. XVI.

conducting the water of the *Cephissus* beneath a temple dedicated to that river[1]. But there are other appearances of subterraneous structures requiring considerable attention; some of these are upon the hill: they are covered, like the Cyclopéan gallery of *Tiryns*, with large approaching stones, meeting so as to form an arched way which is only visible where these stones are open[2]. Among them the traveller may look for the subterraneous edifice with the *brazen Thalamus* constructed by *Acrisius* for his daughter[3]. There is also a large church at the southern extremity of the town, containing fragments of *Ionic* columns and inscriptions[4]. One of the mosques is said to have been erected with blocks brought from the Grove of Æsculapius in Epidauria[5]: the same circumstance was also alluded to by Chandler[6]. Perhaps the time may arrive when a more enlightened people than the Turks will again bring to light the valuable antiquities there concealed; although the acquisition should be obtained even at so great an expense as that of taking down and rebuilding a Mahometan place of worship.

We have now concluded our very cursory survey of *Argos*;

(1) Pausan. in Corinth. c. 20. p. 156. ed. *Kuhnii*.
(2) Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 66. *Lond.* 1810.
(3) Pausan. ut supra, c. 23. p. 164.
(4) Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 69.
(5) Ibid.
(6) See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 226. *Oxf.* 1776. Also the preceding Chapter of this Volume.

CHAP. XVI.

Character of the Antient Argives.

Argos; but we shall not quit the reliques of this memorable city, without briefly noticing a circumstance in its history, to which little attention seems to have been paid by the compilers of Grecian annals; namely, its illustrious character, as founded on the noble examples offered in the actions of its citizens. If *Athens*, by arts, by military talents, and by costly solemnities, became "one of the *Eyes* of Greece," there was in the humanity of *Argos*, and in the good feeling frequently displayed by its inhabitants, a distinction which comes nearer to the *heart*. Something characteristic of the people may be observed even in a name given to one of their Divinities; for they worshipped a "*God of Meekness*[7]." It may be said, perhaps, of the *Argive* character, that it was less splendid than the *Athenian*, and less rigid than the *Lacedæmonian*; but it was also less artificial; and the contrast it exhibited, when opposed to the infamous profligacy of *Corinth*, where the manners of the people, corrupted by wealth and luxury, were further vitiated by the great influx of foreigners[8], rendered *Argos*, in the days of her prosperity, one of the most enviable cities of Greece. The stranger who visited *Athens* might indeed regard

(7) The Argives gave to one of their Gods the name, Μειλιχίου Διὸς, of the *Meek God*, or *Mild Jupiter*. Vid. Pausan. in Cor. c. 20. p. 154.

(8) "Ex hâc peregrinorum hominum colluvie, necesse erat et civium mores corrumpi. Quapropter Lacedæmonii, quorum gravis et severa semper fuit Resp. nullos ad se peregrinos recipiebant, ne alienigenis ritibus urbis optimè constitutæ status everteretur." *Gerbelius in Corinth. Descript. ap. Gronov. Thes. Græc. Antiq. tom.* IV. *p.* 51. *L. Bat.* 1699.

CHAP. XVI.

regard with an eager curiosity the innumerable trophies everywhere suspended, of victors in her splendid games; might admire her extensive porticoes, crowded with philosophers; might gaze with wonder at the productions of her artists; might revere her magnificent temples;—but feelings more affecting were called forth in beholding the numerous monuments of the Argives, destined to perpetuate the memory of individuals who had rendered themselves illustrious only by their virtues[1].

On Tuesday morning, November the tenth, we took leave of the hospitable *Baratary*, fraught with a rich cargo of Grecian pottery; and set out for *Mycenæ*, the city of *Agamemnon*, anticipating a treat among those Ruins for which *Lusieri* had already prepared us. We entered the spacious Plain of *Argos*, level as the still surface of a calm sea, and extending in one rich field, with the most fertile soil, from the mouths of the *Inachus* towards the north. Having again crossed the dry channel of the ΧΑΡΑΔΡΩΔΗΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ, and looking back towards the *Larissean* Citadel, the lofty conical hill of the Acropolis appeared rising in the midst of this plain, as if purposely contrived to afford a bulwark for dominion, and for the possession of this valuable land; which, like

View of the Argive Plain.

(1) Witness the filial piety of *Cleobis* and *Biton*, to whom the Argives also erected statues at *Delphi*; the heroism of *Telesilla*, in rescuing the city from its enemies; the conduct of another Argive woman, who saved her son's life by slaying *Pyrrhus*; &c. &c. "*Hæc urbs plurimis exemplis ad virtutem nos excitantibus abundavit.*" Gerbel. ap. Gronov. &c. p. 52.

like a vast garden, is walled in by mountains[2]. Such was the inviting aspect exhibited by the Argive territory to the earliest settlers in this country. No labour was necessary, as amidst the forests and unbroken soil of the North of Europe and of America: the colonies, upon their arrival, found an open field, with a rich impalpable soil, already prepared by Providence to yield an abundant harvest to the first adventurer who should scatter seed upon its surface. We cannot therefore wonder, that within a district not containing more square miles than the most considerable of our English parishes, there should have been established, in the earliest periods of its history, four capital cities, *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, *Tiryns*, and *Nauplia*, each contending with the other for superiority; or that every roaming colony who should chance to explore the *Argolic* Gulph endeavoured to fortify a position upon some rock near to the plain, and struggle for its possession. This is all that seems necessary to illustrate the first dawnings of government, not only within this district, but in every part of the *Hellenian* territories: and the fables transmitted from one generation to another, concerning the contest between *Neptune* and *Juno* for the *country*, as between *Neptune* and *Minerva* for *Attica*, may be regarded as so many records of those physical revolutions, in preceding ages, which gave birth to these fertile regions; when the waters of the sea slowly retired from the land; or, according to the language of poetry and fable,

Fabulous Contest between Neptune and Juno.

(2) See the former Section, Ch. IV. p. 74, on the allurements offered to the early settlers in Greece by the appearance of the country.

CHAP. XVI.

fable, were said to have *reluctantly* abandoned the plains of Greece[1].

About five miles from *Argos*, on the *left* side of the road, we found the remains of an antient structure, which at first we supposed to be those of the *Heræum*, a temple once common to the two cities of *Mycenæ* and *Argos;* when the twin brothers, *Acrisius* and *Prœtus*, who were grandsons of *Belus*, possessed the two capitals, and worshipped the same tutelary Deity[2]. This position of it corresponds, in some degree, with its situation, according to *Pausanias*; but not in all respects. He describes the distance from *Mycenæ* to *Argos* as equal to fifty stadia (6¼ miles), and the *Heræum* as being at the distance of fifteen stadia (one mile and seven furlongs) from that city. But he places it to the *left*[3] of the city, and upon the *lower part*[4] of a *mountain* near a *flowing stream* called *Eleutherion*. The last observations do not permit us to consider the remains of this structure as being any part of the *Heræum*; as they are situated in the plain, and not close to any rivulet or water-course. But near to this structure there was another Ruin, whose foundations more resembled the

(1) By attention to natural phænomena upon the spot, some light may certainly be thrown upon the antient fables of the country. A very happy illustration of the origin of the *Hydra*, which infested the Plain of *Lerna*, near *Argos*, was taken from the *MS. Journal* of the *Earl of Aberdeen*, by *Mr. Gell*, and is found in a Note to his Work. *See Itin. of Greece, p.* 79. *Lond.* 1810.

(2) Καὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον εἶναι κοινὸν ἱερὸν τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Μυκήναις ἀμφοῖν, κ. τ. λ. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 539. Ed. *Oxon.*

(3) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 17. p. 147. Ed. *Kuhnii.*

(4) Vid. Pausan. ut supra.

the oblong form of a *temple*: it was built with *baked bricks*, and originally lined with marble. Here, then, there seems every reason to believe we discovered the remains of the whole *Hieron* of *Ceres Mysias*, noticed by *Pausanias* in his road from *Mycenæ* to *Argos*, by a description very applicable to these Ruins. He says[5] the building had no roof, but contained within another temple of *brick-work*; and that the traveller going thence towards *Argos*, arrived at the river *Inachus*. In the different facts the Reader may have collected from this and the preceding Chapter, concerning the remains of antient art in *Argolis*, he will have perceived the very general prevalence of *terra cotta* in works of much higher antiquity than it is usual to suppose were constructed of this material. A vulgar notion has prevailed, that this style of building was for the most part *Roman*. When *tiles* or *bricks* have been found in the walls and foundations of edifices, among the ruins of Eastern cities, it has been usual to attribute to the structure a *Roman* origin, and, consequently, to consider works of this kind as of a date posterior to the decline of the Eastern Empires. That this mode of ascertaining the age of buildings is liable to error may perhaps now be evident. The statement of a single fact, if other satisfactory evidence could not be adduced, would be sufficient to prove the antiquity of such works; for example, that of the *tile*, or *brick*[6], whereby the scull of

Hieron of Ceres Mysias.

Antiquity of *fictile* materials in building.

(5) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 18. p. 150. Ed. *Kuhnii.*

(6) Κερδμος. Vid. Pausan. Attica, c. 13. p. 33. Ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVI.

of Pyrrhus was fractured, when he attempted to take the city of *Argos* by storm. Indeed, in some instances, the Romans, finding antient structures in Greece had gone to decay because they were built with *baked* or *crude tiles* and *bricks*, repaired them with different materials. Of this there is an example recorded by *Pausanias*, and already alluded to in the account of *Epidauria*[1]. After leaving this Ruin, we returned into the road; and quitting the plain, bore off upon our right, towards the east, by a rocky ascent along the channel of a water-course, towards the regal residence of *Agamemnon*, and city of *Perseus*, built before the War of Troy, full thirteen centuries anterior to the Christian æra. Already the walls of the *Acropolis* began to appear upon an eminence between two lofty conical mountains: the place is now called *Carvato*. Even its Ruins were unknown eighteen hundred years ago, when *Strabo* wrote his account of the *Peloponnesus*: he says of *Mycenæ*, that not a vestige of the city remained[2]. Eighty of its heroes accompanied the Spartans to the defile of *Thermopylæ*, and shared with them the glory of their immortal deed[3]: this so much excited the jealousy of the sister city, *Argos*, that it was never afterwards forgiven: the Argives, stung by the recollection of the opportunity they had thus lost of signalizing themselves,

Mycenæ.

(1) Pausan. Corinth. c. 27. See also the preceding Chapter of this Volume.

(2) Ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 540. Ed. *Oxon.*

(3) Pausan. Corinth. c. 16. p. 146. Ed. *Kuhnii.*

themselves, and unable to endure the superior fame of their neighbour, made war against *Mycenæ*, and destroyed the city[4]: this happened in the first year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad[5]; nearly five centuries before the birth of Christ. "In that region," says *Pausanias*, "which is called *Argolis*, nothing is remembered of greater antiquity than this circumstance[6]." It is not merely the circumstance of seeing the architecture and the sculpture of the *heroic ages*, which renders a view of *Mycenæ* one of the highest gratifications a literary traveller can experience: the consideration of its remaining, at this time, exactly as *Pausanias* saw it in the second century, and in such a state of preservation that an *alto-relievo* described by him yet exists in the identical position he has assigned for it, adds greatly to the interest excited by these remarkable Ruins: indeed, so singularly does the whole scene correspond with his account of the place, that, in comparing them together, it might be supposed a single hour had not elapsed since he was himself upon the spot.

State of the Ruins.

The first thing that we noticed, as we drew nigh to the gate of the city, was an antient *Tumulus* of immense size, upon our *right*, precisely similar, in its form and covering, to those conical sepulchres so frequently the subject of allusion in these Travels; whether called *barrows*, *cairns*, *mounds*, *heaps*, or by whatever other name, (as for example, *Tépe* by the Turks, and τάφος and χῶμα by the Greeks,) they are now

Extraordinary Sepulchre.

(4) Μυκήνας δὲ Ἀργεῖοι καθεῖλον ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας. Ibid.

(5) B.C. 466. See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 230. *Oxf.* 1776.

(6) Ἐν γὰρ τῇ νῦν Ἀργολίδι ὀνομαζομένῃ τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα οὐ μνημονεύουσιν. Pausan. ut supra, c. 15. p. 144.

CHAP. XVI.

now pretty well understood to have all of them reference to a people of the most remote antiquity (possibly the *Celtæ*), and to have been raised for *sepulchral purposes*. Particular stress is now laid upon this circumstance, for reasons that will presently appear. This *Tumulus* has evidently been opened since it was first constructed, and thereby its interior has been disclosed; but at what time this happened is quite uncertain; probably in a very remote age, from the appearance it now exhibits. The entrance is no longer concealed: like that of a Tomb described in the First Part of these Travels, as found upon the *Cimmerian Bosporus*, the door is in the side of the sepulchre; and there are steps in front of it. A small aperture in the vertex of the cone has also been rendered visible, by the removal of the soil; but this, as well as the entrance in the side, was once closed, when the mound was entire and the *Tumulus* remained inviolate. All the rest of the external part is a covering of earth and turf; such as we see in every country where the *Tumuli* appear. We ascended along the outside to the top: and had it not been for the circumstances now mentioned, we should have considered it in all respects similar to the Tombs in the Plain of Troy, or in the South of Russia, or in any of the Northern countries of Europe. But this *Sepulchre*, among modern travellers, has received the appellation of *The brazen Treasury of Atreus and his sons*; an assumption requiring more of historical document in its support, than has yet been adduced to substantiate the fact. In the first place, it may be asked, what rational pretext can be urged to prove, either that the treasury of Atreus was *brazen*,

not the Treasury of Atreus.

brazen, or that this was the treasury? The whole seems to rest upon the discovery of a few brass nails within the Sepulchre; used evidently for the purpose of fastening on something whereby the interior surface of the cone was formerly lined: but allowing that the whole of the inward sheathing consisted of *brass* plates, what has this fact to do with the *subterraneous cells* or *dwellings* (ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα) where the *treasures of Atreus* were deposited? *Cells of bronze* were consistent with the antient customs of all Argolis: there was *a Cell* of this description at *Argos*, used for the incarceration of *Danaë*[1]: a similar repository existed in the Citadel of *Mycenæ*, said to have been the hiding-place of *Eurystheus*, when in fear of *Hercules*[2]. But this Sepulchre is *without* the walls of the *Acropolis*; nor can it be credited that any sovereign of *Mycenæ* would construct a treasury *without* his Citadel, fortified as it was by *Cyclopéan* walls. *Pausanias*, by whom alone this *subterraneous treasury* of *Atreus* is mentioned, clearly and indisputably places it *within the Citadel;* close by the Sepulchre of the same monarch. Having passed the gate of the city, and noticed the *Lions* over the lintel, he speaks of the *Cyclopéan* wall surrounding the city, and describes the antiquities it inclosed. "Among the Ruins of Mycenæ," says he[3], "there is a spring called *Perséa*, and the

(1) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 23. p. 164. Ed. *Kuhnii.*

(2) Apollodorus, lib. ii. c. 4. *Goett.* 1782.

(3) Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις κρήνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Περσεία, καὶ Ἀτρέως καὶ τῶν παίδων ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, ἔνθα οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν.

 τάφος

CHAP. XVI.

the *subterraneous Cells* of *Atreus* and of his Sons, where they kept their treasures: and there indeed is the *Tomb of Atreus*, and of all those whom, returning with Agamemnon from Troy, Ægisthus slew at supper." *Cassandra* being of course included among the number, he observes, that this circumstance had caused a dispute between the inhabitants of *Mycenæ* and those of *Amyclæ* concerning the *Monument* (Μνῆμα) of *Cassandra*, whether of the two cities really possessed it. Then he adds, that another Monument is also there, that of *Agamemnon* himself, and of his charioteer *Eurymedon*: and he closes the chapter, saying[1], "The Sepulchres of *Clytæmnestra* and *Ægisthus* are *without the walls*; not being worthy of a situation where *Agamemnon* and those slain with him were laid." From these observations of *Pausanias* we learn two things; *first*, that this Sepulchre could not have been the *Treasury of Atreus*, because it is *without* the walls of the Acropolis; *secondly*, that it cannot be the *Monument* (Μνῆμα) *of Agamemnon*, according to *Pausanias*, because this was *within* the Citadel. If the names assigned by him to the different monuments of *Mycenæ* may be considered as duly authorised by history, which perhaps is doubtful, we might consider it as the *Heroum of Perseus*, with whose situation it seems accurately to correspond. As soon

Heroum of Perseus.

τάφος δέ ἐστι μὲν Ἀτρέως, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσους σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπανήκοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δειπνίσας κατεφόνευσιν Αἴγισθος. Pausan. Corinth. c. 16. p. 147. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(1) Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ ἐτάφη καὶ Αἴγισθος ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους. ἐντὸς δὲ ἀπηξιώθησαν, ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνων τε αὐτὸς ἔκειτο καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φονευθέντες. Pausan. ut supra.

soon as *Pausanias* leaves the *Citadel*, and begins his journey towards *Argos*, the first object noticed by him is the HEROUM; describing it as upon his *left* hand[2]. His account therefore agrees with the position of this magnificent Sepulchre, which is worthy of being at once both the *Tomb* and the *Temple* of the consecrated founder of *Mycenæ*. Here, if we had no other document to consult than the description of Greece by that author, we should be compelled to terminate our inquiry; but, fortunately for our subject, we are able to select as a guide upon this occasion a much more antient writer than *Pausanias*; one indeed who has cast but a glimmering light among the Ruins of *Mycenæ*, but every ray of it is precious. It was here that SOPHOCLES laid the scene of his *Electra*; and evidence sufficient is afforded, in the present appearance of the place, to prove that his allusions to the city were founded upon an actual view of its antiquities. When it is recollected that these allusions were made nearly six centuries before the time of *Pausanias*, every inference fairly deducible from them is entitled to consideration. It is worthy of remark, that *Sophocles* was thirty-one years of age when *Mycenæ* was laid waste by the Argives[3]; consequently he had ample opportunity of visiting the city prior to that event, and of gathering from its inhabitants the circumstances of its antient history; but

Sophocles.

Pausanias

(2) Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν ἐστιν ΗΡΩΟΝ. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 18. p. 149. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(3) According to the Arundel Marbles, *Sophocles* died B.C. 406, at the age of ninety-one, sixty years after the capture and destruction of *Mycenæ* by the Argives.

CHAP. XVI.

Pausanias writing so long afterwards, although upon the spot, could only collect from oral testimony, and tradition, his account of the antiquities: indeed it has been already shewn, that, when speaking of *Mycenæ*, he says the inhabitants of Argolis remembered nothing more antient than the circumstances attending its downfall[1].

Internal evidence of Sophocles having visited the spot.

In the beginning of the *Electra* the prospect is described as it was viewed by a spectator upon his arrival at *Mycenæ*; and the beauties of the poet can only be adequately estimated by persons who have been upon the spot. The best commentary upon the drama itself would be an accurate representation of the very scene, as it is exhibited to a spectator who is placed before the *Propylæa* of the Acropolis of *Mycenæ*. When the companion of *Orestes* is made to say, upon coming to the gates, that "*Argos* is present to the view[2], and that the *Heræum* is upon the *left* hand[3]," the Scholiast has been so confounded as to make of *Argos* and *Mycenæ* one city; whereas the speaker is only describing what the eye commands from that situation. *Argos* is thence in view; making a conspicuous object upon the *right* hand[4]; as the *Heræum*,

(1) Vid. Pausan. Corinth. c. 15. p. 144. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Τὸ γὰρ, παλαιὸν Ἄργος, οὗ πόθεις, τόδε.
Sophocl. Elect. v. 4. tom. I. p. 176. *Paris*, 1781.

(3) —— ὀνὺξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὅδε,
Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός.——
Ibid. vv. 11, 12. p. 178.

(4) See Plates VIII. IX. facing pp. 36, 38, of *Gell's Itin. of Greece. Lond.* 1810. Mr. Gell's drawings afford a valuable commentary upon the text of *Sophocles* in the opening of the *Electra*.

Heræum, according to *Pausanias*, also did upon the *left*[5]. These were objects naturally striking the attention in the noble prospect from the entrance to the city; and there could not have been an individual within the Theatre at Athens when this Tragedy was presented, who had ever visited *Mycenæ*, that would not have been sensible of the taste and accuracy of *Sophocles*, in making those remarks. We may now see whether this *Tumulus* is not also alluded to by *Sophocles* and by *Euripides*, and its situation distinctly pointed out as being on the outside of the gates, according to the usual custom with regard to Grecian sepulchres. But, previous to this, it will be necessary to state, that when *Sophocles* mentions the *regal seat* of the Kings of *Mycenæ*, he is not speaking of a single building answering to the vulgar notion of a *house*, but of the whole *structure* of the fortress, wherein they resided; a *Citadel*; resembling that of the *Kremlin* at Moscow, once inhabited by Russian sovereigns; or like to the *Tower* of our metropolis, where the English monarchs were wont to dwell. It is in this sense that he uses the word Δῶμα[6], with reference to all the buildings inclosed by the *Acropolis*; and the gates of it are

Of the Δῶμα & Προπυλαία.

(5) Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα στάδια τὸ Ἡραῖον. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 17. p. 147. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(6) —— δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν———. Sophocl. Elect. v. 10. *Paris*, 1781.
Σύ τ' ὦ πατρῷον δῶμα.——— Ibid. v. 69.
Εἰ τοῦ τυράννου δώματ' Αἰγίσθου τάδε; Ibid. v. 663.
Δόμων ἔσω τῶνδ'——— Ibid. v. 40.
—— καταστάτην δόμων. Ibid. v. 72.

CHAP. XVI.

are called *Propylæa*[1], as in the instance of the Athenian Citadel. This will be further evident when we proceed to a description of the entrance to the *Acropolis*; for *the gate* is not more distinctly alluded to by *Pausanias* than by *Sophocles* himself; as will presently appear. *Orestes*, desirous of bearing his *vows* to his father's tomb, repairs thither before he enters the *Propylæa*; and *Electra*, who is only permitted to leave the *Citadel* in the absence of *Ægisthus*; meets *Chrysothemis* upon the *outside of the gates*, carrying the offerings sent by her mother to appease the *Manes* of *Agamemnon*[2]. The position of the Sepulchre seems therefore in all respects to coincide with that of the *Tumulus* we are now describing; but the words of *Sophocles* are also decisive as to its *form*; for the *Tomb of Agamemnon* is not only called τάφος, but also κολώνη[3]: and as, in this Tragedy, the poet adapted his description to a real scene, and to existing objects, there seems reason to believe that, in his time at least, this remarkable Sepulchre was considered by the inhabitants of *Mycenæ* as the TOMB OF AGAMEMNON; although described by *Pausanias* rather as the *Heroum of Perseus*. But the most striking evidence for the situation of the *Tomb*

Tomb of Agamemnon.

of

(1) Ibid. v. 1391. In v. 1486, *Ægisthus* commands the gates (πύλας) to be thrown open.

(2) Τίν' αὖ σὺ τήνδε ΠΡΟΣ ΘΥΡΩΝΟΣ ἐξόδοις
Ἐλθοῦσα φωνεῖς, ὦ κασιγνήτη, φάτιν; Ibid. vv. 330, 331. tom. I. p. 212.

(3) Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατρὸς ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ τάφον,
Ὁρῶ ΚΟΛΩΝΗΣ ἐξ ἄκρας νεοῤῥύτους
Πηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ περιστεφῆ κύκλῳ
Πάντων ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀνθέων θήκην πατρός. Ibid. v. 899. p. 272.

of Agamemnon occurs in the *Electra* of *Euripides*. When *Orestes* in that tragedy relates to *Pylades* his nocturnal visit to the sepulchre of his father, it is expressly stated that he repaired thither *without entering within the walls*[4]. Possibly therefore the known existence of this *Tumulus*, and of its form and situation, suggested both to *Sophocles* and to *Euripides* their allusions to the *Tomb of Agamemnon*, and to the offerings made by *Orestes* at his father's sepulchre. The Reader, after a perusal of the facts, will of course adopt his own conjecture. We shall now proceed to a further description of the Monument itself.

Interior of the *Tumulus*.

Having descended from the top of it, we repaired to the entrance, upon its eastern side. Some steps, whereof the traces are visible, originally conducted to the door. This entrance, built with all the colossal grandeur of Phœnician and Egyptian architecture, is covered by a mass of *breccia*, of such prodigious size, that were it not for the testimony of others who have since visited the Tomb, an author, in simply stating its dimensions, might be supposed to exceed the truth. The door itself is not more than ten feet wide; and it is shaped like the windows and doors of the Egyptian and earliest Grecian buildings, wider at the bottom than at the top; forming a passage six yards long, covered by two stones. The slab now

Enormous lintel.

particularly

(4) Νυκτὸς δὲ τῇσδε πρὸς τάφον μολὼν πατρὸς,
. . . . . κ. τ. λ.
ΚΑΙ ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΟΥ ΒΑΙΝΩ ΠΟΔΑ . . .
Euripidis Electra, v. 90. p. 403. ed. Barnes. *Cantab.* 1694.

CHAP. XVI.

particularly alluded to, is the innermost entablature; lying across the uprights of the portal; extending many feet into the walls of the Tomb on either side. This vast *lintel* is best seen by a person standing within the Tomb, who is looking back towards the entrance[1]: it consists of a coarse-grained *breccia*, finished almost to a polish: and the same siliceous aggregate may be observed in the mountains near *Mycenæ*, as at *Athens*. We carefully measured this mass, and found it to equal twenty-seven feet in length, seventeen feet in width, and four feet seven inches in thickness. There are other stones also of immense size within the Tomb; but this is the most considerable; and perhaps it may be mentioned as the largest slab of hewn stone in the world[2]. Over this entrance there is a triangular aperture; the base of the triangle coinciding with the *lintel* of the portal, and its vertex terminating pyramidically upwards, so as to complete, with the inclining sides of the door, an acute, or lancet arch. This style of architecture, characterizing all the buildings of *Mycenæ* and of *Tiryns*, is worthy of particular attention; for without dwelling upon any nugatory distinctions as to the manner wherein such arches were constructed; whether by projecting horizontal courses of stone, or by the

(1) See Plate VI. of Gell's Itin. of Greece, facing p. 34. *Lond.* 1810.

(2) Excepting only *Pompey's Pillar*: but this is of a different form, being not so wide, although much longer. The famous pedestal of the statue of Peter the Great, at Petersburg, often described as an entire mass of granite, consists of several pieces.

the later invention of the curvature exemplified in all the older Saracenic buildings[3], it is evident that the *acute* or *lancet arch* is, in fact, the oldest form of *arch* known in the world; and that examples of it may be referred to, in buildings erected before the War of Troy. The use of the *triangular aperture* above the portal is satisfactorily explained by the appearance of the *Gate of Mycenæ*, where a similar opening is filled by a triangular piece of sculpture in *alto-relievo*. The cause of placing such tablets in such situations may be shewn by reference to existing superstition: they were severally what a Russian of the present day would call the *Obraze* or *Bogh*; an idolatrous type or symbol of the mythology of the country. *Sophocles*, in the description he affords of *Mycenæ*, alludes to this antient custom, as will afterwards appear. Having passed the entrance, and being arrived within the interior of the tomb, we were much struck by the grandeur of its internal appearance. Here we found that what appears externally to be nothing more than a high conical mound of earth, contains within it a circular chamber of stone, regularly built, and terminating above in a conical dome, corresponding with the exterior shape of the *tumulus*. Its form has been aptly compared to that of an *English* bee-hive[4]. The interior superficies of the stone was

Use of the triangular cavity above the entrance.

Inner chamber.

(3) See "*Two Letters on the subject of Gothic Architecture*," by the Rev. John Haggitt, *Camb.* 1813; wherein the Eastern origin of the "*Pointed Style*" is clearly demonstrated.

(4) The Greek bee-hives have a different form: they are generally cylindrical.

CHAP. XVI.

was once lined either with metal or with marble plates, fastened on by bronze nails; many of which now remain as they were originally driven into the sides. These nails have been analyzed, and proved to consist of *copper* and *tin*[1]: the metal is therefore, properly speaking, the χαλκὸς of Homer, or *bronze;* a compound distinguished from the *orichalcum*[2], or *brass*, of later ages, which consisted of *copper* and *zinc*. We had scarcely entered beneath the dome before we observed, upon the right hand, another portal, leading from the principal chamber of the tomb to an interior apartment of a square form and smaller dimensions. The door-way to this had the same sort of triangular aperture above it that we had noticed over the main entrance to the sepulchre; and as it was nearly closed to the top with earth, we stepped into the triangular cavity above the lintel, that we might look down into the area of this inner chamber; but here it was too dark to discern any thing. Being afraid to venture into a place of unknown depth, we collected and kindled a fagot of dry bushes, and, throwing this in a blaze to the bottom, we saw that we might

(1) In the proportion of eighty-eight parts of copper added to twelve of tin, according to their analysis by Mr. Hatchett. The same constituents, nearly in the same proportion, exist in all very antient *bronze*. The celebrated W. H. Wollaston, M. D. Secretary to the Royal Society, analyzed some *bronze* arrow-heads of great antiquity found near to *Kremenchûck* in the South of Russia, and observed the same compound of *copper* and *tin*. Possibly the most antient *bronze* may have been derived from a *native alloy* consisting of the two metals in this state of combination.

(2) See Watson's Chemical Essays, vol. IV. p. 85, et seq. *Camb.* 1786. where the learned author ingeniously proves that the *orichalcum* of the Romans was a metallic substance analogous to our compound of *copper* and *zinc;* or *brass*.

might easily leap down and examine the whole cavity. The diameter of the circular chamber is sixteen yards; but the dimensions of the square apartment do not exceed nine yards by seven. We did not measure the height of the dome, but the elevation of the vertex of the cone, from the floor in its present state, is said to be about seventeen yards[3].

After leaving this sepulchre, the *Cyclopéan* walls of MYCENÆ, extending to a short distance in a parallel projection from the entrance to the Citadel, pointed out to us the approach to the gate on this side; which is built like *Stonehenge*, with two uprights of stone, and a transverse entablature of the same massive construction. Above this is a *triangular repository* similar to those already described within the tomb; but instead of being empty, as in the former instances, it is entirely filled by an enormous *alto-relievo*, upon a stone block of a *triangular* form; exhibiting *two Lions*, or rather *Panthers*, standing like the supporters of a modern coat of arms. This is the identical piece of sculpture noticed by *Pausanias* as being over the gate of the Citadel[4]. But the mention he has made of it does not appear to have been the only instance where this curious specimen of the sculpture of the heroic ages is noticed by antient writers. The allusions to a *real scene* in the *Electra* of *Sophocles* have been recently stated; and while we now shew that the same drama has also preserved the record of a very curious superstition,

Lionine Gate.

(3) See Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 30. *Lond.* 1810.

(4) Λείπεται δὲ ὅμως ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου, καὶ ἡ πύλη· ΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ δὲ ἐφεστήκασιν αὐτῇ. Pausan. Corinth. c. 16. p. 146. ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVI.

superstition, it will likewise appear that this remarkable monument of the antient mythology of *Mycenæ* did not escape his notice. *Orestes*, before entering the Citadel, speaks of worshipping the statues of the Gods of the country which are stationed in the *Propylæa*[1]. The antient custom of *consecrating gates*, by placing *sacred images* above them, has existed in every period of history; and it is yet retained in some countries. There is still a *holy gate* belonging to the *Kremlin* at *Moscow*; and the practice here alluded to is daily exemplified in the Russian city, by all who enter or leave the Citadel through that gate. Every thing therefore conspires to render the Ruins of *Mycenæ*, and especially of this entrance to the Acropolis, preeminently interesting; whether we consider their venerable age, or the allusions made to them in such distant periods when they were visited by the Poets and Historians of Greece as the classical antiquities of their country; or the indisputable examples they afford of the architecture, sculpture, mythology, and customs of the heroic ages. The walls of *Mycenæ*, like those of the Citadels of *Argos* and *Tiryns*, were of *Cyclopéan* masonry, and its gates denote the same gigantic style of structure. Any person who has seen the sort of work exhibited by *Stonehenge*, and by many other Celtic remains of a similar nature, will be at no loss to figure to his imagination the *uprights*

Dimensions and description of the *Propylæa*.

(1) —— πατρῷα προσκύσανθ' ἕδη
Θεῶν, ὅσοιπερ πρόπυλα ναίουσιν τάδε.
Sophocl. Elect. v. 1391. tom. I. p. 328. *Par.* 1781.

uprights and the *lintels* of the Gates of *Mycenæ*. We endeavoured to measure those of the principal entrance, over which the *leonine images* are placed. The length of the *lintel* equals fifteen feet two inches; its breadth, six feet nine inches; and its thickness, four feet: and it is of one entire mass of stone. The two *uprights* supporting this enormous slab might afford still ampler dimensions; but these are almost buried in the soil and rubbish which have accumulated below so as to reach nearly to the *lintel*. Above this *lintel* stands the remarkable piece of sculpture alluded to by *Sophocles*[2] and by *Pausanias*[3]. It therefore requires a distinct examination, and a very particular description. The last of these authors, in the passage before cited[4], has called the two animals, there represented, *Lions*; but they are evidently *Panthers*, or *Tigers*; the more appropriate emblems of that branch of the Heathen Mythology which was peculiarly venerated by the inhabitants of *Mycenæ*[5]. This piece of sculpture is, as before stated, an *alto-relievo* of a triangular form; the base of the triangle resting upon the *lintel* of the gate; and its top pointing upwards, in such a manner, that a perpendicular line bisecting the angle of the vertex would also divide the *lintel* into two equal parts. Such a line has been used by the antient sculptor for the position of a pillar exactly resembling a sepulchral

Mythological Symbols.

Stélé,

(2) Vid. Sophocl. Elect. v. 1391.
(3) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 16. p. 146. ed. *Kuhnii*.
(4) Ibid. See the words of Pausanias in a former Note.
(5) Vid. Sophocl. Elect. passim.

CHAP. XVI.

Stélé, resting upon a pedestal over the *lintel*; but this pillar is most singularly inverted, the major diameter of the shaft being placed uppermost; so that, contrary to every rule we are acquainted with respecting antient pillars, its diameter is less towards the base than at the capital. As to the order of architecture denoted by this pillar, it is rather *Tuscan* than *Doric;* and it is remarkably ornamented by *four balls,* placed horizontally above the *Abacus.* There is also a circular ornament, or *Orb,* in the front of the pedestal, which is a double *Torus.* The pillar is further supported by *two Panthers;* one standing erect on either side of it, with his hinder feet upon the *lintel,* but with his two fore-paws upon the pedestal of the pillar: the heads of these animals seem to have been originally raised, fronting each other, above the capital; where they probably met, and occupied the space included by the vertex of the triangle; but they have been broken off, and no part of them is now to be seen. The *two Panthers,* thus placed on the two sides of the pillar, exactly resemble a couple of supporters as used in heraldry for an armorial ensign[1]. The dimensions of this *alto-relievo* are as follow: the height, nine feet eight inches; the width, in the broadest part towards the base of the triangle, eleven feet nine inches; the thickness of the slab, one foot ten inches. The stone itself exhibits, upon one side of it, evident marks of a saw; but it is in other respects extremely rude. As it

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.

it has been fortunately preserved in its present situation, it serves to explain the nature of the triangular cavities above the doors in the tomb we have so lately described; proving that they were each similarly occupied by a sacred tablet of the same pyramidal or triangular form. We have before seen that the whole inclosure of the Acropolis of Athens was one vast *shrine*, or *consecrated peribolus;* and the Citadel of *Mycenæ* upon a smaller scale was probably of the same nature. These tablets therefore were the *Hiera*, at the *Gates* of the *holy places* before which the people worshipped. Of the homage so rendered at the entering in of sanctuaries, we find frequent allusion in the sacred scriptures. It is said in Ezekiel[2], that "THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND SHALL WORSHIP AT THE DOOR OF THE GATE BEFORE THE LORD, IN THE SABBATHS, AND IN THE NEW MOONS:" and in the sublime song of the *sons of Korah*[3], the *Gates* of the Acropolis of Jerusalem, owing to their sanctity, are described as of more estimation in the sight of God, "than all the dwellings of Jacob." *Mycenæ* has preserved for us, in a state of admirable perfection, a model of one of the oldest Citadels of the world; nor can there be found a more valuable monument for the consideration of the scholar profoundly versed in the history of antient art, than these precious reliques of her *Propylæa* exhibiting examples of sculpture more antient than the Trojan War, and of the style of fortification used in the heroic ages; and also

Consecrated Gates.

(2) Ezekiel xlvi. 3.

(3) Psalms lxxxvii. 2.

CHAP. XVI.

also a plan of those *Gates*, where not only religious ceremonies were performed, but also the courts of judicature were held[1]. For this purpose it was necessary that there should be a paved court, or open space, in the front of the *Propylæa*, as it was here that kings and magistrates held their sittings upon solemn occasions. It is said of the kings of Israel and Judah, that they sat on their thrones in *a void place*[2], IN THE ENTRANCE OF THE GATES OF SAMARIA, where ALL THE PROPHETS PROPHESIED BEFORE THEM. The Gate of *Mycenæ* affords a perfect commentary upon this and similar passages of Scripture: the walls of the Acropolis project in parallel lines before the entrance, forming the sort of area, or oblong court, before the *Propylæa*, to which allusion is thus made; and it is in this open space before the Citadel that *Sophocles* has laid the scene in the beginning of his *Electra*. The *Markets* were always in these places[3], as it is now the custom before the Gates of *Acre*, and many other towns in the East: hence it is probable, that, in the mention made by *Sophocles* of the *Lycean Forum*[4], he is not alluding to one of the public *Fora* of *Argos*, but to the *Pylagora* or *Market-place* at the *Gate* of

Of the *Pylagoræ*.

(1) Vidè Chronicon Parium, Epoch 5. where the *place of Council* for the *Amphictyones* is called Πυλαία. Suidas says, that not only the place (ὁ τόπος), but the Assembly itself, had this name. (Vid. Suid. in voc. Πυλαγόραι.) See also Job xxix. 7. Ps. lxix. 12, &c.

(2) Or *floor*, according to the Hebrew. *S. Kings* xxii. 10.

(3) See 2 *Kings* i. 18.

(4) Αὕτη δ', Ὀρέστα τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ
Ἀγορὰ Λύκειος.——
Soph. Elect. v. 6. pp. 176, 178. tom. I. *Paris*, 1781.

of *Mycenæ*, whose inhabitants, in common with all the *Argives*, worshipped the *Lycean Apollo*. The same author makes the worship of *Apollo*, or the *Sun*, the peculiar mythology of the city[5]; and it is confirmed by the curious symbols of the *Propylæa*, before which *Orestes* pays his adoration[6]. *Apollo*, as a type of the *Sun*, was the same divinity as *Bacchus*; and the *two Panthers* supporting *the pillar* represent a species of animal well known to have been sacred to the Indian Bacchus. This divinity, also the Osiris of Egypt, was often represented by the simple type of *an orb*; hence the introduction of the *orbicular* symbols: and among the different forms of images set up by antient nations in honour of the *Sun*, that of *a pillar* is known to have been one. There was an image of *Apollo* which had this form at *Amyclæ*[7]; and the *Sun-images* mentioned in the sacred Scriptures seem to have been of the same nature. In the book of the Jewish law, immediately preceding the passage where the Israelites are commanded to abstain from the worship of "the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven," it is forbidden to them to set up any *idolatrous pillar*[8]. All the superstitions and festivities connected with the *Dionysia* came into *Greece* with *Danaus* from *Egypt*[9]. The cities of *Argolis* are consequently of all places the

Worship of the Sun.

Ægyptian Characteristics.

(5) Soph. Elect. v. 1393, κ. τ. λ.

(6) Ibid. v. 1391.

(7) Vid. Pausan. in Laconic. c. 19. p. 257. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(8) Deuteronomy, xvi. 22; xvii. 3.

(9) According to *Plutarch*, the *Dionysia* were the same with the *Ægyptian Pamylia*. Τὴν δὲ τῶν ΠΑΜΥΛΙΩΝ ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες, (ὥσπερ εἴρηται) φαλλικὴν οὖσαν,

CHAP. XVI.

the most likely to retain vestiges of these antient *orgies*; and the *orbicular* symbols consecrated to the *Sun*, together with the *pyramidal* form of the tablets, the style of architecture observable in the walls of *Mycenæ*, and the magnificent remains of the sepulchres of her kings, all associate with our recollections of Egypt, and forcibly direct the attention towards that country. That the rites of *Apollo* at *Mycenæ* had reference to the worship of the *Sun* is a circumstance beautifully and classically alluded to by *Sophocles*; who introduces *Electra* hailing the *holy light*[1], and calling the *swallow* Messenger of THE GOD[2], because, being the *herald* of the *coming spring*, it was then held sacred, as it now is in that country.

Walls of *Mycenæ*.

This gate faces the north-west. After we had passed it, we followed the circuit made by the walls around the hill of the Citadel. These consist of huge unhewn masses of stone, so fitted and adapted to each other as to have given rise to an opinion that the power of man was inadequate to the labour necessary in building them. Hence the epithet of *Cyclopéan*, bestowed upon them by different authors[3]. The *Peribolus* they inclose is oblong, and about three hundred and

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οὖσαν, κ.τ.λ. *Plut. de Isid. et Osir. cap.* 36. *Francof.* 1599. For the *Ægyptian* origin of these festivals, see also *Herodot. lib.* ii. The *Orgia*, and *Trieterica*, came from *Thrace*, but they were originally from *Egypt*. See *Diod. Sic. vol.* I. *pp.* 239, 248.

(1) Ὦ φάος ἁγνόν. Sophocl. Elect. v. 86. p. 186. tom. I. *Paris*, 1781.

(2) Διὸς ἄγγελος. Ibid. v. 149.

(3) Κυκλώπειαν πόλιν (in Euripid. Hercule Furente). Κυκλώπων Θυμέλας (Iphigen. in. Aul.). Κυκλωπεία οὐράνια τείχη (in Sophocl. Elect.) Κυκλώπων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 16. p. 146. ed. *Kuhnii*.

and thirty yards in length. Upon the northern side are the remains of another *portal*, quite as entire as that we have already described, and built in the same manner; excepting that a plain triangular mass of stone rests upon the *lintel* of the gateway, instead of a sculptured block as in the former instance. We saw within the walls of the Citadel an antient cistern, which had been hollowed out of the *breccia* rock, and lined with stucco. The Romans had no settlement at *Mycenæ;* but such is the state of preservation in which the cement yet exists upon the sides of this reservoir, that it is difficult to explain the cause of its perfection after so many centuries. Similar excavations may be observed in the Acropolis of *Argos*; also upon the *Mount Olives* near to *Jerusalem*; and among the remains of the antient cities of *Taurica Chersonesus*, particularly in the rocks above the *Portus Symbolorum*. The porous nature of *breccia* rocks may serve to explain the use and perhaps the absolute necessity of the *stucco* here; and it may also illustrate the well-known fable concerning those *porous vessels* which the *Danaïdes* were doomed to fill; probably alluding to the *cisterns of Argos* which the daughters of *Danaus* were compelled to supply with water, according to the usual employment of women in the East. The other antiquities of *Mycenæ* must remain for the more attentive examination of future travellers; who, as it is hoped, will visit the Ruins provided with the necessary implements for making researches, where, with the slightest precaution, they will be little liable to interruption on the part of the Turks; the place being as destitute of inhabitants,

Antient Cistern.

CHAP. XVI.

bitants, and almost as little known or regarded, as it was in the time of *Strabo*; when it was believed that not a vestige of *Mycenæ* could be found. The inducement towards such inquiries is of no common nature: whatever may be discovered will relate to the history of a city which ceased to be inhabited long before the Macedonian conquest, and to the manners of a people coëval with *Æschylus* and with *Euripides*.

Silver Medal of STYMPHALUS in ARCADIA.

CHAP. XVII.

PELOPONNESUS.

Journey to Nemea—*Defile of* Tretus—*Cave of the* Nemeæan Lion—*Fountain of* Archemorus—*Temple of the* Nemeæan Jupiter—*Albanians*—*Monument of* Lycurgus—*Nemeæan River*—Apesas—*Sicyonian Plain*—Sicyon—Theatre—*Prospect from the* Coilon—Stadium—Temple of Bacchus—*Other Antiquities*—*Medals*—*Paved Way*—*Fertility of the land*—Corinth—*Fountain of the Nymph* Pirene—Sisyphéum—*Temple of* Octavia—*Visit to the Governor*—Odéum—*Climate of Corinth.*

CHAP. XVII.

Journey to *Nemea.*

AFTER leaving *Mycenæ*, we again descended towards the Plain of *Argos*[1], lying westward; and coming to a village called *Carvati*, made a hearty meal upon eggs and coffee. We

(1) "We descended from *Mycenæ* into the rich plain of *Argos*; not now deserving the epithet of ἱππόβοτος, for the horses in this neighbourhood are beyond measure miserable." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

CHAP. XVII.

We carried with us an introductory letter to a person named *Andriano*, who had found, as we were informed, another Tomb at *Mycenæ*, similar to the one we have described; but we could not find him, and the people of the village knew nothing of the discovery. We therefore continued our journey northward for *Nemea*. As this route lies out of the antient road from *Corinth* to *Argos*, (which did not pass through *Nemea*,) the objects noticed by *Pausanias*, in the beginning of that part of his second book which he calls ARGOLICA, do not occur. The city of *Cleonæ* was one of this number[1]; whose remains have been observed in the road to *Corinth*, and at ten miles distance from that city[2]. The road from *Mycenæ* to *Nemea* does, however, coincide with the road to *Corinth* for a short distance after leaving *Carvati*; but upon reaching the mountains, which separate the two plains of *Argos* and *Nemea*, it bears off by a defile across a mountain towards the west. Some allusion to this defile occurs in *Pausanias*, and to its deviation from the main road; for he says there were two ways of going from *Cleonæ* to *Argos*; one of them by *Tretus*, a narrow and a circuitous way, but the best *carriage* road of the two[3]. As we entered this defile, we travelled by the side of a rivulet

Defile of *Tretus*.

(1) Ἐκ Κορίνθου δ' εἰς Ἄργος ἐρχομένῳ Κλεωναὶ πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 15. p. 143. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Chandler found them upon a hill in the direct road from *Argos* to *Corinth*. *See Chandler's Travels in Greece, ch. 57. p. 234. Oxf. 1776.*

(3) Ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δέ εἰσιν ἐς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο· ἡ μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καί ἐστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων ὀρῶν, ὀχήμασι δέ ἐστιν ὅμως ἐπιτηδειοτέρα. Pausan. ibid. p. 144.

rivulet of very clear water, through woods which were once the haunts of the famous *Nemeæan Lion.* The only animals we saw were some very fine tortoises. We passed one or two huts inhabited by wild-looking fellows, who told us they were the guards of the pass. They brought water for us to drink, and we gave them a few *parāhs*. Hereabout we noticed a curious comment upon the account given by *Pausanias* of this defile; in the marks of wheels upon the rocky parts of the road; the surface of the stone being furrowed into ruts; which must have been worn by the wheels of antient carriages[4]; no vehicles of this kind being used by the present inhabitants of the *Peloponnesus*. The mountain over which the defile leads is still called *Treto* by the natives; it extends from east to west, along the southern side of the Plain of *Nemea*. And this mountain, perforated by a defile, is all that *Pausanias* means by "*Tretus*;" but some persons have believed that there was a town called *Tretum* lying to the north of Argos[5]. We made diligent inquiry after the *Cave of the Nemeæan Lion,* mentioned by the same author; being fully assured that in a country famous for the caverns contained in its limestone mountains, an allusion of this kind would

Cave of the *Nemeæan Lion.*

(4) Mr. Gell measured the distance between the furrows. According to his observation, the wheels of antient carriages "were placed at about the same distance from each other as in those of modern times." *See Itin. of Greece, p.* 27. *Lond.* 1801.

(5) "TRETUM, petite ville de l'Argolide, *presqu'au nord d'Argos*. Dans les montagnes près de cette ville, on montroit *une caverne* où se retiroit, disoit-on, le lion féroce dont les poëtes ont attribué la mort à Hercule," &c. *Encyclopédie Méthodique. Géographie Ancienne, par Mentelle. Tome troisième, p.* 373. *à Paris,* 1792.

CHAP. XVII.

would not have been made by so accurate an author without its actual reference to some cave having borne this appellation. The guides from *Argos* knew nothing of it; but the people of *Nemea* afterwards brought us back again to visit a hollow rock, hardly deserving the name of a cave, although no unlikely place for the den of a lion. As other travellers may be curious to visit it, we shall describe its situation in such a manner that they may be easily guided to the spot. It is situated upon the top of the mountain, just before the descent begins towards *Nemea*, but upon the side of it which regards the *Gulph of Argos*, and commands a view of all the country in that direction. If it be visited from *Nemea*, its bearing by the compass, from the three columns of the *Temple of Jupiter*, is due south-east; those columns being on the north-west side of *Tretus*, and at the base of the mountain; and this cave at the top of it, and on the contrary side, but facing *Argos* and *Nauplia*. It consists simply of an overhanging rock in the midst of thickets, on the *left* side of the road from *Nemea* to *Argos*; forming a shed, where the shepherds sometimes pen their folds. As the situation is commanding, we made the following observations by a small pocket compass.

A lofty pointed summit, called the *Peak of Giria*, or *Gerio*, antiently *Mons Gerania*, the most distant object . . . . . s. w. and by w.

Citadel of *Argos* . . . . . s. s. w.

Citadel of *Nauplia* . . . . . s.

Citadel of *Corinth* . . . . . E. N. E.—Below the eye, in this direction, the site of *Cleonæ* may be discerned in the few remaining vestiges of that city.

This

This is the only cave of any description that we could hear of in the neighbourhood: the people of the country know of no other; and we may consider it as identified with that mentioned by *Pausanias*, from the circumstance of its position upon a mountain still bearing the name of the place assigned by him for its situation[1]. Its distance also from the ruins of the Temple, being about a mile and and a half, agrees very well with that which he has stated, of fifteen stadia[2].

After regaining the road, the descent from this place soon conducts the traveller into the plain of NEMEA. We passed the fountain of *Archemorus*, once called *Langia*, and now *Licoriæ*. Near to it we saw the *Tomb of Opheltes*[3], at present nothing more than a heap of stones. *Pausanias* calls the fountain the *Adrastéan* spring[4]: a superstition connected with it gave rise to all the sanctity and celebrity of the surrounding *Grove:* victors in the *Nemeæan Games* received no other reward than a chaplet made of the wild *parsley*[5] that grew upon its margin; and the herb itself, from the circumstance of its locality, was fabled to have sprung from the

Fountain of *Archemorus*.

(1) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 15. p. 144. ed. *Kuhnii.*

(2) Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἔτι δείκνυται τοῦ λέοντος, καὶ ἡ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον ἀπέχει σταδίους πέντέ που καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμείου τοῦ Διὸς ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος. Ibid.

(3) Ἐνταῦθά ἐστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος. Ibid.

(4) Τὴν δὲ πηγὴν Ἀδράστειαν ὀνομάζουσιν, εἴτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ, εἴτε καὶ ἀνευρόντος αὐτὴν Ἀδράστου. Ibid.

(5) Victors at the *Nemeæan Games*, according to Plutarch (*in Timoleon.*) were crowned with *parsley* said to have sprung out of the blood of *Archemorus*. "This is the very herb," says Plutarch, "wherewith we adorn the sepulchres of the dead." The *Nemeæan* were *funereal games;* the presidents were clothed in *black* garments.

CHAP. XVII.

the blood of *Archemorus*, in consequence of whose death the spring is said to have received its name[1]. We then came to THE RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE NEMEÆAN JUPITER, which becomes a very conspicuous object as the plain opens. Three beautiful columns of the Doric order, without bases, two supporting an entablature, and a third at a small distance sustaining its capital only, are all that remain of this once magnificent edifice; but they stand in the midst of huge blocks of marble, lying in all positions; the fragments of other columns, and the sumptuous materials of the building, detached from its walls and foundations. The mountain *Tretus* makes a grand figure, as seen from this temple towards the south-east. A poor village, consisting of three or four huts, somewhat farther in the plain to the north of this mountain, and north-east of the temple, now occupies the situation of the antient village of *Nemea*. It bears the name of *Colonna*; probably bestowed upon it in consequence of these Ruins. One of its inhabitants, coming from those huts, joined our company at the Temple. He told us that there were formerly *ninety* columns all standing at this place; and the other inhabitants of his little village persisted in the same story. The columns now standing, as well as the broken shafts of

Temple of the Nemeæan Jupiter.

(1) "Unà tamen tacitas, sed, jussu numinis, undas
Hæc quoque secreta nutrit *Langia* sub umbra,
Nondum illi raptus dederat lacrymabile nomen
Archemorus, nec fama Deæ."——
Statius Thebaid. lib. iv.

Prosser del.

Etched by Eliz.th Byrne.

of many other lying near to them, are grooved, and they measure four feet ten inches in diameter. The stones of the foundation of the Temple are of very great size. We observed the wild pear-tree, mentioned by Chandler[2] so many years before, still growing among the stones on one side of the Ruin. He pitched his tent within the cell of the Temple, "upon its clear and level area." Not having such comfortable means of accommodation for the night, we accompanied the peasant, who had joined us, to the village, where the *Tchohodar* had already arrived and engaged one of the huts for our reception. The poor Albanians, to whom this little habitation belonged, had swept the earth floor and kindled a fire upon it; the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof: one end of the hut being occupied by their cattle and poultry, and the other by the family and their guests. Having killed and boiled a large fowl, we made broth for all the party, sitting in a circle round the fire. Afterwards, imitating the example offered to us by our host and his family, we placed our feet towards the embers, and stretched ourselves upon the floor of the cottage until the morning. We found during the night, that the women, instead of sleeping, were entirely engaged in tending the fire; bringing fresh fuel when it was wanted, and spreading out the embers so as to warm the feet of all present, who were disposed around the hearth like diverging radii from this common focus. As soon as the men had taken a short nap, they

Albanians.

sate

(2) See Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 232. *Oxf.* 1776.

CHAP. XVII.

sate up, and began talking. The conversation turned upon the oppressions of their Turkish masters. The owner of the hut told us that each male is compelled to pay a tax of seventy piastres; that, for himself, having three sons, they demanded of him an annual payment of two hundred and eighty piastres, besides other contributions; that he toiled incessantly with his children to gain enough to satisfy their demands, but found himself unable, after all his endeavours. Having said this, the poor man shed tears; asking us if the time would ever arrive when Greece might be delivered from the Mahometan tyranny: and adding, "If we had but a leader, we should flock together by thousands, and soon put an end to Turkish dominion." Towards morning, the braying of their donkies set them all in motion. Having asked the cause of the stir, they told us that the day was going to break; and they informed us that the braying of an ass was considered by them a better indication of the approaching dawn than the crowing of a cock. In the present instance they were certainly not deceived, for we had no sooner boiled our coffee than day-light appeared.

We then returned to the Ruins. Near to the remains of the Temple, and upon the south side of it, we saw a small chapel, containing some Doric fragments, standing upon an antient barrow; perhaps the *Monument* of LYCURGUS father of *Opheltes*; for this is mentioned by *Pausanias* as a *mound of earth*[1]. Scarcely a vestige of the grove

Monument of *Lycurgus*.

(1) Ἔστι δὲ χῶμα γῆς Λυκούργου μνῆμα τοῦ Ὀφέλτου πατρός. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 15. p. 144. ed. *Kuhnii*.

grove remains where the triennial games were celebrated; unless a solitary tree, here and there, may be considered as reliques[2]. The plain all around the Temple exhibits an open surface of agricultural soil. We could discover no trace either of *a Stadium* or of *a Theatre*[3]; both of which are found in every other part of Greece where solemn games were celebrated. When every other monument by which *Nemea* was adorned shall have disappeared, this tomb, with that of *Opheltes*, and the *fountain of Archemorus* upon the slope of the neighbouring hill, will be the only indications of the *sacred grove*. The three remaining columns of the *Temple of Jupiter* are not likely to continue long in their present situation: some diplomatic *virtuoso*, or pillaging *Pasha*, will bear away these marble reliques; and then, notwithstanding the boast of *Statius*[4], the very site of the consecrated games, whether instituted to commemorate *Hypsipyle's loss*, or

(2) Pausanias says that the temple was surrounded by a grove of cypresses. Κυπαρίσσων τε ἄλσος ἐστὶν περὶ τὸν ναόν. (*Vid. Pausan. in Cor.* c. 15. p. 144.) Not a cypress-tree is now to be seen anywhere near the Ruins.

(3) It does not necessarily follow, that if this be the Temple of *Nemeæan Jove*, the Games were celebrated close to the spot where the Temple stands. Mr. Gell found the remains of *a Theatre* in his journey from *Corinth* to *Nemea*; which although he does not seem to be aware of, the circumstance may be that of the *Nemeæan Games*. He is just entering the *Nemeæan Plain* or valley; and he says, "Here joins the road leading from *Mycenæ* to *Nemea*, which turning to the right, falls into the valley of *Nemea*, between the site of *a Theatre* on the right, and *a fount* on the left, now dry." *See Gell's Itin. of Greece, p.* 22. *Lond.* 1801.

(4) —— "manet ingens gloria Nympham,
Cum tristem *Hypsipylem* ducibus sudatus *Achæis*
Ludus, et atra sacrum recolit Triëteris *Ophelten*."
Statius Thebaid. lib. iv.

CHAP. XVII.

or the *first labour of Hercules*[1], may become a theme of dispute. Perhaps, indeed, the Temple is not of the high antiquity that has been assigned to it. The columns are said not to bear the due proportion which is usually observed in the early examples of Doric architecture[2]. This edifice may have been erected by *Adrian*, when that emperor restored to the *Nemeæan* and to the *Isthmian* Games their original splendor.

Early this morning, Wednesday, November the eleventh, we began our journey towards SICYON, now called *Basilico*; following the course of the *Nemeæan rivulet*. This stream is alluded to by *Statius*, with reference to the fountain before mentioned[3]. It flows in a deep ravine after leaving the plain, and then passes between the mountains which separate the *Nemeæan Plain* from that of *Sicyon*. On either side of the rivulet the rocks appeared to consist of a whitish chalky limestone. As we rode along the left bank of the rivulet, we saw, upon our right, a table mountain, believed by *Chandler*[4] to be the *Apesas* of *Pausanias*, where *Perseus* was said to have sacrificed to *Jupiter*. Its flat top, he says, is visible in the Gulph of Corinth. We passed some ruined Chapels upon

Nemeæan River.

Apesas.

(1) According to Ælian, lib. iv. c. 5. Hercules transferred to *Cleonæ* the honours bestowed upon him by the *Nemeans*, for subduing the lion.

(2) Mr. Gell makes the diameters of the columns of the peristyle equal five feet two inches and a half, and observes that the columns are higher in proportion to their diameters than is usual in the Doric Order. *See Itin. of Greece, p.* 23. *Lond.* 1801.

(3) ——— "tamen avia servat
Et nemus, et fluvium." *Stat. Theb. lib.* iv.

(4) Trav. in Greece, p. 233. *Oxf.* 1776.

upon our left. Almost every building of this kind in Greece has been erected upon the ruins of some Pagan sanctuary; for which reason they are always worthy of a particular examination. After riding about two hours along the *Nemeæan rivulet*, we suddenly quitted its course upon our *right*, and beheld *Sicyon*, occupying an elevated situation upon some whitish cliffs. Here we noticed a Tomb and Ruins upon our *right* hand, and immediately descended into the great fertile plain which extends along the *Sinus Corinthiacus*, between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*. Soon after entering into this plain, we observed, upon our *right* hand, a Chapel, containing Ionic capitals and other marble fragments. Hence we continued along the level surface of the finest piece of land in all Greece, cultivated like a garden; and after crossing a river, observed in several places upon our *left* the ruins of antient buildings. We then came to the site of the city of SICYON.

Sicyonian Plain.

Sicyon.

So little is known concerning this antient seat of Grecian power, that it is not possible to ascertain in what period it dwindled from its high pre-eminence, to become, what it now is, one of the most wretched villages of the *Peloponnesus*. The remains of its former magnificence are still considerable; and in some instances they exist in such a state of preservation, that it is evident the buildings of the city either survived the earthquakes said to have overwhelmed them, or they must have been constructed in some later period. In this number is the *Theatre*; by much the finest and the most perfect structure of the kind in all Greece. The different parts of the city, whereof traces

Theatre.

are

CHAP. XVII.

are yet visible, serving as *land-marks* in pursuing the observations of Pausanias, may be comprehended under the following heads:

1. A Fountain.
2. The Acropolis.
3. Foundations of Temples and other buildings; some of these constructed in a style as massive as the *Cyclopéan.*
4. Very grand *Walls,* although built of brick tiles.
5. Remains of a *Palace,* with many chambers.
6. The Theatre.
7. The Stadium.
8. Remains of *a Temple near to the Theatre.*
9. Antient *Caves.*
10. Antient *Paved Way.*
11. Ruins in the plain below Sicyon, towards the sea.

Of some of these, as it may be expected, little can be said, excepting the mere enumeration of the names they bear in this list; but of others, a more particular description may be given. The whole city occupied an elevated situation; but as it did not possess one of those precipitous rocks for its Citadel which sustained the bulwarks of Athens, Argos, Corinth, and many other Grecian states, little of its *Acropolis* can now be discerned, saving only the vestiges of its walls. It is situated above a place now called *Palæo-Castro*; and it occupies that part of the Ruins of *Sicyon* which lies upon the south-east side, towards Corinth. Before we enter upon any further detail of the Ruins here, it may be proper, for the advantage of other travellers

as

CHAP. XVII.

Prospect from the *Coilon*.

as well as for perspicuity of description, to state the bearings of some principal objects.

From the village of *Basilico*, the THEATRE bears . . W. N. W.
The ACRO-CORINTHUS, or *Citadel of Corinth* . . . S. E. and by S.[1]
The mountain PARNASSUS, as seen in *Phocis* . . . N.
THEBES in *Bœotia* . . . . . E. N. E.

Whether this last object be visible or not is very doubtful; but it was a place called *Thiva* by the inhabitants, lying in the direction of *Thebes*.

Hence it will be evident that the Ruins of *Sicyon* occupy a prominent part of the *Sicyonian territory*, extending towards the N. N. E. into the *Corinthian Gulph*; and that they lie along a ridge above the *Plain of Sicyon*, in a direction from W. N. W. to E. S. E. having *Parnassus* due north. The ACROPOLIS, upon the S. E. side of the city, may be recognised, both in the nature of its walls, which are very antient, and in its more elevated situation. Hereabouts we observed the fragments of architectural ornaments, and some broken columns of the Ionic order. Near to the *Acropolis* may also be seen the CAVES before mentioned, as in the vicinity of *Athens*: in all probability they were rather the sepulchres[2] than the habitations

(1) It was highly satisfactory to the author to find his observations by the compass accidentally confirmed by such respectable authority as that of Sir George Wheler, who, observing the bearing of BASILICO from the ACRO-CORINTHUS (*See Journ. into Greece, p.* 442. *Lond.* 1682) exactly in the opposite direction, states it to be *North-west and by North.*

(2) The *Sepulchres* of the *Sicyonians* in the second century consisted of a *heap of earth*, above which stood a *stélé*, resting upon *a stone base*, and surmounted by a species of ornament resembling that part of the roof of a temple which was called "THE EAGLE." (*Vid. Paus. Cor. c.* 7. *p.* 126. *ed. Kuhn.*) The history of the *Eagle* upon Grecian temples

CHAP. XVII.

habitations of the earliest inhabitants, although this cannot now be ascertained: they are all lined with stucco: and *Pausanias* mentions certain *secret recesses*[1] belonging to the *Sicyonians*, in which particular *images* were kept for their annual processions to the *Temple of Bacchus* beyond the *Theatre*. There is still an antient paved road that conducted to the Citadel by a narrow entrance between rocks, so contrived as to make all who approached the gate pass through a defile that might be easily guarded. Within the *Acropolis* are the vestiges of buildings, perhaps the *Hiera* of FORTUNA ACRÆA, and of the DIOSCURI[2]; and below it is *a fountain*, seeming to correspond with that of STAZUSA, mentioned by *Pausanias* as near to *the gate*[3]. The remains of a *temple*, built in a very massive style of structure, occurs on the western side of the village of *Basilico*; and in passing the *fosse* of the *Citadel* to go towards the *Theatre*, which is *beyond* the *Acropolis*[4], a *subterraneous* passage may be observed, exactly above which the *Temple* seems

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temples is briefly this. The souls of kings, over whose sepulchres temples were originally erected, were believed (ὀχεῖσθαι) to be carried to heaven upon *eagles'* wings. At the funeral it was customary to let an *eagle* fly over the grave. In allusion to this, *Lycophron* calls Achilles ἀετὸν, *an eagle*, because he carried about Hector's body. *An eagle*, therefore, with expanded wings, was formerly represented upon the *tympanum* of *the pediment* in all *temples*; and ultimately, this part of the edifice itself received the appellation of ΑΕΤΟΣ, *the Eagle*.

(1) Ἄλλα δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΩΙ Σικυωνίοις ἐστί. Pausan. Cor. 7. c. 7. p. 127. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκούρων. Pausan. ibid.

(3) Πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ, πηγή ἐστι, κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

(4) Pausanias says, ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ibid.

seems to have stood; as if by means of this secret duct persons belonging to the sanctuary might have had *ingress* and *egress* to and from the Temple, without passing the gate of the Citadel. This was perhaps the identical place called *Cosmeterium* by *Pausanias*[5], whence the *mystic images* were annually brought forth in the solemn procession to the *Temple of Bacchus*, situated near the *Theatre* and the *Stadium*. Some of the remains enumerated in the *list* may be those of Venetian edifices; as, for example, the ruin of *the Palace*: the palaces of antient *Sicyon* being highly splendid, and all built of marble. Indeed an expression used by *Pausanias* seems to imply that the *Acropolis*, as it existed in his time[6], was not the most antient Citadel. The sea is at the distance of about a league from *Basilico*; but the commanding eminence upon which the Ruins are situated affords a magnificent view of the *Corinthian Gulph* and of all the opposite coast of *Phocis*. There is, however, no part of the antient city where this prospect is more striking than from the THEATRE. This structure is almost in its entire state; and although the notes we made upon the spot do not enable us to afford a description of its form and dimensions equally copious with that already given of the famous *Theatre of Polycletus* in *Epidauria*, yet this of *Sicyon* may be considered as surpassing every other in

(5) Ταῦτα μιᾷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσου ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου ΚΟΣΜΗΤΗΡΙΟΥ κομίζουσι. Paus. Cor. c. 7. p. 127: ed. *Kuhnii*.

(6) Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἀκροπόλει, κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

CHAP. XVII.

in Greece, in the harmony of its proportions, the costliness of the workmanship, the grandeur of the *Coilon*, and the stupendous nature of the prospect presented to all those who were seated upon its benches. If it were cleared of the rubbish about it, and laid open to view, it would afford an astonishing idea of the magnificence of a city whose luxuries were so great that its inhabitants ranked among the most voluptuous and effeminate people of all Greece. The stone-work is entirely of that massive kind which denotes a very high degree of antiquity. Part of the *Scene* remains, together with the whole of the seats, although some of the latter now lie concealed by the soil. But the most remarkable parts of the structure are two vaulted passages as entrances; there being one on either side, at the extremities of the *Coilon*, close to the *Scene*, and about half way up; leading into what we should call the side-boxes of a modern theatre. Immediately in front, the eye roams over all the Gulph of Corinth, commanding islands, promontories, and distant summits towering above the clouds. To a person seated in the middle of the *Cavea*, a lofty mountain with bold sweeping sides occupies the front of the view beyond the Gulph, being placed exactly in the centre, the sea intervening between its base and the Sicyonian coast; and this mountain marks the part of *Bœotia* now pointed out by the natives of *Basilico* as (*Thiva*) Thebes; but to a person who is placed upon the seats which are upon the right hand of those in front, PARNASSUS, here called *Lakŭra* from its antient name *Lycorea*, most nobly displays itself: this mountain is only thus visible in very clear weather.

During

During the short time we remained in the *Theatre;* CHAP. XVII. although a conspicuous object when we first entered, it was afterwards covered by vast clouds, which rolled majestically over its summit, and finally concealed it from our view.

The STADIUM is on the right hand of a person facing the *Theatre*; and it is undoubtedly the oldest work remaining of all that belonged to the antient city. The walls exactly resemble those of *Mycenæ* and *Tiryns:* we may therefore class it among the examples of *Cyclopéan* masonry. It is in other respects the most remarkable structure of the kind existing; combining at once a *natural* and an *artificial* character. The persons by whom it was formed, finding that the mountain whereon the *Coilon* of the *Theatre* has been constructed would not allow a sufficient space for another oblong *Cavea* of the length requisite to complete a *Stadium,* built up an artificial rampart, reaching out into the plain from the mountain towards the sea: so that this front-work resembles half a *Stadium* thrust into the semi-circular cavity of a *Theatre*; the entrances to the area, included between both, being formed with great taste and effect at the two sides or extremities of the semicircle. The antient masonry appears in the front-work so placed. The length of the whole area equals two hundred and sixty-seven paces; the width of the advanced bastion thirty-six paces; and its height twenty-two feet six inches. Exactly in the front of this projecting rampart, belonging to the outer extremity of the *Stadium,* but at a short distance below it, in the plain, are also the remains of a *Temple*; completing the plan of this part of the antient city; which

Stadium.

Temple of Bacchus.

was

CHAP. XVII.

'was here terminated on its western side by three magnificent structures, a *Theatre*, a *Stadium*, and a *Temple;* as it was bounded towards its eastern extremity by its *Acropolis*. We can be at no loss for the name of this *Temple*, although nothing but the ground-plot of it now remain: it is distinctly stated by *Pausanias* to have been the *Temple of Bacchus*, which occurred beyond the *Theatre* to a person coming from the Citadel[1]; and to this *Temple* were made those annual processions before alluded to, which took place at night and by the light of torches, when the *Sicyonians* brought hither the *mystic images*, called *Baccheus* and *Lysius*, chanting their antient hymns[2]. All around the *Theatre* and *Stadium*, besides the traces of this *Temple*, other ruins may be noticed, but less distinct as to their form. In the plain towards the sea are many more, perhaps extending to the *Sicyonian haven*, which we did not visit. The *Theatre* itself was of a much more extensive nature than other edifices of the same kind commonly are: its sides and front projected far into the plain. We were not successful in our search for inscriptions; but the peasants sold to us many *medals* and small *terra-cotta* vessels, which they said they had found in *caves* near the spot. Among the latter we collected *lachrymatories* of more antient form and materials than any thing we had ever before observed of the same kind. These vessels, as it is well known, were often made of *glass*, and

Other Antiquities.

(1) Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θέατρον, Διονύσου ναός ἐστι. Paus. Cor. c. 7. p. 127. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ δαίδων τε ἠμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων. ἡγεῖται μὲν οὖν ὃν ΒΑΚΧΕΙΟΝ ὀνομάζουσιν, κ.τ.λ. ἕπεται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος ΛΥΣΙΟΣ. Ibid.

and more antiently of *earthen-ware*; being diminutive as to their size, and of delicate workmanship: but the *lachrymatory phials*, in which the *Sicyonians* treasured up their tears, deserve rather the name of *bottles:* they are nine inches long, two inches in diameter, and contain as much fluid as would fill a phial of three ounces; consisting of the coarsest materials, a heavy blue clay or marl. But we also collected little circular cups like small salt-cellars, two inches in diameter, and one inch in height, (which are said to be found in great abundance at *Sicyon,*) of a much more elegant manufacture, although perhaps nearly as antient. When we first saw them, we believed that they had been made of pale unbaked clay, dried only in the sun; but upon a nearer examination we perceived that they had once been covered with a red varnish, and that this covering had actually decomposed, and almost disappeared. Hence some inference may be deduced as to their immense antiquity; instances having never occurred before of the spontaneous decomposition of the varnish upon antient *terra-cotta* vessels preserving their entire forms. It is known to every person who has attended to the subject, that the most powerful acids produce no effect whatsoever upon their surfaces, and that some of the oldest *terra-cottas* yet discovered in Greece are remarkable for the high degree of lustre exhibited by the *black* varnish with which they are invested. The case may perhaps be different with the *red* varnish; and possibly the examples of pottery found in Grecian sepulchres, and believed to have been made of unbaked clay, with surfaces which moulder beneath the fingers

CHAP. XVII.

Medals.

fingers and have a pale earthy aspect, may owe this appearance entirely to the degree of decomposition they have sustained. The medals which we collected here consisted principally of the bronze coinage of *Sicyon*; having on one side *a Dove* represented flying, and upon the other the letters Σ, ΣΙ, or ΣΙΚ. Some were also brought to us of the Roman Emperors: and, among these, one with the head of *Severus*; and upon the obverse side, *a boy upon a dolphin*, with *a tree*. The whole illustration of this subject is in *Pausanias:* it relates to a fable from which the Isthmian Games were said to have derived their origin. The tree is that Pine which was shewn near to the town of *Cromion*, as a memorial of one of the exploits of *Theseus*. Near to it stood an altar of *Melicerta*, who was brought thither by *a dolphin*, and afterwards buried upon the spot by *Sisyphus;* in honour of whom the Isthmian Games were said to have been instituted[1]. It is always easy to procure bronze medals in Greece; but the Albanian peasants do not readily part with those which are of silver; because they decorate the head-dresses of their women with these pieces. They may however be tempted by newly coined *parāhs*, which answer for the same purpose; and we had accordingly provided ourselves with a small cargo, fresh from the mint. In exchange for this base but shining coin, we obtained a few silver medals of *Sicyon*, and one of uncommon rarity of *Pylus* in Elis. A single and imperfect impression of this last coin exists in the

(1) Vid. Pausan. Cor. c. 1. p. 111. ed. *Kuhnii*.

the Collection of Paris. That which we obtained exhibited in front *a bull standing upon a dolphin,* with the letters ΛΥ; and for the obverse side an indented square. Any silver medal in their possession might be bought of these poor peasants for a few new *parāhs,* not worth *a penny*; but if paid in old coin, they would not part with one for the same number of *piastres*. *Ibrahim,* it is true, had a summary way of settling these matters; and by demanding every thing *à coup de bâton,* shortened all treaties, whether for horses, food, lodging, or antiquities, by the speedy dispersion of all whom he approached. For this reason, whenever we wished to deal with the natives, we took especial care to send him out of the way. After our return to the village of *Basilico,* we dismissed him with the baggage; and the people finding themselves to be secure from Turkish chastisement, came round us with their wives and children, bringing all the antiquities they could collect.

We then set out for *Corinth*; and as we descended from the *Acropolis,* we plainly perceived the situation of the gate to have been in the *fosse,* above where the *fountain* now is. Here we noticed the remains of the old paved way; and saw upon our right, close to the road, a place where the rock had been evidently hewn into a square pedestal, as for the base of some colossal statue, or public monument. Thence we continued our route across the wide and beautiful plain which extends between *Sicyon* and *Corinth,* bounded by the sea towards the north; a journey of three hours and a half, over the finest corn land in Greece, and through olive-plantations producing the sweetest oil in the world. This

Paved Way.

CHAP. XVII.

Fertility of the land.

district has been justly extolled by antient[1] and by modern authors[2]. The well-known answer of an antient Oracle to a person who inquired the way to become wealthy, will prove how famous the soil has ever been for its fertility: he was told to "get possession of all the land between Corinth and Sicyon." Indeed, a knowledge of the country is all that is necessary to explain the early importance of the cities for which it was renowned. Both *Sicyon* and *Corinth* owed their origin to this natural garden; and such is even now its value under all the disadvantageous circumstances of Turkish government and neglected cultivation, that the failure of its annual produce would cause a famine to be felt over all the surrounding districts[3].

Corinth.

Within a mile of CORINTH we passed *a Fountain* in a cavern upon our right; formed by a dropping rock consisting of a soft sand-stone. Farther up the hill, and upon the same side of the road, as we entered the straggling town now occupying the site of the antient city, we observed some Ruins, and a quantity of broken pottery scattered upon the soil. The old city occupied an elevated level above the rich plain we had now passed; and upon the edge of this natural terrace, where it begins to fall towards the corn land, we found the fluted shaft of a Doric pillar of limestone, equal

(1) See the authors cited by Barthelemy; Athen. lib. v. cap. 19. p. 219. Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 31. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 969.

(2) Wheler's Journey into Greece, Book VI. p. 443. *Lond.* 1682.

(3) "And its plenty failing, brings most certainly a famine upon their neighbours round about them." *Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 443. Lond. 1682.

equal in its dimensions to any of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens: it was six feet and one inch in diameter. Close to this we observed the ground-plot of a building, once strongly fortified; that is to say, a square platform fronting the plain and the sea: on this side of it is a precipice, and its three other sides were surrounded by a fosse. The area measures sixty-six paces by fifty-three; its major diameter being parallel to the sea shore. Upon the opposite side, within the fosse, are also the remains of other foundations; possibly of a bridge or causeway, leading into the area on that side. The remarkable *fountain* before mentioned does not here guide us, amidst the mazy description of *Pausanias*, to the original name of this building: *Corinth* was full of fountains; there was no city in Greece better supplied with water[4]; many of those fountains were supplied by means of aqueducts[5]: but if we find a passage in *Pausanias* that seems to allude to the remarkable circumstance of *a dropping spring*, within *a cavern*, we may perhaps succeed in establishing a point of observation for ascertaining other objects in its neighbourhood. An allusion of this nature occurs where he mentions *the water of the Nymph Pirene*, who poured forth such abundance of *tears* for the loss of her

Fountain of the Nymph *Pirene*.

(4) Κρῆναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποίηνται πᾶσαν, ἅτε ἀφθόνου ῥέοντός σφισιν ὕδατος. Paus. Cor. c. 3. p. 118. ed *Kuhn*. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν φρεάτων εὐπορία κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 550. ed. *Oxon*.

(5) The Emperor *Adrian* brought water to *Corinth* from *Stymphalus*, written *Stemphylus* in the edition of Pausanias above cited. *Vid. Paus. Cor. ut supra.*

CHAP. XVII.

her son *Cenchrias*, when slain by *Diana*, that she was metamorphosed into a fountain[1]. Even the circumstance of the cellular cavity whence the water flows appears also to have been noticed by *Pausanias*; in whose time it was beautified with *white marble*[2]. This *weeping* spring may therefore be considered the same with that denominated *by him* THE FOUNTAIN OF THE NYMPH PIRENE; as it occurs in the road leading from *Corinth* to *Lechæum* on the *Sicyonian* side of the Isthmus, precisely where that fountain was situated. This point being established, we might expect to make the *fountain* a land-mark for ascertaining the relative position of other objects. But *Strabo* has given the same name to another spring at the base of the *Acrocorinthus*; and *Pausanias* allows that this was not the only fountain called *Pirene*[3]. The spacious area belonging to the fortress where the Doric pillar lies, relates to a structure so long rased, that it may have been overlooked by *Pausanias*, as it was

(1) Μετὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἴσοδός ἐστι τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἡ Πειρήνη γένοιτο ὑπὸ δακρύων ἐξ ἀνθρώπου πηγὴ, τὸν παῖδα ὀθνρομένη Κεγχρίαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀκούσης ἀποθανόντα. Paus. Cor. c. 3. p. 117. ed. *Kuhn.*

(2) Ibid. The water of this spring was said to be πιεῖν ἡδύ. Upon these words *Kuhnius* adds the following note: "*Unde ex hoc fonte aquam petebant in usus domesticos puellæ Corinthiorum, uti patet exemplo Laïdos adhuc puellæ* ὑδροφορούσης ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης; *lib.* xiii. *Athenæi. Idem hic lib.* ii. *de fontis hujus aquâ:* σταθμήσας τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Πειρήνης καλουμένης ὕδωρ, κουφότερον πάντων εὗρον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, *quum ad libram exegissem,* inquit, *aquam Pyrenes fontis Corinthii, levissimam eam omnium in totâ Græciâ deprehendi.*" Vid. Annot. Kuhnii in Paus. lib. ii. c. 3. p. 117. *Lips.* 1696.

(3) Vid. Paus. in Corinth. c. 5. p. 122. ed. *Kuhn.* Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 550. ed. *Oxon.*

was by modern travellers until our arrival: and if this be the case, it may be a relique of the *Sisyphéum*; a *mole*, or *bulwark*, not mentioned by that writer, but noticed by *Diodorus Siculus* and by *Strabo*. As *Chandler* has placed the *Sisyphéum* elsewhere, we shall presently have occasion to say something further concerning this structure. The *Corinthians* had also *a Hieron to all the Gods*[4], where there was *a statue of Neptune* with a *Dolphin spouting forth water*; but the water of the *Dolphin* was conveyed by means of *an aqueduct*, and was not *a natural spring*[5].

In going from the area of this building towards the magnificent remains of A TEMPLE now standing above the Bazar whence perhaps the *Doric pillar* already mentioned may have been removed, we found the ruins of antient buildings; particularly of one partly hewn in the rock opposite to the said *Temple*. The outside of this exhibits the marks of cramps for sustaining slabs of marble once used in covering the walls; a manner of building perhaps not

(4) Θεοῖς πᾶσιν Ἱερόν. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 2. p. 116. ed. *Kuhn*.

(5) The curious marble discovered by the *Earl of Aberdeen* at *Corinth*, and since brought to England, which was found covering the mouth of an antient well, may have been the identical *Hieron* here alluded to by *Pausanias*. The word Ἱερὸν, it is true, is translated *Templum* by *Amasæus*; but it does not appear probable that this could be the author's meaning; because he is actually speaking of a Temple (Τύχης ναὸς), by which he says the *Hieron* stood. Παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸ θεοῖς πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἱερόν. It is therefore at least probable that all he intends, in this passage, by the word *Hieron* is the representation of the *Heathen Deities* upon the marble bas-relief that covered the mouth of a well by which the *Temple of Fortune* stood. If all the HIERA of *Pausanias* were to be translated *Temples*, there would have been more temples in Greece than in the whole world besides.

CHAP. XVII.

not of earlier date than the time of the Romans. Pliny mentions the time when this kind of ornament began to be introduced at Rome[1]. The Greeks sometimes decorated *marble* edifices after the same manner, but with plates of *metal*[2]. In this building were several chambers all hewn in the rock, and one of them has still an oblong window remaining. We then visited the *Temple*. It has been described by all travellers for near a century and a half. In *Wheler's* time it had *eleven* Doric pillars standing[3]; the same number remained when *Chandler* visited the place[4]. We found only *seven* remaining upright: but the *fluted shaft* before mentioned may originally have belonged to this building, the stone being alike in both; that is to say, common limestone, not marble; and the dimensions are perhaps exactly the same in both instances, if each column could be measured at its base. When *Wheler* was here, the pillars were more exposed towards their bases; and being there measured, he found them to equal eighteen feet in circumference, allowing a diameter of six feet for the lower part of the shaft of each pillar. Only *five* columns of the *seven* now support an entablature. We measured the

(1) "Primùm Romæ parietes crustâ marmoris operuisse totius domûs suæ in Cœlio monte Cornelius Nepos tradidit Mamurram Formiis natum, equitem Romanum, præfectum fabrorum C. Cæsaris in Galliâ." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 6. *tom.* III. *p.* 477. L. Bat. 1635.

(2) See the description given of the *Gymnasium* at *Alexandria Troas*, in the former Section.

(3) See Wheler's Journ. into Greece, p. 440. *Lond.* 1682.

(4) Trav. in Greece, p. 239. *Oxf.* 1776.

the circumference of these, (as we conceived, about three feet from their bases,) and found it to equal seventeen feet two inches. Each column consists of one entire piece of stone; but their height, instead of being equal to *six* diameters, the true proportion of the Doric shaft according to Pliny, does not amount to *four*. The destruction that has taken place, of *four* columns out of the *eleven* seen by *Wheler* and *Chandler*, had been accomplished by the Governor, who used them in building a house; first blasting them into fragments with gunpowder. *Chandler* suspected this temple to have been the *Sisyphéum* mentioned by *Strabo*[5], but without assigning any reason for this conjecture. Nothing can be easier than an arbitrary disposal of names among the scanty reliques of a city once so richly adorned; nor can any thing be more difficult than to prove that such names have been properly bestowed. The *Sisyphéum* was a building of such uncertain form, that *Strabo*, eighteen centuries ago, could not positively pronounce whether it had been a *temple* or a *palace*[6]; whereas the first sight of this, even in its present dilapidated state, would have been sufficient to put that matter beyond dispute. The *Sisyphéum* was situated below the Fountain *Pirene*, and built (λευκῷ λίθῳ) with *white stone;* an expression generally used to signify *marble*, both by *Strabo* and by *Pausanias*. The present building does not

Sisyphéum.

(5) Ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ Πειρήνῃ τὸ Σισύφειόν ἐστιν, ἱερόν τινος, ἢ βασίλειον, λευκῷ λίθῳ πεποιημένον, (*sic leg. Casaub.*) διασῶζον ἐρείπια οὐκ ὀλίγα. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 550. ed. *Oxon.*

(6) Ibid.

CHAP. XVII.

not answer to this description. The *Sisyphéum* is not once mentioned by *Pausanias*; which could not have been the case, if its remains were of this magnitude. The only antient author by whom the *Sisyphéum* has been noticed, excepting by *Strabo*, is *Diodorus Siculus*; who describes it as a place strongly fortified, near to the Citadel[1]. As to the real history of this very antient *temple*, the style and the materials of its architecture have induced some to refer its origin to the earliest periods of the Dorian power in Peloponnesus. We confess we are not of this opinion: the disproportion of the length of the pillars to their diameters, is with us an argument, rather against, than for, their high antiquity. If we may credit the testimony afforded by so late a writer as *Martin Crusius*[2], founded probably upon tradition, this building was the *Temple of Juno*; and his statement agrees with *Pausanias*, who mentions a *Hieron* of *Buncæan Juno*[3], below the *Acrocorinthus*: but as it amounts almost to a certainty, that so considerable a structure must have been mentioned by the latter writer with a more distinct clue as to its situation, there seems to be no edifice noticed by him with which it more accurately corresponds, than with the TEMPLE OF OCTAVIA, sister of *Augustus*; unto whom the *Corinthians* were indebted for the restoration of their city: this *temple* occupied the same situation with respect

Temple of *Octavia*.

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. p. 480. ed. *Wesseling*.

(2) Mart. Crus. Turcogræcia.

(3) Ταύτη καὶ τὸ τῆς Βουναίας ἐστιν Ἥρας ἱερόν. Paus. Cor. c. 4. p. 121. ed. *Kuhn*.

Proaux delin. Etch.d by Eliz.th Byrne.

TEMPLE of JUNO at CORINTH.

respect to the AGORA[4] that the *present Ruin* does with regard to the *Bazar*; and it is well known, that however the prosperity of cities may rise or fall, the position of a public mart for buying and selling usually remains the same.

While we were occupied in examining this building, and in collecting the different fragments of antient pottery scattered among the Ruins, the Governor sent to desire that we would visit him. We found him sitting in a mean little open apartment, attended by one of those French agents, who, under the name of apothecaries, carried on, at this time, a very regular system of *espionnage* throughout the Turkish empire; and especially in Greece. This gentleman offered to be our interpreter: we told him that we had with us a person who always acted in that capacity; but as the Governor seemed to prefer the Frenchman, we acquiesced; and, after the usual ceremony of pipes and coffee, a parley began. The first questions put to us related to our travels; accompanied by many shrugs and shrewd sarcasms as to the vagrant life led by *Djowrs* in general. All this was interpreted to us by the Frenchman, interlarded with every scurrilous epithet he could pour forth against the old Turk, but bowing his head all the while with great seeming gravity and decorum, as if he were bestowing upon him the most honourable titles. The Governor was evidently out of temper; and presently the cause was manifest. "Your *Tchohodar* has been here," said

Visit to the Governor.

(4) Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἈΓΟΡΑΝ ἔστιν ΟΚΤΑΒΙΑΣ ΝΑΟΣ, κ. τ. λ. Paus. Cor. c. 3. p. 116. ed. *Kuhnii*.

CHAP. XVII.

said he, "and tells me you intend to take up your abode in this place, that you may repose and take your *caif*[1]; but you have brought me no present." We said that we neither gave nor received mere gifts of ceremony. "Then who are ye?" added he somewhat sharply. "English (*Effendies*) Gentlemen," was the answer. "*Effendies* truly! and is it like an *Effendi* to be seen picking up pieces of *broken pots*, and groping among heaps of rubbish?" There was so much apparent reason in this remark, and it was so utterly impossible to explain to a Mahometan the real nature or object of such researches, that we agreed with the Frenchman it was best to let him have his opinion, and, passing quietly for paupers beneath his notice, make our obeisance and retire. This was the first instance, since we quitted the Turkish frigate, in which our *firmân*, and the letter from the *Capudan Pasha*, had failed in procuring for us a favourable reception; and we began to fear that among the Turks, especially in the distant provinces, our credentials would have little weight, unaccompanied by bribes. *Ibrahim*, however, maintained that it was all owing to his not being present upon the occasion; and desired us in future to make no visits unaccompanied by him. A few ceremonial expressions, and a little etiquette, were alone wanting, he said; and perhaps he was right.

There is a considerable Ruin consisting entirely of brick-work, which may have been a part of the *Gymnasium*.

We

(1) كفي (*Caify* or *Kafy*) is *aliment* or *nourishment* in Arab. Dict.; but in Turkey the word *Caif* is often used to denote *entertainment*, or *comfort*.

CHAP. XVII.

We did not succeed in finding the *Theatre*, nor any remains of a *Stadium*; but close to the *Bazar* we saw part of a very large structure, built entirely of tiles, or thin bricks. The people of the place remembered this more perfect; and they described it as a building full of seats, ranged one above the other. Possibly therefore it may have been the *Odéum*[2]; unless indeed it were an *Amphitheatre*, or a *Theatre* raised entirely from the ground, like the *Coliséum* at Rome; without being adapted to any natural slope. When we reached the house where we were to pass the night, the author was again attacked with a violent paroxysm of fever, and remained until the morning stretched upon the floor in great agony. The air of Corinth is so bad, that its inhabitants abandon the place during the summer months. They are subject to the *malaria* fever, and pretend to remove it by all those superstitious practices which are common in every country where medicine is little known. We procured here some *terra-cottas* of very indifferent workmanship, and much inferior to those found near *Argos*; also a few medals and gems. There were no Inscriptions; nor was there to be seen a single fragment of antient sculpture. Such is now the condition of this celebrated seat of antient art—this renowned city, once so vain of its high reputation, and of the rank it held among the Pagan States!

Odéum.

Climate of Corinth.

We resolved to devote as much of our time as possible to the examination of the *Isthmus*; for although but a small

(2) Vid. Pausan. Corinth. c. 3. p. 118. ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVII.

small district, it had been hitherto so imperfectly surveyed by modern travellers, that the site of the *Isthmian Games* had never been accurately ascertained; and Chandler, and his successors, had affirmed that "neither the Theatre nor the Stadium were visible.'" The mischief arising from such remarks is this; that persons who come afterwards, being thereby persuaded that all due diligence has been used in a research which has proved fruitless, willingly avoid the trouble of making any further inquiry. We shall presently show, not only that remains of the *Stadium*, of the *Temple*, and of the *Theatre*, do yet exist, but that very considerable traces of the *Isthmian Town* itself may be discerned; plainly denoting the spot once consecrated to the *Isthmian solemnities*, which continued to be celebrated long after the destruction of the city of Corinth[2].

(1) See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 243. *Oxf.* 1776, &c.

(2) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 2. p. 114. ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVIII.

PELOPONNESUS AND ATTICA.

Visit to the Isthmus—*Remains of the Antient Vallum*—*Canal of* Nero —Lechæum—*Cinerary receptacles in the rocks*—*Remarkable* Tumulus—Acrocorinthus—*Ascent to the Citadel*—Hiera—*Prospect from the Summit*—Hexamillia—*Discovery of the Town of* Isthmus—*Port* Schœnûs—*Temple of* Neptune—Theatre—Stadium—*Sepulchre of* Palæmon—*Trees from which Victors in the* Isthmia *were crowned*—*Extraordinary Mart for Grecian Medals*—*Dress of the Levant Consuls*—*Pandæan Horn*—Cenchreæ—*Bath of Helen*—Convangee—Cromyon—*Manners of the Peasants*—Scironian *Defile*—*Boundary between* Peloponnesus *and* Hellas—ΚΑΚΗ ΣΚΑΛΑ—*Entrance of* Hellas—*Causes of the celebrity of* Megara—*The modern town*—*Inscriptions*—*Journey to* Eleusis—Kerata—*Eleusinian Plain*—Acropolis of Eleusis—*Marble Torso*—*The* Flowery Well—*Aqueduct*—Temple of Ceres—*Statue of the Goddess*—*Superstition of the Inhabitants*—*Inscription*—*Sudden departure for* Athens—Via Sacra—*Vast extent of Antient* Thrace—

The

The Rhéti—*Eleusinian* Cephissus—*Salt Lake*—*Defile of* Daphne—*The Rock called* Pœcile—*Temple of* Venus—*Monastery of Daphne*—Hieron of Apollo—*View of Athens at sunset*—*Athenian* Cephissus—*Site of the* Academy—*Arrival at* Athens—*Negotiation with the* Waiwode—*Return to* Eleusis—*Method devised for removing the* Statue of Ceres—*Difficulties encountered*—*Success of the undertaking*—*Further account of* Eleusis—*Long Walls*—*Of the* Rharian *and* Thriasian *Plains*—*Temples of* Triptolemus, *of* Neptune, *and of* Diana Propylæa—*Temple of* Ceres—*Port of* Eleusis—*Antient* Theatre—*Acropolis*—*Return to* Athens.

CHAP. XVIII.

Visit to the Isthmus.

UPON the thirteenth of November we set out for the ISTHMUS. Before leaving the town, there is *a fountain* upon the *left* hand; and opposite to it there are the ruins of some antient building. Soon after, we observed another *fountain* upon our *right:* and here may be observed the old paved road leading from the natural platform whereon the city stood, into the plain of the Isthmus, which lies below this level. We descended towards it. The vestiges of antient buildings are visible the whole way down. We presently arrived at the neck of the *Isthmus*, and came to the remains of the antient wall erected by the Peloponnesians, from the Gulph of Corinth to the *Sinus Saronicus*. The ground here is formed in such a manner as to present a natural rampart;

Remains of the Antient Vallum.

but there are distinct traces of the old *Vallum*; and we saw the ruins of a fortress, or of some other building, at its termination upon the Corinthian side of the *Isthmus*. The remains of another wall may be also traced beyond this,

Canal of *Nero*.

towards the north-east. Here we found what interested us much more, the unfinished Canal begun by *Nero*, exactly as the workmen had left it, in a wide and deep channel,

extending

extending N. W. and S. E. and reaching from the sea to the N. E. of *Lechæum*, about half a mile across the Isthmus. It terminates on the S. E. side, where the solid rock opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the work; and here the undertaking was abandoned. Close to the spot where the Canal ceases, are two immense *tumuli*[1]; and these, in the general sacking of Corinthian sepulchres mentioned by Strabo[2], seem to have escaped violation; for their entrances, although visible, appear never to have been opened since they were closed, and are almost buried. Beneath these tombs there are sepulchres in the rocks; and one of the *tumuli* seems to be stationed over a sepulchral cave of this kind. The remarkable accuracy of *Pausanias* is perhaps in no instance more strikingly manifested than in the description he has given of the Canal; corresponding, even to the letter, with its present appearance[3]. We followed the Canal to the shore. Here we observed that the rocks had been hewn into steps, for landing goods from the port towards the Canal and other works. The remains of the *Temple of Neptune* are very considerable: it has not yet ceased to be a place of worship. We found here one of the idol pictures of the Greek Church, and some antient vases, although in a broken state, serving as vessels and offerings upon the present altar. There is a bath to which they still bring

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.

(2) Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. pp. 553, 554. ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

(3) Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν διορύσσειν ἤρξαντο, δῆλόν ἐστιν, ἐς δὲ τὸ πετρώδες οὐ προεχώρησαν ἀρχήν. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 1. p. 112. ed. *Kuhnii.* See also the Vignette to this Chapter.

CHAP. XVIII.

bring patients for relief from various disorders. A short time before our arrival, this antient bath was covered; but wanting materials for building a mill, the inhabitants of a neighbouring village blasted the rocks; and these falling into the bath, have almost filled it. The water of it is very clear and brilliant; its taste slightly brackish, but the saline flavour scarcely perceptible. It comes out of the rock from two holes into the bath, and thence falls into the sea. Great part of the ruined buildings and walls about the bath were carried off when the mill was built. At noon we made the following estimate, by means of our thermometer, of the temperature of the atmosphere; of the water of this warm chalybeate spring; and also of the water of the sea.

Atmosphere, in the shade . . . 68° of Fahrenheit.
Water of the bath, in the shade, 88°.
Water of the sea . . . . . 75°.

Cinerary receptacles in the rocks.

All around this place are sepulchral caves hewn in the rocks near the sea, resembling the burial-places in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; but the caves here are much smaller; and the recesses within them, instead of being intended as receptacles for bodies, were evidently niches for cinerary urns[1]; a mode of sepulture relating rather to the Romans than to the Greeks: whence it may be proved that these excavations cannot be more antient than the restoration of Corinth by Julius Cæsar, and in all probability they are of a much later age.

In

(1) There is an engraved representation of these Caves in Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, taken from the Travels of *M. de Monceaux*; but the niches are inaccurately delineated, and they are filled with imaginary urns.

In the second century the inhabitants of *Corinth* consisted entirely of the remains of that colony which had been sent thither by the Romans[2]. The original race, with all their customs and habits, had long been removed. In general we found three niches, placed in a row, in every cave; but in some instances the caves were double; and within each of the chambers there appeared a double row of recesses of different forms, probably adapted, in every instance, to the shape of the vessel intended to contain the ashes of a deceased person; many of them being little arched recesses, and others oblong rectangular cavities suited to the shape of those cinerary receptacles which have been occasionally found, made of marble or *terra-cotta*, modelled after the form of a Grecian sarcophagus, and of a diminutive size. Several of these caves remain yet unopened; and some are entirely concealed, the entrances being either buried beneath large stones, or covered by soil and vegetation.

We spent the rest of this day in the examination of the *Isthmus*, but observed nothing which could be considered as the slightest indication of the place where the Games were celebrated. Chandler had evidently laid down the spot from an erroneous conjecture[3], founded upon the observations of Wheler: and as he positively asserts[4] that neither

(2) Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Pausan. Corinthiaca, c. 1. p. 111. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(3) See the "*Chart of the Isthmus of Corinth*" facing p. 234 of Chandler's Trav. in Greece. *Oxf.* 1776.

(4) See Trav. in Greece, p. 243. *Oxf.* 1776.

CHAP. XVIII.

neither the *Theatre* nor the *Stadium* were visible, it is plain he never visited the part of the Isthmus to which Wheler has alluded[1]. We determined therefore to renew our search upon the morrow, and returned to Corinth to enjoy the prospect from the *Acrocorinthus* at the setting of the sun. From the place where the work of cutting the Canal was abandoned, going towards *Corinth*, the ground rises the whole way to the old *Vallum*; and there are tombs all up the slope, in the direction of the *Acrocorinthus*. Before arriving at the wall in this direction, there is a lofty and very entire *Tumulus*, which is covered with a whitish earth and with stones. This, owing to its magnitude and situation, it would be very desirable to open. According to Pausanias, the sepulchre of *Sisyphus* was in the Isthmus, although his tomb could not be pointed out[2]. We crossed the wall again, and observed in the more antient parts of it some stones of immense size; but where the masonry was more modern the parts were of less magnitude. We visited several antient stone quarries which were very large: all the hills to the left were covered with these quarries: they extend principally in a straight line, east and west.

Remarkable *Tumulus*.

Acrocorinthus.

The stupendous rock of the *Acrocorinthus*, from whatever part of the Isthmus it is viewed, appears equally conspicuous; opposing so bold a precipice, and such a commanding eminence high above every approach to the Peninsula,

(1) See Wheler's "*Journey into Greece*," Book vi. p. 437. *Lond.* 1682.

(2) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 2. p. 114. ed. *Kuhnii:* See the Vignette for the situation of this tomb.

Peninsula, that if properly fortified it would render all access to the Morea, by land, impracticable; and as a fortress, it might be rendered not less secure than that of Gibraltar. It was therefore very aptly named by an antient oracle—and in times when the art of war was incapable of giving to it the importance it might now possess—one of the *horns* which a conqueror ought to lay hold on, in order to secure that valuable *heifer* the Peloponnesus.

When we returned to Corinth, we found that the Governor, who began to be uneasy at our scrutinizing observations, and considered us as nothing better than spies, would not grant to us permission for entering within the Citadel: all that we could obtain was, the privilege of ascending to the summit of the rock, as far as the outside of the gates of the fortress[3]. The whole of this ascent in the time of *Pausanias* was distinguished by *Hiera* stationed at certain intervals[4], after the manner in which little shrines and sanctuaries now appear by the way side, in climbing the passes and heights of mountains in Catholic countries. A person unacquainted with the nature of such an ascent, reading his catalogue of the different objects as they occurred, might suppose

Ascent to the Citadel.

Hiera.

(3) Lusieri afterwards obtained access to the interior, through the interest of the British Minister at the Porte; but he was narrowly watched the whole time: and during the short stay he made, under the pretence of directing any improvement that might be necessary in the fortifications, he observed no remains of antiquity, excepting the shaft of a small pillar, which perhaps might have belonged to the *Temple of Venus*.

(4) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 4. p. 121. ed. *Kühnii*: Ἀνιοῦσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, κ.τ.λ.

CHAP. XVIII.

suppose they were so many *temples*, instead of *niches, shrines*, and *votive receptacles*. In the different contests which NEPTUNE is said to have had for the Grecian territories, one was also assigned to him for the Isthmus and Acropolis of Corinth: and as the watery god disputed with *Juno* and with *Minerva* for the possession of the *Argive* and of the *Athenian* plains, so, in his struggle to maintain the sovereignty of the *Corinthian region*, he is fabled to have retained possession of the *Isthmus*, when the lofty rock of the *Citadel* was adjudged to THE SUN; a fable founded on no very dark tradition respecting the existence of this mountain above the waters of the sea, long before they had entirely abandoned the plain of the Isthmus. That the *Peloponnesus* had been once *an island*, was not only an opinion of the Antients concerning it, but a memorial of the fact is preserved in the name it always retained[1] of "*the Island of Pelops.*" The antiquities, as they were noticed by *Pausanias*[2], in the ascent of the *Acrocorinthus*, are as follow: two *shrines* of *Isis*; two of *Sarapis*; the *altars* of the *Sun*; and a *Hieron* called that of *Necessity* and *Violence*, wherein it was not lawful to enter. It is difficult to understand what was meant by this last; unless it were a *place of refuge*, like to some of the sanctuaries in Italy, into which it is unlawful to follow any fugitive offender who has there sheltered himself from pursuit.

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(1) ΠΕΛΟΠΟΣ ΝΗΣΟΣ. (Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib. vii. p. 465. *Oxon.* 1807.) Πέλοπος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπαγομένου λαὸν εἰς τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ, κ.τ.λ.

(2) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. cap. 4. p. 121. ed. *Kuhnii.*

pursuit. Above this was *a Temple* (ναὸς) of the *Mother of the Gods*, a *Stélé*, and *a Seat* (θρόνος) of stone. There seem also to have been *fanes* consecrated to the *Parcæ*, containing *images* which were not exposed to view; and near to the same spot, a *Hieron* of *Juno Bunæa*. Upon the summit itself stood another *Temple* (ναὸς) of *Venus*. In all this list, there is mention made of two structures only which can properly be considered as *temples*; that is to say, the *Temple of Venus* upon the summit of the rock; and that of the *Mother of the Gods* at some resting-place where there was *a seat*, perhaps about half way up. Fragments of the former will probably be discovered by future travellers who have liberty to inspect the materials used in constructing the foundations and walls of the citadel. All that we observed, in going up, were the remains of an antient paved way near the gate of the fortress, and the capital of an Ionic pillar lying near the same place. We reached this gate just before sun-set; and had, as is always usual from the tops of any of the Grecian mountains, a more glorious prospect than can be seen in any other part of Europe. Wheler calls it "the most agreeable prospect this world can give[3]." And as from the *Parthenon* at Athens we had seen the *Citadel of Corinth*, so now we had a commanding view, across the *Sinus Saronicus*, of *Salamis* and of the *Athenian Acropolis*. Looking down upon the *Isthmus*, the shadow of the *Acrocorinthus*, of a conical shape, extended exactly half across

Prospect from the summit of the *Acrocorinthus*.

(3) See "Journey into Greece," Book vi. p. 422. *Lond.* 1682.

CHAP. XVIII.

across its length, the point of the cone being central between the *two seas*. Towards the north we saw *Parnassus* covered with snow, and *Helicon*, and *Cithæron*. Nearer to the eye appeared the mountain *Gerania*, between *Megara* and *Corinth*. But the prospect which we surveyed was by no means so extensive as that seen by *Wheler*; because we were denied admission to the fortress, which concealed a part of the view towards our right. We noted however the following bearings by the compass from an eminence near the gate:

North . . . . . Point of *Olmiæ* Promontory.
North and by East . . . . . *Helicon*.
North-East and by North . . Summit of *Gerania*.
East North East . . . . . The *Isthmus of Corinth* lying E.N.E. and W.S.W. And beyond it, in the same direction, the summit of *Cithæron*.
East . . . . . *Port Schœnûs*; and beyond it, exactly in the same direction, *Athens*.
North and by West . . . . . *Parnassus*.
North-West and by North . . *Sicyonian Promontory*.

Hexamillia.

Discovery of the Town of *Isthmus*.

On Saturday November the fourteenth we again mounted our horses, and set out for a village still bearing the name of *Hexamillia*, being situated where the *Isthmus* is six miles over, and where the antient town of the same name formerly stood. We had been told that we should be able to purchase medals here of the Albanians; accordingly we provided ourselves with a quantity of newly-coined *parāhs*, to barter in exchange for them. When we arrived, the number of medals brought to us, and their variety, were so great, that we

we demanded of the peasants, where they had found them in such abundance? One of the inhabitants, who spoke the modern Greek, said they all came from a *Palæo-Castro* to which they often drove their flocks; described by them as being situated near a small port at the extremity of the *Isthmus* upon the side of the Gulph of *Engia*, towards *Megara*. This could be no other than the Port *Schœnûs*; and the mere mention of this important appellation, *Palæo-Castro*, filled us with the most sanguine expectations that we should here find, what we had sought with so much earnestness, the site of the *Isthmian solemnities*. Such a variety of coins belonging to different and to distant States of Greece, all collected upon one spot, could only be accounted for by a reference to the concourse so often assembled, in consequence of the *Sacred Games*, from all parts of *Hellas* and of *Peloponnesus*. We therefore took one of the peasants as our guide to the *Palæo-Castro;* and leaving the others to collect other medals from the different cottages, promised to return in the evening, and to purchase all they might be able to procure. Antient stone quarries are numerous in the hills above *Hexamillia*. Beyond this village, towards Mount *Oneius*, which rises to the north of *Schœnûs* Port, we thought we observed the form of an antient *Theatre*, of which nothing but the *Coilon* exists; neither a seat nor a stone remaining. We then rode directly towards the port and the mountain; and, crossing an artificial causeway over a fosse, we arrived in the midst of the Ruins. A speedy and general survey of the antiquities here soon decided their history; for it was evident that we had

Port *Schœnûs*.

CHAP. XVIII.

had at last discovered the real site of the *Isthmian Town*, together with the Ruins of the *Temple of Neptune*, of the *Stadium*, and of the *Theatre*[1]. The earth was covered with fragments of various-coloured marble, grey granite, white limestone, broken pottery, disjointed shafts, capitals, and cornices. We observed part of the fluted shaft of a Doric column, which was five feet in diameter. A more particular examination was now necessary; and we proceeded immediately to trace the different parts of this scene of desolation, and to measure them in detail.

We began first to mark, with as much precision as possible, the site of these Ruins, with reference to other objects, that future travellers (in direct contradiction to the statement made by Chandler) may be guided to the spot, and become satisfied of their existence. The best method of finding their precise situation is to attend to the course of the wall which traverses the *Isthmus;* for this, if it be traced from the *Corinthian Gulph*, will be found to make a sudden turn before it reaches the shore of the *Sinus Saronicus*, and to bear away towards Mount *Oneius*, embracing the whole of the Port of *Schœnûs*, and closing it in upon the Corinthian side. The ruins of the *Temple, Stadium, Theatre*, together with *wells*, and other indications of the *Isthmian Town*, surround this port; and they are, for the most part, situated upon its sides, sloping towards the sea. The remains of the *Temple of Neptune* are

Temple of *Neptune.*

(1) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. cap. 1 & 2. pp. 111, 112, 113, 114. ed. *Kuhnii.*

are to the west of the *Isthmian Wall;* upon an area which is two hundred and seventy-six paces in length, and sixty-four in breadth. A Greek Chapel, also in a ruined state, now stands upon the area of the temple; and this seems to have been the identical building mentioned by *Wheler,* near to which he found the Inscription published by him, relative to many edifices, not mentioned by *Pausanias,* that were repaired by *Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus*[2]. Indeed it is wonderful, considering the notice given by him of the Ruins here, that the site of them should afterwards be lost. The materials of the temple are of a *white limestone*[3]; and the workmanship of the capitals, the fluting of the columns, and of other ornamental parts of the structure, are extremely beautiful. Not a single pillar remains erect: the columns with their entablatures have all fallen. The building, by its ruins, appears to have been of the *Corinthian* order; but there are remains of other edifices in its neighbourhood where the *Doric* order may be observed, and where the columns are of greater magnitude than at this temple. We measured some of the shafts of columns here that were only two feet nine inches in diameter: and this agrees with a remark made by *Pausanias,* who states that the dimensions of the *Temple* were not extraordinary[4]. The capitals are for the most part

(2) " Journey into Greece," Book vi. p. 438. *Lond.* 1682.

(3) Called by Pausanias λίθος λευκὸς (vid. p. 112. Corinthiac. c. 1. ed. *Kuhnii*.); but this is an expression often applied by him where marble has been used.

(4) Τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι, κ. τ. λ. Corinthiac. c. 1. p. 112. ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVIII.

part destitute of the rich foliage of the *acanthus*, although finished with exquisite taste and in the most masterly style of sculpture. Among seven or eight of these capitals, we found only one with the *acanthus* ornament: yet the edges of the *canelure* upon all the shafts of the columns at this temple were flattened, and not sharp as in much larger pillars which we observed higher up towards the wall. We found also a *pedestal*, which measured at its base four feet and four inches. The fallen *architraves* and other parts of the *entablature* also remain. To the south wall of the area of the *Temple* adjoined the *Theatre*; the *Coilon* of which, almost filled and overwhelmed by the ruins of the *Temple* and by the effect of earthquakes, yet remains, facing the Port *Schœnûs*. West of the Theatre is the *Stadium*[1], at right angles to the *Isthmian Wall*: it has very high sides; and even in its present state, the stone front-work and some of the benches remain at its upper end, although earthquakes or torrents have forced channels into the arena. It extends east and west, parallel to one side of the area of the *Temple*, to which it was adjoined. Just at the place where the *Isthmian Wall* joins Mount *Oneius*, is a *Tumulus*, perhaps that which was supposed to contain the body of MELICERTES; in honour of whose burial the *Isthmian Games* were instituted, above thirteen hundred years before the Christian æra. It stands on a very conspicuous eminence above the wall, which

Theatre.

Stadium.

Sepulchre of *Palæmon.*

(1) Θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια ἔστι μὲν ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ, ἔστι δὲ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ λίθου λευκοῦ. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 1. p. 112. ed. *Kuhnii.*

which here passes towards the south-south-east, quite to the port, after reaching the mount. There was within the sacred *Peribolus*, according to *Pausanias*[2], a temple dedicated to *Melicertes*, under his *posthumous* name of *Palæmon*[3]; and it contained statues of the *boy* and of his mother *Leucothea*, and of *Neptune*. The situation therefore of *the Tomb*, being almost contiguous with the *Peribolus*, is very remarkable; the whole of these magnificent structures, the *Temples*, the *Theatre*, the *Stadium*, and the ISTHMIA themselves, having originated in the honours paid to his sepulchre. Going from the *Stadium* towards this wall, we found fragments of *Doric* columns, whose shafts were near six feet in diameter; the edges of the *canelure* being sharp: these were of the same *white limestone* as the rest. But among all the remains here, perhaps the most remarkable, as corresponding with the indications left us by *Pausanias* of the spot, is the living family of those *Pine-trees*, sacred to *Neptune*, which he says grew in a right line, upon one side, in the approach to the Temple; the statues of victors in the Games being upon the other side[4]. Many of these, self sown, are seen on the outside of the wall, upon the slope of the land facing the

Trees from which Victors in the *Isthmia* were crowned.

(2) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 2. p. 113. ed. *Kuhnii.*

(3) Ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων Ἰσθμὸν ὑπὸ δελφῖνος (ὡς λέγεται) τοῦ παιδὸς, τιμαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι τῷ ΜΕΛΙΚΕΡΤΗΙ δίδονται μετονομασθέντι ΠΑΛΑΙΜΟΝΙ, καὶ ΤΩΝ ΙΣΘΜΙΩΝ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΑΓΟΥΣΙ. Pausan. Attica, c. 44. p. 108. ed. *Kuhnii.*

(4) Ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν, τοῦτο μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάντων τὰ Ἴσθμια ἑστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τοῦτο δὲ ΠΙΤΥΩΝ ΔΕΝΔΡΑ ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. Pausan. Corinth. c. 1. p. 112. ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVIII.

the port[1]. They may also be observed farther along the coast; which exactly agrees with a remark made by the same author, who relates, that in the beginning of the Isthmus there were *Pine-trees*, to which the robber *Sinis* used to bind his captives[2]. Every thing conspires to render their appearance here particularly interesting: the victors in the *Isthmia* were originally crowned with garlands made of their leaves, although chaplets of *parsley* were afterwards used instead of them[3]: they are particularly alluded to by *Pausanias*, as one of the characteristic features of the country: and that they were regarded with a superstitious veneration to a late age, appears from the circumstance of their being represented upon the Greek colonial medals, struck in honour of the Roman Emperors. Allusion was made in the last Chapter to a bronze medal found at Sicyon, whereon one of these trees is represented with the boy *Melicertes* upon *a dolphin*.

The vicinity of these Ruins to the sea has very much facilitated the removal of many valuable antiquities, as materials for building; the inhabitants of all the neighbouring shores having long been accustomed to resort hither, as to a quarry:

(1) This Pine is a variety of the *Pinus sylvestris*, commonly called *Pinus maritima*. Wheler called these trees "Sea Pines with small cones." See *Journey into Greece, p.* 446. *Lond.* 1682.

(2) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 1. p. 111. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(3) Archbishop Potter observes, that "the use of *parsley* was afterwards left off, and the *Pine-tree* came again into request; which alterations Plutarch has accounted for in the fifth book of his *Symposiacks*," (Quæst. 3.) *Archæologia, vol.* I. *c.* 25. *p.* 457. *Lond.* 1751.

quarry: but no excavations have hitherto taken place. Persons have been recently sent from England to carry on researches, by digging upon the site of the antient cities and temples of Greece, and it may therefore be hoped that this spot will not remain long neglected. There is no part of the country which more especially requires this kind of examination. The concourse to the ISTHMIA was of such a nature, and continued for so many ages, that if there be a place in all Greece likely to repay the labour and the expense necessary for such an undertaking, it is the spot where these splendid solemnities were held. Indeed this has been already proved, in the quantity of medals found continually by the peasants of *Hexamillia* among the Ruins here: and the curious Inscription which *Wheler* discovered lying upon the area of the temple[4] affords reasonable ground for believing, that many other documents, of the same nature, might be brought to light with very little difficulty.

In returning from the site of these antiquities to *Hexamillia*, we observed several tombs by the side of the old road which led from *Corinth* to the town of *Isthmus*, exactly similar to the mounds we had seen in Kuban Tartary. This primeval mode of burial, originally introduced into Greece by the *Titan-Celts*, continued in use among the *Corinthians*; for *Pausanias*, speaking of the antient inhabitants, says, that they interred their dead always beneath a heap of earth.

As

(4) See Wheler's "Journey into Greece," Book vi. p. 438.
ΘΕΟΙΣ · ΠΑΤΡΙΟΙΣ · ΚΑΙ · ΤΗΙ · ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ · κ. τ. λ.

CHAP. XVIII.

As soon as we arrived at *Hexamillia*, the inhabitants of both sexes, and of all ages, tempted by the sight which they had already gained of the new *parāhs*, flocked around us, bringing carpets for us to sit upon in the open air: and a very curious market was opened for the sale of a single commodity; namely, the antient medals found at different times among the Ruins we had visited. The young women wore several silver medals mixed with base coin as ornaments, in a kind of cap upon their foreheads, and among their hair. These they were not very willing to dispose of; but the temptation offered by the shining *parāhs* was not to be resisted, and we bought almost all we saw. The bronze coins were in great number: but we obtained many very curious medals in silver; and among these, the most antient of the city of *Corinth*, in rude globular forms exhibiting the head of *Pallas* in front, within a square indented cavity; and upon their obverse sides, those antique figures of *Pegasus*, in which the wings of the horse are inflected towards the mane. The medals with this die have been sometimes confounded with those of Sicily; but we obtained one whereon appeared, in Roman characters, the letters COR. One of the most curious things which we noticed among our acquisitions, was an antient forgery; a base coin of *Corinth*, made of brass, and silvered over. The others consisted of silver and bronze medals, of *Alexander the Great*; of *Phocis*; of *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*; of *Megara*; of *Alea* in *Arcadia*; *Argos*; *Sicyon*; *Ægina*; and *Chalcis*; together with a few Roman coins, and some of less note. We were surprised by not finding among them any of *Athens*;

Extraordinary Mart for Grecian Medals.

Athens; which are common enough elsewhere. When we had concluded our business in *Hexamillia*, we returned again to *Corinth*; and saw, in our road, the remains of some buildings, evidently Roman, from the appearance of the *opus reticulatum* in the masonry: among these was the Ruin of a large structure, which seemed to have been an aqueduct.

It was late when we reached our quarters. Two of the Levant Consuls sate with us during the evening. Their uniform combines, in a singular manner, the habits of Eastern and Western nations: it is a long dress, with a three-cornered hat, a bag wig, and an anchor on the button of the hat.

Dress of the Levant Consuls.

On Sunday, November the fifteenth, there was a fair in *Corinth*. We saw nothing worth notice, except an Arcadian pipe, upon which a shepherd was playing in the streets. It was perfectly *Pandæan*; consisting simply of a goat's horn, with five holes for the fingers, and a small aperture at the end for the mouth. It is exceedingly difficult to produce any sound whatever from this small instrument; but the shepherd made the air resound with its shrill notes: and we bought his pipe. This day we left *Corinth* entirely. The Bey positively refused to allow us to proceed by land to *Megara*: we therefore engaged with a couple of men who had a boat stationed in the harbour of *Cenchreæ*, to take us along the coast. In our way to that harbour, we again visited the village of *Hexamillia*; and, after passing the same, we perceived that the *Stone Quarries*, the remains of the *Isthmian Wall*, and of the *Town of Isthmus* at its eastern extremity,

Pandæan Horn.

CHAP. XVIII.

extremity, are seen forming a high ridge upon the *left* hand, parallel to the mountains upon the *right*. The Remains at *Cenchreæ.* CENCHREÆ faithfully correspond with the description given by *Pausanias* of the place[1]. We visited the *Bath of Helen*; Bath of Helen. it is formed by a spring, which here boils up with force enough to turn a mill, close to the sea. We found no difference of temperature, whether the thermometer were placed in the water of this spring, or in the sea, or exposed in the shade to the air of the atmosphere at mid-day. The three trials gave exactly the same result;—64° of Fahrenheit. The men we had hired did not return from the fair; so, after waiting for some time, we procured another boat, and went to a village, the name of which was pro- Convangee. nounced *Convangee*[2], where we passed the night. The next morning, at sun-rise, we embarked again. The wind proved contrary. We landed, and reached a miserable hamlet, consisting only of six houses, called *Carneta*, or *Canetta*, *Cromyon.* upon the site of the antient CROMYON. Its wretched inhabitants, a set of sickly-looking people, in the midst of very bad air, had never seen a glove, and expressed the utmost astonishment at seeing a person take one off his hand. Notwithstanding the insalubrity of the situation, and the unhealthy looks of the people, there was no appearance of poverty

(1) Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 2. p. 114. ed. *Kuhn.*—The place is now called by its antient name, pronounced *Cenchri.*

(2) This, in all probability, is very remote from the manner in which this word ought to be written. If it be a Greek name, the *V* is always *β*.

poverty or misery within their cottages. The houses, like those of the *Albanians* in general, were very neat, although the cattle lodged with their owners beneath the same roof. The resemblance which the Albanians bear to the Highlanders of Scotland, in their dress, habits, and mode of life, is said to be very striking in a land which is more peculiarly their own[3], and where their employments are less agricultural than in the *Morea*; but even here we could not avoid being struck with appearances, forcibly calling to mind the manners and customs we had often witnessed among Caledonian heaths and mountains. The floors were all of earth; and instead of chimnies there was in every cottage a hole through the roof; but the walls were neatly white-washed, and the hard earthen floors were swept, and made as clean as possible. Every house had its oven, which was kept remarkably clean; and the whitest bread was set before us, with the richest and most highly-flavoured honey. The fire being kindled in the middle of the floor, the peasants form a circle around it, sitting or lying with their feet towards the hearth. Their conversation is cheerful and animated; and, as it was interpreted to us, it seemed to be filled with as lively sallies of wit against the faults of their Governors, as it is usual to hear among

Manners of the Peasants.

(3) There is an observation upon this subject by Lord Byron, in the Notes to his deathless Poem, "*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.*" "The *Arnaouts*, or *Albanese*, struck me forcibly by their resemblance to the Highlanders of Scotland, in dress, figure, and manner of living. Their very mountains seemed *Caledonian* with a kinder climate. The kilt, though white; the spare, active form; their dialect, CELTIC in its sound; and their hardy habits, all carried me back to Morven." *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Notes to Canto* II. *p.* 125. *Lond.* 1812.

CHAP. XVIII.

among nations boasting of the freedom they enjoy. We could not hear of any antiquities in the neighbourhood; nor did we expect even a tradition of the *Cromyonian sow*, or any other exploit of *Theseus* in the Straits of *Peloponnesus*, among a people who are not the indigenous inhabitants of the country. A single black *terra-cotta* vessel, of small size, and shaped like a bottle, found in some sepulchre near the place, was the only relique of antient *Cromyon* that we were able to procure.

Monday, November the sixteenth, the wind continuing still contrary, we hired asses, and determined to proceed by land; being now safe from interruption on the part of the Governor of *Corinth*, and relying upon the *Albanians* for protection, who are generally considered as the only persons exercising the *Scironian* profession in these parts. At the same time, we sent the boat to *Megara* with our baggage. In our road we saw a great number of those *pines*, or *pitch-trees*, alluded to by authors with reference to the history of the famous robber *Sinis*[1]; who, first bending their stems to the earth, fastened his prisoners to the branches, so that when the trees, by their elasticity, sprang up again, the bodies of his captives were torn asunder. We passed under the *Scironian rocks*: their appearance is very remarkable, and likely to give rise to fabulous tales, if they had been situated in any other country. They consist of *breccia*, which here, as in the *Isthmus of Corinth*, and indeed over all the north of *Peloponnesus*, and in *Attica*, is superjacent

Scironian Defile.

(1) Ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς; ἔνθα ὁ λῃστὴς ΣΙΝΙΣ λαμβανόμενος πιτύων, ἦγεν ἐς τὸ κάτω σφᾶς. Pausan. Corinth. c. 1. p. 111. ed *Kuhnii*.

An ALBANIAN of GREECE.

superjacent upon a stratum of limestone. The *breccia* of the *Scironian rocks* presents, towards the sea, a steep and slippery precipice, sloping from the narrowest part of the *Isthmian Strait* towards the *Sinus Saronicus*. It is so highly polished, either by the former action of the sea to which it is opposed, or by the rushing of torrents occasionally over its surface, that any person falling from the heights would glide as over a surface of glass; and be dashed to pieces upon the shore, or, in some parts of the precipice, fall into the waves. The Story of *Sappho* has given the name of "*The Lover's Leap*" to at least a dozen precipices, in as many different parts of the world; and this is one of the places whence *Ino* is said to have precipitated herself, with her son *Melicertes*[2]. Hence also the old stories of the dangers to which travellers were exposed in the narrow pass above the SCIRONIA SAXA, from the assaults of SCIRON, who, it was said, compelled them to wash his feet, and then kicked them down these precipices into the sea. Not only were the rocks called *Scironian*, but the road itself was named SCIRON. It was said to have been enlarged by the Emperor *Hadrian*; but we found it to be so narrow, after we had gained the heights, that there was barely room for two persons on horseback to pass each other. A lofty mountain above the pass, covered with snow during the greater part of the year, is called *Gerao*, the antient *Gerania*[3]. We had

(2) Vid. Pausan. in Attic. c. 44. p. 108. ed. *Kuhnii.*

(3) Wheler says the modern name of *Gerania* is *Palæo-vouni.* See *Journ. into Greece, p.* 436. *Lond.* 1682.

CHAP. XVIII.

had seen it from the pass of *Tretus*, near the *Cave of the Nemæan Lion*, in our journey from *Mycenæ* to *Nemea*. There is a town near this mountain, called *Calaverti*. We soon came to the *antient Paved Way* leading from *Attica* into *Peloponnesus*; and arrived at the *Wall* and *arched Gate*, high above the sea; where, in the narrow strait, is still marked the antient boundary between the two countries. The old portal, once of so much importance, is now a ruin; but part of the stone-work, mixed with tiles, which was above an arch, yet remains on the side of the mountain; and beyond it, on the side of Attica, we saw more of the old paved road. The place is now called *Katche Scala*; a modern method of pronouncing Κακὴ Σκάλα, the *Bad Way*. The defile was always considered as full of danger to the traveller; and it maintains its pristine character. The Turks never pass it without the most lively apprehensions; expecting to be attacked here by banditti. *Ibrahim*, that he might avoid this pass, had preferred a tedious and turbulent passage in the boat with our baggage. For our parts, we reposed such confidence in our worthy *Albanians*, that we never bestowed a thought upon the chance of meeting robbers; and they liked our society the better because we were not accompanied by a *Turk*. Close to the *Scironian Gate* we observed a prodigious block of white marble, lying out of the road upon the brink of the precipice; which had been thrown down, and had very nearly fallen from the heights into the sea. There was an Inscription upon it, perhaps relating to the widening of the pass, and to the repairs

Boundary between *Peloponnesus* and *HELLAS*.

ΚΑΚΗ ΣΚΑΛΑ.

repairs of the road by *Hadrian*; but we could only trace a semblance of the following letters: CHAP. XVIII.

ΟΔ
ΟΙΟΝΑΙΑΘΩΝΔΩΙΟ

At the place where the Arch stood, was perhaps formerly the *Stélé*, erected by Theseus; inscribed on one side, "HERE IS PELOPONNESUS, NOT IONIA;" and upon the other, "HERE IS NOT PELOPONNESUS, BUT IONIA." Having passed the spot, we now quitted the *Morea*, and once more entered HELLAS[1], by the *Megarean* land. Entrance of *Hellas*.

We began to descend almost immediately; and, as we had expected from the frequent instances which characterize the Grecian cities, we no sooner drew nigh to MEGARA, than the prospect of a beautiful and extensive plain opened before us, walled on every side by mountains, but in this example somewhat elevated above the usual level of such campaign territories. From a view of this important field, it must be evident that the town of *Megara* owed its celebrity more to its fertile domain, than to its position with respect to the sea; yet it is natural to suppose that the inhabitants of this country were fishermen and pirates, before they turned their attention towards the produce of the soil. Plutarch believed, that the fabled contest between *Neptune* and *Minerva*, for *Attica*, was an allusion to the efforts made by the antient kings of the country, to withdraw their subjects from a seafaring life, towards agricultural employments[2]. Be this as it may; Causes of the celebrity of *Megara*.

(1) "Ab Isthmi angustiis *Hellas* incipit, nostris *Græcia* appellata." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* iv. *c.* 7. *tom.* I. *p.* 210. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(2) Vid. Plutarch. in Themist. p. 87. l. 23.

CHAP. XVIII.

may; when both were united, and it is known that the convenience of a maritime situation was superadded to the advantages of inland wealth, we no longer wonder that *Megara* was able to make so distinguished a figure as she formerly did, in the common cause. At the battle of *Salamis* she furnished twenty ships for the defence of Greece; and at *Platæa* numbered her three hundred warriors in the army of Pausanias. The city existed above eleven centuries before the Christian æra; and, in the days of its splendor, it boasted its peculiar sect of Philosophers. Its situation also with respect to *Peloponnesus* added to its consequence; being the depositary of all goods intended for conveyance over the *Scironian* defile. As the traveller descends from this pass, it appears upon a rock, which is situated upon the edge of an immense quadrangular plain extending towards the left of the spectator; the site of the present town being close to that corner of it which is towards the sea, and nearest to *Eleusis*. Upon our left, just before we arrived, we saw a large *Tumulus*, on which there seems to have stood some considerable monument. The place is much altered even since *Wheler*'s time; but the inhabitants retain many old Grecian customs. We saw them roast a large goat entire, upon a pole, in the middle of the public street. It is from *Megara* that *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus*, desires his friend to send him two specimens of Grecian sculpture. Formerly it was famous for its earthenware; and fine vases have been found here by modern travellers: but we were not fortunate in our inquiry after its *terra-cottas*: we procured only a few fragments of a bright

The modern Town.

bright red colour, beautifully fluted, that we found lying among the ruins of the city. We had better success in our search for Inscriptions; although it may be said of *Megara*, (whose antiquities in the second century occupied, in their mere enumeration, six chapters of *Pausanias's* description of Greece,) that, excepting its name, it retains hardly any thing to remind us of its former consideration. The first Inscription that we found here, is "in honour of Callinicus, Scribe and Gymnasiarch." It was upon a large stone, twelve feet in length, in the front of an antient gate leading from the city towards the sea. This is the identical Inscription which *Wheler* has published[2]; and we discovered it exactly as it was left by him. The next is a very fine one, which he did not observe; and it is much more worthy of preservation. We saw it, at the house of the *Archon* where we lodged: it is in honour of HADRIAN, whose usual titles are added. From the title, of OLYMPIUS, once bestowed by the *Athenians* upon *Pericles*[3], and answering to ΔΙΟΣ, we are able to ascertain the date of the Inscription; which is of the year of Christ 132[4]. It sets forth, that "under the care of *Julius*, the *Proconsul*, and in the *Prætorship* of *Aischron*, this (*monument* or *statue*) is raised by the *Adrianidæ* to ADRIAN."

TON

(1) Fragments of the *Lapis Conchites* mentioned by Pausanias (*Attic. c.* 44. *p.* 107. *ed. Kuhnii*), and vestiges of the "*long walls*," were observed at *Megara*, by Mr. *Walpole* and *Professor Palmer*.

(2) See "Wheler's Journey into Greece," p. 434. *Lond.* 1682.

(3) Vid. Plutarch. in fin. Pericl.

(4) Vid. Corsini Fast. Att. Diss. xi.

CHAP. XVIII.

ΤΟΝΔΙΣΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ
ΠΥΘΙΟΝ
ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΝΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΚΤΙΣ
ΤΗΝΚΑΙΝΟ
ΜΟΘΕΤΗΝΚΑΙΤΡΟΦΕΑΑΔΡΙΑ
ΝΙΔΑΙΥΠΟ
ΤΗΝΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΚΑΝ
ΔΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΥΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΗ
ΓΟΥΝ
ΤΟΣΑΙΣΧΡΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΔΑΜΟΚ
ΛΕΟΥΣ

We copied a few other Inscriptions; but some of them are already published [1], and the others are in too imperfect a state to be rendered intelligible. The medals brought by the inhabitants were few in number, and badly preserved [2]. Ionic and Doric capitals, of white limestone and of

(1) See "Wheler's Journey into Greece," p. 432, &c. *Lond.* 1682.

(2) Bronze coins, with an entire legend, ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ, are in the collection at Paris, exhibiting the head of *Apollo* in front, and for reverse a *Lyre*: but these seem to have belonged to a city of Sicily. The medals of the Attic *Megara* exhibit in front the *prow of a ship*; and for their obverse, either a *Tripod* between *two Dolphins*, or the *two Dolphins* without the *Tripod*. The author has never seen a silver medal answering this description; but as a proof that these are medals of the *Attic* and not of the *Sicilian Megara*, it should be mentioned, that they are found here upon the spot; and the circumstance of his having found them in abundance upon the neighbouring *Isthmus of Corinth* may be also alleged as presumptive evidence of the fact. The oldest medals of *Megara* that he has seen, exhibit *two Dolphins* in front; and for reverse merely a square indentation: and these were found by him at *Hexamillia* in the *Isthmus*.

of marble, lie scattered among the Ruins, and in the courts of some of the houses. The remains of the "long walls" which inclosed the land between *Megara* and the sea, and connected the *city* with its *port*, are yet visible; and within this district, below the present town, some pieces of fine sculpture have been discovered, and long since carried away. Here is also a *Well*, supposed to be that fountain mentioned by *Pausanias*[3], as adorned by *Theagenes*, and sacred to the *Sithnides*; near to which there was a *Temple*, containing the works of *Praxiteles*. A modern superstition belonging to this *Well*[4] seems to associate with the circumstances of its antient history, and thereby to identify the spot; which may be of consequence to future travellers, who visit *Megara* for the purpose of making excavations.

Journey to *Eleusis*.

Thursday November the seventeenth we began our journey from *Megara* towards *Eleusis* and *Athens*, filled with curiosity to examine the vestiges of the *Eleusinian Temple*; and along a tract of land where every footstep excites the most affecting recollections. By every antient *well*, and upon every *tomb*, at which the traveller is induced to halt, and to view the noble objects by which he is surrounded, a crowd of interesting events rush into his mind; and so completely occupy it, that even fatigue and fever, from which he is seldom free, are for a moment forgotten.

(3) Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη, καί σφισιν ᾠκοδόμησε Θεαγένης, κ. τ. λ. καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ῥεῖ καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 40. p. 96. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(4) See Hobhouse's Travels, p. 482. *Lond.* 1813.

CHAP. XVIII. forgotten. As we left *Megara*, we had a magnificent view of the *Saronic Gulph*, and of the Island *Salamis*, the scene of the great naval engagement, where three hundred and eighty sail of the Grecian fleet defeated the vast armament of Xerxes, amounting to two thousand ships. The distance between *Megara* and *Eleusis*, according to the *Antonine Itinerary*, is thirteen miles. After travelling half an hour, we observed, in the plain upon our right, the remains of a building which seemed to have been an antient Temple; and one mile farther, we observed a similar ruin upon an eminence by the same side of our road. The plain here is very beautiful and fertile. When *Wheler* passed, it was covered with anemonies[1]. Another ruin appeared also upon a hill a quarter of a mile nearer to *Eleusis*; and a little beyond this, upon the left, close to the road, we saw two *Tombs* opposite to each other. Soon afterwards we came to a *Well*, at which our guides stopped to water their mules. Soon after passing this well we saw another *Tomb*, and many heaps of stones, as of ruined structures, upon our left. The Reader, comparing these remains with the account given by *Pausanias*, may affix names to them according to his own ideas of their coincidence with his description. An author would not be pardoned who launches into mere conjecture with regard to any one of them. We then began to ascend a part of the mountain *Kerata*, so named from its double summit, and now called *Gerata*. We saw upon the shore below us a few houses, and an appearance

Kerata.

(1) Journey into Greece, p. 430. *Lond.* 1682.

E.D. Clarke del.

Etched by Letitia Byrne

VIEW of ELEUSIS.

appearance as of an antient *Mole*, projecting into the sea; yet no author has mentioned the existence of any maritime establishment between the two cities of *Megara* and *Eleusis*. Hence we descended into the *Eleusinian Plain*; spreading out with indescribable beauty, as in the instances so often noticed; the mountains that surround it seeming to rise out of it; presenting before us that fertile land which is said to have invited the first labours of the plough; and where the first wheat was sown by the instructions of the Goddess of Agriculture. We had no sooner descended into it, than, turning round the mountain towards the *left*, we found the distinct traces of *a Temple*, and, farther on, of another similar structure. We observed a tower upon a hill towards our right; and, soon after, we saw lying in the plain the marble *Torso* of a colossal statue, which, with some difficulty, we divested of the soil that had accumulated around it. This *torso* seemed to be that of a *Sphinx*, or of *a Lion*: the latter animal is sometimes represented as drawing the *Car of Ceres*. It consisted of the white marble of Mount *Pentelicus*. Still advancing, we perceived upon the *left* the vestiges of *a Temple*, and *a Well*, at which women were washing linen. This *Well* appeared to us, in all respects, to correspond with the situation of that famous WELL, called Ἄνθινον, or, *the flowery*, where *Ceres* is fabled to have rested from the fruitless search of her daughter *Proserpine*[2].

Eleusinian Plain.

Acropolis of Eleusis.

Marble Torso.

The *Flowery Well*.

Arriving

(2) Wheler has placed this *well* farther from *Eleusis*, on the road to *Megara*; and he mentions a small plain which he believed to have been the *Rharian*, as distinct from *Eleusis*,

CHAP. XVIII.

Arriving upon the site of the city of ELEUSIS, we found the plain to be covered with its Ruins. The first thing we noticed was an *Aqueduct*, part of which is entire. Six complete arches are yet to be seen. It conducted towards the *Acropolis*, by the *Temple of Ceres*. The remains of this *Temple* are more conspicuous than those of any other structure except the *Aqueduct*. The paved road which led to it is also visible, and the pavement of the *Temple* yet remains. But to heighten the interest with which we regarded the reliques of the *Eleusinian fane*, and to fulfil the sanguine expectations we had formed, the fragment of a colossal Statue, mentioned by many authors as that of the *Goddess* herself, appeared in colossal majesty among the mouldering vestiges of her once splendid sanctuary. We found it, exactly as it had been described to us by the Consul at *Nauplia*, on the side of the road, immediately before entering the village, and in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck, a little beyond the farther extremity of the pavement of the *Temple*. Yet even this degrading situation had not been assigned to it wholly independent of its antient history. The inhabitants of the small village which is now situated among the Ruins of *Eleusis* still regarded this *Statue* with a very high degree of superstitious veneration. They attributed to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields. They believed

Aqueduct.

Temple of Ceres.

Statue of the Goddess.

Superstition of the Inhabitants.

Eleusis, (see "*Journ. into Greece*," *p.* 430. *Lond.* 1682.) which we failed to observe. The Plain of *Eleusis* is about eight miles long, and four in breadth. Wheler makes the *Rharian* Plain, "a valley only three or four miles in compass."

believed that the loss of it would be followed by no less a calamity than the failure of their annual harvests; and they pointed to the *ears of bearded wheat*, among the sculptured ornaments upon the head of the figure, as a never-failing indication of the produce of the soil. To this circumstance may perhaps be attributed a main part of the difficulties opposed to its removal, in the various attempts made for the purpose, during the years that have elapsed since it was first noticed by an English traveller[1]. With regard to the allusions subsequently made to it by other writers, as the author has already concentrated every testimony of this nature[2], it will not be necessary to repeat them here. It is sufficient merely to state, that this *Statue*, consisting of the white marble of *Pentelicus*, which also afforded the materials of the *Temple*, bears evident marks of the best age of the Grecian sculpture: but it is in a very ruined state. A vein of *schistus*, one of the extraneous substances common to the *Pentelican* marble, traversing the whole mass of the stone in a direction parallel to the back of the Statue, has suffered decomposition during the lapse of ages in which it has remained exposed to the action of the atmosphere; and by its exfoliation, has caused the face, and a part of the neck, of the Statue, to fall off; but in the *Calathus*, which yet remains as an ornament of the head, the sculpture, although much injured, is still fine: and that it was originally finished with the

(1) Sir George Wheler in 1676.

(2) "*Greek Marbles*," *Cambridge*, 1809. To which may also be added the testimony of *Perry*, as given in his "*View of the Levant*," printed in 1743.

CHAP. XVIII.

the greatest elegance and labour is evident; because, in the foliage of a chaplet which surrounds the whole, a small *poppy* is represented upon every leaf, carved and polished with all the perfection of a Caméo. The remains of the *Temple* have been described by almost all the authors who have mentioned the *Statue*; and its dimensions are given by Chandler[1]. The broken shafts and capitals of the columns lie around in promiscuous heaps of ruin. We sought, without success, the pedestal believed by Wheler[2] to have been the base of the Statue; but we discovered the following Inscription upon a marble pedestal of no considerable magnitude.

Inscriptions.

ΗΕΞΑΡΕΙΟΠΑΓΟΥ
ΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΗΒΟΥΛΗ
ΤΩΝΦΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΟΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΑΝΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΑΝΚΛΑΥ
ΔΙΟΥΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΤΟΥ
ΔΑΔΟΥΧΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΘΥΓΑΤΕ
ΡΑΚΛΑΥΔΕΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΕΓ
ΓΟΝΟΝΑΙΛΠΡΑΞΑΓΟΡΟΥΑ
ΠΟΓΟΝΟΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

"*In honour of Claudia Menandra, the daughter of Claudius Philippus, who had been Torch-bearer at the Mysteries, the Senate of the Areopagus, the Council of Five Hundred, and People of Athens, erect this.*"

We

(1) Travels in Greece, p. 190. *Oxf.* 1776.
(2) Journey into Greece, p. 428. *Lond.* 1682.

We found also another, "*in honour of one of the Eumolpidæ,*" inscribed upon the same kind of bluish limestone which was used for the frieze of the *Erecthéum* at Athens, and of which the *Cella* of the *Temple* here also consisted. The stone being partly buried, we could only read the following characters:

ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝΛΥΚΟΜΙ . . . .
ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΕΝΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΜΕ . . .
ΑΛΩΩΝΕΝΣΑΜΩΔΕΤΗΣ
ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΤΗΣ . . ΡΟ .

Upon a very large cylindrical pedestal of marble, before a small church now occupying a part of the site of a *Temple*[3], perhaps that of *Diana Propylæa*, upon the brow of the hill, we found another Inscription: this was observed in the same place by *Spon*, and it was afterwards published in his work[4].

We must now interrupt our account of the Antiquities of *Eleusis*, by a transition as sudden as was the cause of it. Having made some proposals to the priest of the village for the purpose of purchasing and removing the mutilated fragment of the *Statue of Ceres*, and of using his influence with the people to that effect, we were informed that these measures could only be pursued by obtaining a *firmân* from the *Waiwode* of *Athens*; to whom, as lord of the manor, all property of this description

(3) See the Engraving from Mr. *Gell's* accurate view of *Eleusis*, as published in 1809: "*Greek Marbles*," p. 15.

(4) Voyage de Grèce, &c. tom. II. p. 335. *à la Haye*, 1724.

CHAP. XVIII.

description belonged. We no sooner received the information, than we resolved to set off instantly from *Eleusis*; and endeavour to accomplish so desirable an object. For the present, therefore, our observations will be principally confined to the subject of this undertaking.

It has been before stated, that *Ibrahim*, our *Tchohodar*, was himself a kinsman of the Governor of *Athens*; the very person unto whom an application in this instance was necessary. This man promised all the assistance in his power; and it was agreed, that the whole management of the affair, as far as it related to the *Waiwode*, should be left to his discretion. We gave up the design we had formed, of remaining for the present at *Eleusis*, and set out for *Athens*.

Sudden departure for *Athens*.

Via Sacra.

A part of the pavement of the *Via Sacra* is still visible after quitting the site of the *Temple of Ceres*, and the remains of several monuments appear upon either side of it. The great ruins of the *Aqueduct* are upon the left. Soon afterwards, close to the road, on the same side of the way, appears an oblong quadrangular base of some fine structure, consisting of large blocks of white marble, neatly fitted together. There are other works of the same kind. Perhaps every one of these might be ascertained, by a careful attention to the description given of the objects in this route by *Pausanias*[1]. Soon after leaving *Eleusis*, the road bears eastward across the *Thriasian Plain*, which is marshy towards the

(1) Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐπ' Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱερὰν, κ. τ. λ. Paus. Attica, c. 36. p. 88. ed. *Kuhnii*.

the sea; and the remains of the old causeway, consisting of large round stones, overgrown with rushes, along which the annual procession moved from *Athens*, is conspicuous in many places. Hereabout we crossed the bed of a river almost dry, and saw by the side of it the vestiges of *a Temple*. Another superb basement appeared in this part of the road, similarly constructed, and of the same materials as that we have just noticed. We also observed the Ruins of another *Temple*, close to the sea, upon our right; whereof one column yet remained; and some of the stones were still standing. This district, lying towards the borders of *Attica*, in a very remote age constituted the regal territory of *Crocon* [2]. But there is a circumstance, as connected with the most antient geography of these regions, that does not seem to have been duly regarded. It was first pointed out by a learned ancestor of the author of these Travels: and as it is of importance in the establishment of an historical fact, namely, the common origin of the *Goths* and the *Greeks*, it may be here briefly stated, as deduced from his observations, and founded upon the authorities he has cited [3]: it is this, that the whole of the *Eleusinian* Plain, together with a part of *Attica* [4], were once included within the limits of THRACE, whose southern frontier extended, as *Thucydides* informs

Vast extent of Antient *Thrace*.

(2) Vid. Pausan. ibid. p. 91.

(3) See the "*Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins*," &c. by William Clarke, M. A. *Lond.* 1767. pp. 65, 66, 67.

(4) Τὴν μὲν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μετὰ Εὐμόλπου Θρᾷκες ἔσχον. Strabon. Geog. lib. vii.

CHAP. XVIII.

informs us[1]; even to the *Gulf of Corinth*. In the dispute between *Eumolpus* the *Thracian*, and *Erectheus* king of *Athens*, the former laid claim to *Athens*[2] itself, as part of his father's dominions. The capitals of these two princes were not more than fifteen miles distant from each other; and there was as little difference in their manners as their situation. This appears by the issue of the war, which was so amicably concluded. The terms were, that, for the future, the inhabitants of both cities, *Athens* and *Eleusis*, should be considered as one people[3]; that the religion of *Eleusis*, the mysteries so long known, and so much revered under that name, should be received at *Athens*; the descendants of *Eumolpus* being entitled to the PRIESTHOOD, and the family of *Erectheus* to the CROWN[4].

The *Rhéti*.

Two streams of salt water, called *Rhéti* by *Pausanias*, are described by him as the limits between the *Eleusinian* and the *Attic* territories. Before we reached them, and nearer to *Eleusis*, we had passed, as we have stated, the bed of a river whose dry and pebbled channel was almost exhausted of its water. By the side of it we observed the remains of *a Temple* before mentioned, about an hundred and fifty paces

(1) Thucyd. l. ii. c. 29. p. 100.

(2) Hygin. c. 46.

(3) Pausan. lib. i. Ἀπὸ τοῦ (i. e. Εὐμόλπου) Εὐμολπίδαι καλοῦνται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. Diog. Laert. in procem. p. 4. Thucyd. p. 496. Hesych. et Suidas in v. Εὐμολπίδαι. These mysteries were supposed to come originally from ORPHEUS. Τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰς τελετὰς ΟΡΦΕΥΣ, ἀνὴρ Ὀδρύσης, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκόμισεν. Theodoret. Therapeut. "Eleusiniorum sacra mystica ORPHEUS, natione Thrax, in Athenas importavit." *See also Pausanias.*

(4) Ibid. Clarke's Connexion, &c. p. 66. *Lond.* 1767.

Eleusinian *Cephissus.*

Salt Lake.

paces from the road; and this stream was doubtless the *Eleusinian Cephissus* of *Pausanias*[5]. As we drew near to the *Rhéti*, the road passes close to the sea; and here, upon our left hand, we saw a small lake, which owes its origin to a dam that has been constructed close to the beach, buoying up a body of salt water: this water, oozing continually from a sandy stratum, fills the lake, and becomes finally discharged, through *two channels*, into the Gulph. These appear to have been the ducts to which *Pausanias* alludes under the appellation of the *Rhéti*, which were severally sacred to *Ceres* and to *Proserpine*: and there is every reason to believe, that the lake itself is at the least as antient as the time when the *Hiera* of those Divinities stood upon its borders; else were it difficult to conceive how the fishes could have been preserved, which the priests alone were permitted to take from the consecrated flood[6]. It is hardly credible, that a supply of this nature was afforded by any of the shallow streams which might have been found near to this spot, struggling for a passage through their now exhausted channels. There is something remarkable in the natural history of the lake, besides the saline property of its water. Our guides informed us, that *petroleum*, or, as it is vulgarly called, *mineral tar*, is often collected upon its surface; which is extremely probable, owing to the nature of the *sand-stone* stratum whence the water flows, and to the marshy nature of

(5) Paus. Attic. c. 38. p. 92. ed. *Kuhnii.*

(6) Λέγονται δὲ οἱ ΠΕΙΤΟΙ Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι· καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσίν ἐστιν αἱρεῖν μόνοις. Paus. Attic. c. 37. p. 91. ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVIII.

of the land in its vicinity. Two mills are now turned by the two streams issuing from this lake: After having passed the *Rhéti*, we came to a narrow pass, skirting the base of a marble rock toward the shore, and cut out of the solid stone, having the sea close to us upon our right hand. This narrow pass was evidently the point of separation between the two antient kingdoms of *Eumolpus* and *Erectheus* (1). Hence, turning from the shore towards the left, we entered a narrow valley by a gentle ascent, which is the entrance to the *defile of Daphne*; and we perceived, that the perpendicular face of the rock, upon this side of the road, had been artificially planed, and contained those niches for *votive tablets* which have been before described in this work. Such appearances are always of importance in the eyes of the literary traveller, because they afford indisputable proofs of the former sanctity of the spot: and although it may be difficult to state precisely what the nature of the *Hieron* was where the original *vows* were offered, it will perhaps be easy to explain why these testimonies of Pagan piety distinguish this particular part of the *Sacred Way*: the niches being situated near to the spot where the first view of *Eleusis* presented itself to the Athenian devotees, in their annual procession to the city. This seems to have been the rock which is mentioned by *Pausanias*, under the appellation of PŒCILE: in his Journey from Athens, he mentions its occurrence before his arrival at

Defile of *Daphne*.

The rock called *Pœcile*.

(1) According to the valuable work of Mr. Hobhouse, it bears the appellation usually bestowed upon such passes, of *Kake Scala*,—the *evil way*. *See Hobhouse's Journey through Albania, &c. p.* 373. *Lond.* 1813.

at the *Rhéti*, and at this extremity of the defile[2]. After this we came to a wall, which is supposed to be alluded to by *Pausanias* as marking the site of a *Temple of Venus*[3]; and presently, in the very centre of the defile, we noticed a large *antient Tomb*[4], and arrived at the *Monastery of Daphne*, whose romantic situation and picturesque appearance, in the midst of rocks and overshadowing pines, has been a theme of admiration amongst all travellers. Part of its materials are said to have been derived from the ruins of the *Temple of Venus*, now mentioned. The Monastery itself seems to occupy the situation assigned by *Pausanias* to a *Hieron*, containing the images of *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Minerva*, and *Apollo*; and which had been originally consecrated to the last of these divinities[5]. We found the building in a ruined state, and altogether abandoned. Our Ambassador had already removed some of the antiquities which the place formerly contained; but we saw some broken remains of Ionic pillars of white marble, and other fragments of architectural decorations, whose workmanship denoted the best age of the Grecian sculpture; and in all the pavements of the Monastery there were pieces of the finest *verd-antique* breccia, some of which we removed, and sent afterwards to England.

Temple of *Venus*.

Monastery of Daphne.

Hieron of Apollo.

The

(2) Τὸ Ποικίλον καλούμενον ὄρος, κ. τ. λ. Vid. Pausan. Attic. c. 37. p. 91. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(3) Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστι, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θέας ἄξιον. Pausan. Attic. c. 37. p. 91. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(4) Pausanias mentions the τάφος of *Theodectes*, of *Phaselitas*, and *Mnesitheus*; and other *monuments* remarkable for their magnitude and the magnificence of their construction. *Ibid. p.* 90.

(5) Ibid.

CHAP. XVIII.

View of Athens at sun-set.

The remains of *a Theatre* are also visible before leaving this defile upon the right hand; and as the hills opened at the other extremity towards sunset, such a prospect of *Athens* and of the *Athenian Plain*, with all the surrounding scenery, burst upon our view, as never has been, nor can be described. It presented from the mouth or gap, facing the city, which divides *Corydallus* upon the south, now called the *Laurel Mountain*, from *Ægaleon*, a projecting part of Mount *Parnes* upon the north [1], immediately before descending into the extensive olive-plantations which cover all this side of the plain, upon the banks of the *Cephissus*. There is no spot whence Athens may be seen that can compare with this point of view; and if, after visiting the city, any one should leave it without coming to this eminence to enjoy the prospect here afforded, he will have formed a very inadequate conception of its unspeakable grandeur; for all that Nature and Art, by every marvellous combination of vast and splendid objects, can possibly exhibit, aided by the most surprising effect of colour, light, and shade, is here presented to the spectator. The wretched representations made of the scenes in Greece, even by the best designs yet published in books of travels, have often been a subject of regret among those who have witnessed its extraordinary beauties; and, in the list of them, perhaps few may be considered as inferior to the numerous delineations which have appeared of this extraordinary city. But with such a spectacle before his eyes

(1) See Hobhouse's "Journey through Albania," &c. pp. 370, 371. *Lond.* 1813.

eyes as this now alluded to, how deeply does the traveller deplore, that the impression is not only transitory as far as he is concerned in its enjoyment, but that it is utterly incapable of being transmitted to the minds of others. With such reflections, we reluctantly quitted the spot; and, passing downwards to the plain, crossed the *Cephissus*, and entered the olive-groves extending towards our left over the site of the *Academy*. If we may trust the account given us by our *Tchohodar*, there are not less than forty thousand of these trees; the largest and finest of the kind we had seen in Greece[2]. The air here is very unwholesome during the summer months, owing to the humidity of the soil, and perhaps principally to its not being properly drained. After descending from the defile of Daphne, we observed a large *Tomb* upon our left; and before arriving at the site of the *Sacred Gate*, there are two other *Tumuli*; and the remains of an *Aqueduct* may be observed, extending in the direction of the *Academy*. The *Tombs* are mentioned by *Pausanias*, in his journey to *Eleusis*.

Athenian *Cephissus*.

Site of the *Academy*.

Return to Athens.

In the evening we arrived once more in Athens; and calling upon our former companion, *Lusieri*, were hailed by him with the first news of peace between France and England;—a joyful intelligence for us, as we instantly determined

(2) The most beautiful wood perhaps ever seen in England is that of Athenian Olive, when polished. A table made of this wood is in the possession of the Earl of Egremont. It has been cut from some logs of the olive-tree, intended as fuel in *Athens*, which the author's brother, the late Captain Clarke of the *Braakel*, brought to this country.

CHAP. XVIII.

determined to pass through France in our journey home. He also told us of the valuable acquisitions, in vases, gems, and medals, which he had made in *Ægina*, after we had left him upon that island.

Negotiation with the *Waiwode*.

The next morning our *Tchohodar* waited upon his relation the *Waiwode*, and communicated to him the subject of our wishes respecting the Eleusinian marble. After some deliberation, the Governor acceded to our request; but upon the express condition, that we would obtain for him a small English telescope belonging to *Signor Lusieri*. This request opposed a very serious obstacle to our views; because it became necessary to divulge the secret of our undertaking, to a person indeed in whom we could confide, but who was at the moment actually employed in collecting every thing of this kind for our Ambassador; who had prohibited the removal of any article of antient sculpture on the part of his countrymen, excepting into his own warehouses, as an addition to the immense Collection he was then forming, in the name, and with the power, of the British Nation. Yet was there no time to be lost: the *Waiwode* might soon mention the matter himself to an intriguing Consul, who paid him a daily visit; and then, (although the Statue was the *Waiwode's* property, and of course the right to dispose of it belonged exclusively to him) we had reason to know that our project would be instantly frustrated. Accordingly, we made *Lusieri* acquainted with the whole affair; and our generous friend, disdaining every unworthy consideration, not only resigned the telescope upon our promise of sending him another from England,

England[1], but very kindly undertook to present it himself to the *Waiwode*, and persuade him to observe silence with the Consul respecting the measures we were then pursuing. The desired *firmân* was therefore obtained. To complete the whole, it was now necessary to apply to the Consul himself, for the use of the ferry-boat plying between *Salamis* and the main land; as the only means of conveying this enormous piece of marble to the *Piræeus*, if we should be so fortunate as to succeed in our endeavours of moving it from its place towards the shore. Such an application, as it might be expected, excited the Consul's curiosity to the highest degree: but after many questions, as to the object for which the boat was required, we succeeded in lulling his suspicions; or, if he had any notion of our intention, he believed that the removal of the Statue, which had often been attempted before, would baffle every exertion that we could make; and a messenger was despatched to put the boat under our orders. All being now ready, we set out again for *Eleusis*: and perhaps a further narrative of the means used by private individuals, unaided by diplomatic power or patronage, to procure for the University of which they are members this interesting monument of the Arts and Mythology of Greece, although a part of it has been already before the public, may not be deemed an unwelcome addition to this volume.

The

(1) We had the satisfaction of hearing that he has since received it safe. It was a very fine telescope, by Ramsden: and it was conveyed to him by the author's friend, Mr. Walpole, the Extracts from whose *Manuscript Journal* appear in this Work.

CHAP. XVIII.

Method devised for removing the *Statue of Ceres.*

The difficulties to be encountered were not trivial: we carried with us from *Athens* but few implements: a rope of twisted herbs, and some large nails, were all that the city afforded, as likely to aid the operation. Neither a wheeled carriage, nor blocks, nor pulleys, nor even a saw, could be procured. Fortunately, we found at *Eleusis* several long poles, an axe, and a small saw about six inches in length, such as cutlers sometimes make to shut into the handle of a pocket knife. With these we began the work. The stoutest of the poles were cut, and pieces were nailed in a triangular form, having transverse beams at the vertex and base. Weak as our machine was, it acquired considerable strength by the weight of the Statue, when placed upon the transverse beams. With the remainder of the poles were made rollers, over which the triangular frame might move. The rope was then fastened to each extremity of the transverse beams. This simple contrivance succeeded, when perhaps more complicate machinery might have failed: and a mass of marble weighing near two tons was moved over the brow of the hill or Acropolis of *Eleusis*, and from thence to the sea, in about nine hours.

An hundred peasants were collected from the village and neighbourhood of *Eleusis*, and near fifty boys. The peasants were ranged, forty on each side, to work at the ropes; some being employed, with levers, to raise the machine, when rocks or large stones opposed its progress. The boys who were not strong enough to work at the ropes and levers, were engaged in taking up the rollers as fast as the machine left them, and in placing them again in the front.

But

CHAP. XVIII.

Difficulties encountered.

But the superstition of the inhabitants of *Eleusis*, respecting an idol which they all regarded as the protectress of their fields, was not the least obstacle to be overcome. In the evening, soon after our arrival with the *firmân*, an accident happened which had nearly put an end to the undertaking. While the inhabitants were conversing with the *Tchohodar*, as to the means of its removal, an ox, loosed from its yoke, came and placed itself before the Statue; and, after butting with its horns for some time against the marble, ran off with considerable speed, bellowing, into the Plain of *Eleusis*. Instantly a general murmur prevailed; and several women joining in the clamour, it was with difficulty any proposal could be made. "*They had been always,*" they said, "*famous for their corn; and the fertility of the land would cease when the Statue was removed.*" Such were exactly the words of Cicero with respect to the Sicilians, when Verres removed the Statue of Ceres:— "QUÒD, CERERE VIOLATA, OMNES CULTUS FRUCTUSQUE CERERIS IN HIS LOCIS INTERIISSE ARBITRANTUR."[1] It was late at night before these scruples were removed. On the following morning, November the twenty-second, the boat arrived from *Salamis*, attended by four monks, who rendered us all the service in their power, but they seemed perfectly

(1) *Cicero in Verr. lib.* iv. *c.* 51. The circumstances which attended the removal of the Statues of *Ceres* and *Triptolemus* from the Temple at *Enna*, by Verres, were very similar to those which opposed themselves to our undertaking.—"*His pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quòd eorum demolitio, atque asportatio, perdifficilis videbatur.*" Vid. lib. iv. c. 49.

CHAP. XVIII.

perfectly panic-struck when we told them that it was our intention to send the Statue in their vessel to the *Piræeus*; and betrayed the helplessness of infants when persuaded to join in the labour. The people had assembled, and stood around the Statue; but no one among them ventured to begin the work. They believed that the arm of any person would fall off who should dare to touch the marble, or to disturb its position. Upon festival days they had been accustomed to place before it a burning lamp. Presently, however, the Priest of *Eleusis*, partly induced by entreaty, and partly terrified by the menaces of the *Tchohodar*, put on his canonical vestments, as for a ceremony of high mass, and, descending into the hollow where the Statue remained upright, after the rubbish around it had been taken away, gave the first blow with a pickaxe for the removal of the soil, that the people might be convinced no calamity would befal the labourers. The work then went on briskly enough: already the immense mass of marble began to incline from its perpendicular; and the triangular frame was placed in such a situation, that, as the Statue fell, it came gradually upon the transverse beams. The rope was then cut, and fastened as traces; one half of it upon either side; and our machine, supported by wooden rollers, was easily made to move. In this manner, at mid-day, it had reached the brow of the hill above the old port; whence the descent towards the shore, although among ruins, and obstructed by large stones, was more easy.

New difficulties now occurred. It was found that the water near to the shore was too shallow to admit the approach of

of the boat from *Salamis*, for the conveyance of the Statue on board; and the old quay of *Eleusis*, which consisted of immense blocks of marble stretching out into deeper water, was in such a ruined state, that several wide chasms appeared, through which the water flowed. Across these chasms it would be necessary to construct temporary bridges, for which timber would be required; and even then the boat could not be brought close enough to the extremity of the quay to receive the Statue. Here the whole of our project seemed likely to meet with its termination; for it was quite impossible, without any mechanical aid, to raise a mass of marble weighing nearly two tons, so as to convey it into the boat. At this critical moment, when we were preparing to abandon the undertaking, a large *Casiot* vessel made her appearance, sailing between Salâmis and the Eleusinian coast. We instantly pushed off in the boat, and hailed her; and the Captain consenting to come on shore, we not only hired his ship to take the Statue to Smyrna, but also engaged the assistance of his crew, with their boats and rigging, to assist in its removal. These men worked with spirit and skill; and made the rest of the operation a mere amusement. At sun-set, we saw the Statue stationed at the very utmost extremity of the pier-head.

Success of the undertaking.

Early on the following day, November the twenty-third, two boats belonging to the vessel, and the *Salamis* ferry-boat, were placed alongside of each other, between the ship and the pier; and planks were laid across, so as to form a kind of stage, upon which the Casiot sailors might work the blocks and ropes. A small cable was also warped round

CHAP. XVIII.

round the Statue; and twelve blocks being brought to act all at once upon it, the Goddess was raised almost to the yard-arm; whence, after remaining suspended a short time, she was lowered into the hold; and the *Eleusinians* taking leave of her [1], the vessel sailed for Smyrna. Having thus ended the narrative of our adventure, we may now conclude our observations concerning the Ruins of *Eleusis*. These have been since surveyed with so much attention by other travellers, that we shall merely state such things as may perhaps have escaped their notice.

Further Account of *Eleusis*.

Long Walls.

It has been supposed, that the "*Long Walls*" of *Athens*, which extended from the *Acropolis* to the sea, and inclosed the *Piræeus*, were a peculiar feature of the *Athenian city*: but this is by no means true. Such a method of connecting the harbours with the citadels of Greece, was a very general characteristic of the manners of the Grecian people, in all places where the *Acropolis* was not actually situated upon the shore. This, for example, was the case at *Corinth*: it may also be remarked at *Megara*, and at *Eleusis*. The Acropolis of *Eleusis* is half a mile distant from the harbour. Between the base of the hill upon which the Citadel stood, and the sea, this distance is occupied by a small plain; and from the number of ruined foundations, the vestiges of temples, and of other *Hiera*, all over this plain towards the sea, we were inclined to differ from

(1) They predicted the wreck of the ship which should convey it: and it is a curious circumstance, that their augury was completely fulfilled, in the loss of the Princessa merchantman, off Beachy Head, having the Statue on board.

from *Wheler*, and from every other traveller, by considering this piece of land as the identical spot called RHARIUM; where, according to the antient traditions of *Eleusis*, corn was first sown. The severe illness with which *Triptolemus* was afflicted, and from which he was restored to health by *Ceres*, is still liable to attack all who expose themselves to the *malaria* now covering this part of the Eleusinian territory: and the evil might again be removed, as it then was, by subjecting the same spot once more to the labours of agriculture; carefully cleansing and draining the soil. This being the *Rharian plain*; the *great plain* of *Eleusis*, upon the other side of the *Acropolis*, towards the west, is consequently the *Thriasian*. The *Rharian plain* being small, and between the Citadel and the sea, was in all probability occupied, in antient times, by the city of *Eleusis*, and by many of its sacred buildings. The remains of the *two long Walls*, which extended from the Citadel to the sea, and inclosed the port, are yet visible; and within this inclosure were perhaps the *temples* of *Triptolemus* and of *Neptune*[2]. The *Area* and *Altar* of *Triptolemus* were undoubtedly within the *Rharian plain*[3]. The temple of *Diana Propylæa* was, of course, as its name implies, the *Holy Gate* of the Citadel; and probably it stood upon or near to the spot which is now occupied by a small Church or Chapel upon the brow of the hill. That of *Ceres*, built during the administration of *Pericles*, by

Of the *Rharian* and *Thriasian* Plains.

Temples of *Triptolemus*, of *Neptune*, and of *Diana Propylæa*.

Temple of *Ceres*.

(2) Vid. Pausaniæ Attic. c. 38. pp. 92, 93. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(3) Τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥαρίον, κ. τ. λ. Ἐνταῦθα ΑΛΩΣ καλουμένη ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ, καὶ ΒΩΜΟΣ δείκνυται. Ibid. p. 93.

CHAP. XVIII.

by *Ictinus* the architect of the *Parthenon* at *Athens*, and mentioned by *Plutarch*[1], by *Strabo*[2], and by *Vitruvius*[3], was perhaps destroyed before the invasion of *Alaric*, at the end of the *fourth* century; and even before the time of *Pausanias* in the *second;* as it is not mentioned by him. But as *Phidias* presided over all the artists employed to complete it[4], and the marble of *Mount Pentelicus* was employed in its construction, it is easily to be recognised in those Ruins among which the Statue was discovered; an *area* or pavement, leading to it, being of *Pentelican* marble, and still existing, at the commencement of the *Thriasian plain*, upon the western side of the *Acropolis*. The antient port of *Eleusis* was entirely artificial; being inclosed by a semicircular pier of white marble. Going to this port from the modern village (which does not contain forty houses), along the remains of the northern wall, you come to the Ruins of another large Temple, consisting of prodigious masses of stone and marble. Here then was one of the temples before mentioned; perhaps that of *Neptune*, being so near to the port. At a distance to the right, in what we have considered as the *Rharian plain*, is another considerable Ruin, a part whereof is yet standing; and the foundations of other structures may be discerned. All this plain, between the *Acropolis* and the sea, is covered with the fragments of former works; and upon this side was the *Theatre*; the form

Port of *Eleusis.*

Antient *Theatre.*

(1) Plutarch. in Pericl. vol. I. p. 159.

(2) Strabon. Geog. lib. ix.

(3) Vitruv. in Præfat.

(4) Πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ. Plutarch. in Pericl.

form of which may be distinctly traced upon the slope of the hill, near the southern wall leading to the sea. Upon the summit of the *Acropolis* are the vestiges of the Citadel; also some excavations, which were once used as *cisterns*, similar to those of other cities in the *Peloponnesus*. Looking down upon the great *Thriasian plain* from the top of this rock (whose shape is an oblong parallelogram, lying nearly parallel to the shore), the back of the spectator being towards the sea, the remains of the TEMPLE OF CERES appear at the foot of the north-west angle; and to the left of this, in the road to *Megara*, exactly as it is described by *Pausanias*, in the very beginning of the route, is the *Well* called by him[5] ἄνθινον; close to the foundation of some *Hieron* or *Temple*. A little farther towards the left lies the *colossal marble Torso* of a *Lion*, or of a *Sphinx*, which was before noticed in our arrival at *Eleusis* from *Megara*.

Acropolis.

Having thus amply gratified our curiosity with regard to the remains of this remarkable city, and accomplished the object of our wishes by the removal of the *Statue of Ceres*, we returned in high spirits to *Athens*, to prepare for a journey through BŒOTIA, PHOCIS, THESSALY, PIERIA, MACEDONIA, and THRACE, to *Constantinople*.

Return to *Athens*.

(5) Ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος πρὸς Μέγαρα ἄγει. Ταύτην ἐρχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν, φρέαρ ἐστὶν ἄνθινον καλούμενον. Pausan. Attica, c. 39. p. 94. ed. *Kuhnii*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO THE

SECOND SECTION OF PART THE SECOND.

PAGE 4, line 4. *"Although his death did not immediately follow."*]—He was afterwards visited by *Colonel Squire*, in company with *Major Leake* of the Artillery, and *Mr. Hamilton*. The last of these gentlemen, it seems, as private secretary of the Earl of Elgin, had some diplomatic arrangements to make with *Djezzar*, and wished to gain information with respect to the commerce and condition of Syria. These circumstances are related in *Colonel Squire's MS. Journal*. The party sailed from *Alexandria* on Monday, April the 5th, 1802; and came to anchor off the town of Caiffa on the morning of April the 9th. This part of *Colonel Squire's Journal* is too interesting to be omitted, although the author did not receive it until many sheets of this Section of his Work had been printed. For the present edition, therefore, it has been inserted immediately after the *Additional Notes*. It begins with their visit to the *Sheik* of Caiffa.

P. 8. l. 13. *"As at that time the model of every Christian sanctuary was derived from the Holy Land, and generally from the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the pointed style may yet be discerned in the original covering of the Sepulchre itself."*]—The curious work of Bernardino, *"Trattato delle Piante et Immagini de sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa,"* published at Florence in 1620, gives the rules and exact dimensions for the construction of sanctuaries after the model of the *Holy Sepulchre*, which, at the time of Bernardino's visit to Jerusalem, was entirely surrounded with pointed arches. The pointed arches of the *Mikias*, in the *Isle of Rhouda*, near *Caïro*, are of the ninth century, as will be proved in a subsequent Note. Many other instances might be adduced to prove that the *pointed style* in architecture existed in all the oldest Saracenic structures; but the Eastern origin of the *pointed arch* has been so satisfactorily demonstrated by WHITTINGTON, (*Hist. Surv. of Ecclesiast. Antiq. &c.*) by HAGGITT, (*Lett. on Gothic Architect.*) by KERRICH, (*Observ. on the Churches of Italy, Archæol. vol.* XVI.) and by HAWKINS, (*Hist. of the Orig. &c. of Gothic Architecture,*) that an obstinate denial of *the fact* is merely the struggle of ignorance against the acknowledgment of error.

P. 30. l. 12. *"A basket lined perhaps with close matting, or leather."*]—Those baskets are made capable of containing water without lining. "The Mahrea Arabs have the art of making wicker baskets of so close a texture, that they carry in them, milk, water, and bouza." *See Note to p.* 189 *of Browne's Travels, Lond.* 1799.

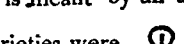
P. 55. l. 19. *"At this hour we often resorted to the Isle of Rhouda."*]—The author omitted to notice the visit he made to the *Mikias*, or *Nilometer*, upon this island, in company with Mr. Hammer. As the interior of this building was long concealed from the observation of Europeans, it may be proper to mention, that the roof is supported by *pointed arches* erected early in the ninth century. Mr. Hammer copied some *Cuphic* inscriptions upon the walls, stating, that the building was constructed by the Caliph *Al-Mamoun*, in the year 211 of the Hégira, answering to the year 833 of our æra. The same fact is attested by the observations of Le Pere, as read to the French Institute at *Caïro*, January the 11th, 1799. (*Voy. Decade Egyptienne, tom.* II. *p.* 278. *au Kaïre, An* VIII *de la République.*) For the rest, the building has been recently so often described, that it was not thought necessary to give a particular account of it.

P. 143. l. 9. *"This has been often related before."*]—Diodorus particularly alludes to the same thing. "But this work," says he, "is not only worthy of praise on account of its magnitude, but wonderful for the skill displayed, and remarkable for the nature of the stone; since that in so much vastness there was not a fissure nor a blemish visible." Τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο μὴ μόνον εἶναι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θαυμαστὸν, καὶ τῇ τοῦ λίθου φύσει διάφορον, ὡς ἂν ἐν τηλικούτῳ μεγέθει μήτε διαφυάδος μήτε κηλίδος μηδεμιᾶς θεωρουμένης. Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 47. p. 57. ed. *Wesselingii. Amst.* 1746.

P. 146. l. 5. *"As to the age of this Inscription, the reader must determine for himself."*]—At the same time it may be proper to add, that it bears the characteristic of a high antiquity in the manner of applying the writing. There is a passage in the Book of Deuteronomy which proves that the custom of writing upon plaister existed in the fifteenth century before the Christian æra. The Israelites are thus instructed to write the Law; and it is very probable that Moses had learned the art from the Egyptians. "THOU SHALT SET THEE UP GREAT STONES, AND PLAISTER THEM WITH PLAISTER: AND THOU SHALT WRITE UPON THEM ALL THE WORDS OF THE LAW. *Deut.* XXVII. 2, 3.

P. 263. l. 2. *"The epithet* Δῖος *was consequently appropriate."*]—The Bishop of Clogher, in his Essay on the *"Origin of Hieroglyphics, and on the Heathen Mythology," p.* 116. *Lond.* 1753. has the following observation. "In Greek, the word Δῖος signifies the same as the word *Divus* among the Latins; that is, *a divine person.*

P. 227. l. 16. *"From the time of Ruffinus, of Socrates, and of Sozomen, this type has occasionally exercised the ingenuity and the erudition of the most learned scholars."*]—It is the jewel of the *Royal Arch* among Freemasons, and is expressed in this manner, a sign consisting of three *Taus* joined by their feet at right angles; thus completing the monogram of *Thoth*, or *Taaut*, the symbolical and mystic name of *hidden wisdom* and of the Supreme Being among the antient Egyptians; the ΘΕΟΣ of the Greeks. "Numen illud," says Jablonski, (*Panth. Ægypt. tom.* III. *p.* 170. *Francof.* 1752.) "erat ipse *Phthas*, Vulcanus Ægyptiorum, Spiritus infinitus, RERUM OMNIUM CREATOR "ET CONSERVATOR, ipsorumque Deorum pater ac princeps." It is amusing to trace the various modifications by which this type of *hidden wisdom* is expressed. Sometimes, as the

the sun in the lower hemisphere, (*See Jablonski, tom.* I. *p.* 235.) it appears in hieroglyphic writing under this sign, . At other times it was written ⊙, and hence we see clearly what is meant by an antient patera with a knob in the bottom of it. Its other principal varieties were,  . Upon Greek medals we find the last monogram written . However, as all the sacred mysteries seem to owe their origin to those sources whence the human race derived the means of subsistence, the following remarks of the Bishop of Clogher may, with reference to an instrument in agriculture, simply explain all that was intended by the earliest representations of this symbol. "As to the *Crux ansata*, (says he) which hath so much puzzled the learned world, &c. it is no more than a *setting-stick* for planting roots and larger seeds." *See Origin of Hieroglyphics, p.* 121. *Lond.* 1753.

P. 443. l. 3, 4. "*An antient and memorable law*," &c.]—The same law is in Ælian, lib. iii. cap. 37.

P. 450. l. 13. "*We found fifteen columns yet standing.*"]—The Sunian Temple has been recently visited by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, Chaplain to the British Factory at Smyrna. This gentleman has communicated the following notices concerning it, in a Letter to the author:

"There are now standing, on the *south-east* side, - - -	9 columns.
On the *north* side - - - - - - - -	3
On the *north-west* side - - - - - - -	3
Total - - -	15
"Length of the Temple from N. W. to S. E. - -	72 feet.
Breadth - - - - - - - - -	45.
Height of columns from base to cornice - -	23
Distance of columns from centre to centre - -	8
Circumference at two feet from base - - -	9 . 10¼ inches."

The same gentleman has transmitted to the author the following beautiful Inscription, recently discovered in *Samos*. It relates to a woman of the name of TYRINNA, who died at the age of twenty-seven.

Ἡ γενεῇ δόξῃ τε καὶ ἐν μούσῃσι Τύρινν̣α
Ἔξοχος, ἡ πάσης ἄκρα φέρουσ' ἀρέτης,
Ἐννεάδας τρισσὰς ἐτέων ζήσασα, τοκεῦσιν
Δυστήνοις ἔλιπον δάκρυα καὶ στοναχάς.
Πᾶς γὰρ, ἐμοῦ φθιμένης, χῆρος δόμος οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὴ
Λείπομαι, οὔτ' ἔλιπον βλαστὸν ἀποιχομένη.
Ἀντὶ δὲ πατρῴου καὶ ὑψορόφοιο μελάθρου,
Λειτὴ τοὐμὸν ἔχει σῶμα λαχοῦσα πέτρη.
Εἰ δ' ἦν εὐσεβέων ὅσιος λόγος, οὔποτ' ἂν οἶκος
Οὐ μὸς, ἐμοῦ φθιμένης, ταῖσδ' ἐνέχυρσε τύχαις.

P. 473. l. 3 of Note. "*For the purest Greek is not spoken at Athens.*"]—The greatest proof, perhaps, of plagiarism that can be adduced, is one of this nature; shewing, that even the *errors* of an author have been transcribed. If either Wheler or his companion had given themselves the trouble to consult the authors cited by *Meursius*, they would have found the very opposite of their assertion expressly stated; that, of above seventy dialects now remaining in Modern Greece, the Athenian, instead of being the *purest*, is the *most corrupted*, and the *worst*. Περὶ δὲ τῶν διαλέκτων, τί ἂν καὶ εἴποιμι, πολλῶν οὐσῶν, καὶ διαφόρων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα; τούτων δ' ἁπαζῶν, ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων χειρίστη. (*Vid. Epist. Sim. Cabasilæ, ad Mart. Crus. script. anno* 1578.) And *Theodosius Zygomalas*, in his Letter to the same person, says, speaking of the Greek language in Athens, Ἥωλέον δὲ βάρβαρος, ἔστιν ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἤ τις ἦν ὅτε ὑπῆρχεν, ἀρίστη· ἂν τις εἰ εἴπῃ καταδιάμετρον. τῇ πάλαι, οὐχ ἂν ἁμάρτοι. *Meursii Fortuna Attica*, p. 113. *L. Bat.* 1622.

P. 494. last line. "*The hat was intended as a distinguishing token.*"]—It is still so considered at Athens. Guilletiere, in giving an account of the *Vecchiados* or *Elders*, selected out of the principal Christian families, forming a part of the jurisdiction of the city, says they are distinguished from the other citizens by wearing "*little hats.*" These are his words:—"*Les Vecchiados portent de petits chapeaux, pour les distinguer des autres habitans.*" Voyage d'Athénes, p. 159. *Paris*, 1675.

P. 500. l. 11. "*The most admirable specimens of the art of sculpture.*"]—Mr. Cripps has preserved, in his MS. Journal, a note, dictated by Lusieri, relative to a very curious discovery made by that artist with regard to the sculptured ornaments of the *Erecthéum*. The author also well remembers its being pointed out to him by the same person upon the spot. Lusieri found among the most delicate intertexture of the wreaths and foliage, small brass nails, and bits of antique glass, which had been fastened on to heighten the general delicacy and exquisite finishing of the work. This circumstance has been noticed by no other traveller. Perhaps, according to our notions of taste, as founded upon the Grecian school, these works appear more beautiful in their present nakedness than they would have done if we had beheld them as they were originally finished, when they were painted and gilded, and studded with glass beads, or invested with other extraneous ornament.

P. 509. l. 16. "*By the word* Theatre *the Antients intended the whole body of the edifice*," &c.]—Plutarch considers Θέατρον to be derived from Θεὸς; because, before theatres were built, the *Chorus* sang the praises of their Gods, and the commendation of illustrious men.

APPENDIX.

No I.

EXTRACT *from* COLONEL SQUIRE's MS. JOURNAL;

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF CAIFFA, ACRE, &c. AND OF HIS INTERVIEWS WITH DJEZZAR PASHA.

"At noon (*April* 9th, 1802,) we went on shore, and endeavoured to see the Sheik (*Governor*) of *Caiffa*. At this moment we could not see him; for the day (*Friday*) being the Mahometan Sabbath, he was engaged at the Mosque. In the interval we proposed to make a small tour without the town; but we were told that the gates were then shut, and that they would not be opened until the prayers at the Mosque were ended: this, as it appears, is a custom in many parts of the East; for they fear that while the Mussulmen are engaged in the duties of their religion, the Christians may enter secretly and take the place by surprise:—indeed, they have a tradition to this effect. After the noon-prayer was concluded, we had an audience of the Sheik in a miserable smoked chamber; the key of which, after a great search and inquiry, was with some difficulty procured. He regaled us with coffee; and as there was only one extra pipe for the accommodation of his guests, it was passed from one person to another; and we smoked alternately. During our conference, an unfortunate *swallow* which had taken up its abode in the Sheik's mansion was constantly hovering over our heads[1]. In the course of conversation, the Sheik observed, that he was born near *England*, as he was a native of *Algiers:* he alluded to our fortress of Gibraltar; for the Turks consider all our foreign possessions as *England*. Ismael Pasha, a respectable Turk, declared he had been in England, because he had once visited Gibraltar. After coffee and pipes, we proceeded towards *Mount Carmel*. This mountain, which may perhaps be two hundred feet above

(1) For the universality of the superstition with regard to the *swallow*, the Reader is requested to refer to p. 547, and Note, of Part I. of these Travels, second edit.: also to v. 149 of the *Electra* of *Sophocles*, where the same bird is called Διὸς ἄγγελος. See the end of Chap. xvi. of this section of Part II.

above the level of the sea, is covered with a variety of shrubs and aromatic plants, which may render the air as wholesome as it is fragrant and agreeable: the ascent was by a slope; and this, although now covered with weeds and brambles, appears to have been formerly a regular road to the Convent on its summit. In the beginning of the ascent, we observed a sort of grotto excavated in the rock. On the point immediately above the sea, are the remains of a well-built Monastery, which, since the appearance of the French in these countries, has been entirely destroyed by the Turks. Below this there is a smaller Convent. It is inhabited by a Turk, and its church has been converted into a mosque: it is excavated from out of the solid rock; being about fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide, and twenty feet in height. On our return to *Caiffa* along the sea-shore, at the foot of the mountain, we observed a range of Catacombs in the rock, which had probably been the burying-place of an antient town in the neighbourhood: on the floor of these Catacombs were cavities for the reception of bodies. Near this place is a tower of masonry, with five embrasures in the lower part for the defence of the anchorage: at present, no guns are mounted there.

"*Caiffa* itself is a miserable village, close to the sea-side, and opposite to Acre: it is of an oblong figure; its longest side, parallel to the sea, being about two hundred yards; and its shortest, one hundred and fifty yards in length. It is completely inclosed by a stone wall about fifteen feet high, with square towers at the angles. On a small eminence immediately above the town, and completely commanding it, is a square tower, which, as well as the towers of *Caiffa* itself, has been dismantled of its guns by the Pasha of Acre, since the arrival of the French in Syria. From the summit of *Mount Carmel* the view of the *Bay of Caiffa* was picturesque in the extreme. On the opposite side was *Acre*; and beyond, the towering heights of the *Anti-Lebanon*, with a small chain of mountains intervening, which seemed to retire and lose themselves in the interior of the country. Bordering on the bay appeared an extensive plain, with the River *Kishon* meandering through the middle of it. From the roof of the Convent on the summit of Mount Carmel, Acre bore N. E. by N. distant seven miles; *Mount Saphet*, E. and by N. distant fifteen miles; a town on a projecting point on the coast, S. S. W. distant four miles. Mount Carmel consists of hard limestone, varied sometimes by thin strata of flint."

On the 12th of April, Colonel Squire sailed from *Caiffa* for *Acre*. His Journal then continues.

"Wind E. S. E. light breezes. At half past six A. M. weigh anchor; and at half past seven, bring-to at the entrance of the harbour of ACRE. A boat came from the town, which undertook to bring the vessel into the harbour. Our pilot, it appeared, was a sort of harbour-master, and has constantly twenty men employed for his assistance. As soon as the vessel was moored, the Captain of the port stripped himself, made a dive under the vessel's bottom, and told us there were four feet of water between the keel and the anchoring ground. The man was extremely old; and we were surprised at

at his activity and attention: however, upon inquiry, he said, that he obeyed the orders of Djezzar, who would immediately take off his head should an accident happen to any ships moored in the harbour of Acre. After a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by Djezzar's batteries, we landed, with a view to pay our compliments to the Pasha. Djezzar was setting in a small apartment at the farther extremity of a court in the upper floor of the Seraglio. The court was planted with orange and lemon trees, and other shrubs; and one side was occupied by the Charem.

"Djezzar received us in a very gracious manner, saying, that he had always loved the English because they were a brave nation; and seemed to insinuate that his friendship was perfectly disinterested; that he was independent of all; that he had plenty of guns and troops of his own; in short, that he was able to defend himself without the assistance of others. When we inquired with respect to the march of the Vizier through Syria, and his return from Egypt to Constantinople, he replied: 'I know not which way 'he is gone; they say he is now at Damascus; he will scarcely leave a beard or mustachio 'in any town that he passes through. When he was at Caïro, he desired me to send timber 'for his army: my reply was, *I am not a seller of wood.*' So that Djezzar fully explained his situation and his politics; continually launching forth in his own praises; at the same time that he abused the Vizier and his creatures. 'The Vizier (*said he*) has rich 'dresses and precious ornaments in abundance; but he carries all his wealth on his 'person. I am a Bosniac, a rough unpolished soldier, not accustomed to courts and 'politeness, but bred in camps and in the field. I have no handsome pelisses nor fine 'shawls: my troops, however, are well paid, and numerous. I am expert (*added he*) 'in the management of a sabre: with a single stroke of my sword, I have cut in two the 'barrel of a musquet.'

"Djezzar sat in the upper corner of the apartment: close to his hand was a four-barrelled pistol, very richly mounted; behind him were two musquets, a sabre, and an axe; a silver spitting cup was in his left hand; and in another part of the room, a drinking mug of wood, made by himself, and always kept in the apartment: the ceiling was ornamented with landscape painting of his own invention. The Divân (the part raised a few inches above the floor) was covered with a thin common carpet; the other part of the chamber with a mat. Djezzar leans on a low crutch, placed under his right arm, which he said he had always used instead of the fine downy cushions of the rich and indolent. He was dressed in an old darned pelisse, with blue cloth trowsers, in the Turkish style, and a red shawl on his head as a turban. He remarked, that he was sleeping when we fired our salute; that he had been rather unwell; that the report of the guns awoke him, and that the grateful sound had revived him from his indisposition.

"Djezzar may be between seventy and eighty years of age; he has lost the greater part of his teeth, has a respectable grey beard, and a prominent nose; and though when he smiles he may impose upon one the appearance of good nature, the ordinary cast of his countenance, with his wrinkled brow, sufficiently denotes his well-known

familiarity with conspiracies and assassination. After taking our leave, we visited the fortifications of *Acre*, towards the land, with the Dragoman of Djezzar; who pointed out to us the position of the French camp, and the different points against which the attack was directed. The camp was in the plain, about two miles south-east from the town, extending itself, from the sea, as far as the remains of a church near the aqueduct which once conveyed water to *Acre*. Part of this building was destroyed by Buonaparté: that part which was near the town has been levelled by Djezzar since the departure of the French, that he might render the defences of his works as open and clear as possible. With the same view he has levelled most of the trees in the neighbourhood. [*N.B. Here Col. Squire enters into a very detailed account of the fortifications of Acre.*]

"The Mosque, built by Djezzar about fifteen years ago, has a large dome, and both outside and within is very richly ornamented. We observed in the walls large pieces of Verd-antique, and specimens of many different kinds of marble: the ornaments within are light, and painted in very gay colours: the whole building has more the appearance of a fine theatre, than a place for devotion. We were not permitted to ascend the minaret: here it is the office of a blind person to call the people to prayers, that there may be no opportunity from this elevated situation to observe the women in the Pasha's Charem. Before being admitted into the Mosque, we were obliged to purchase thin slippers, and wear them as a mark of respect, leaving our boots at the entrance. The court of the Mosque, in the centre of which is a neat fountain, and a small plantation of palm and cypress trees, is surrounded by a sort of cloister, and small apartments, in which are deposited the books of Djezzar. These also serve as lodging places for the chief people of the law. Under the Mosque is a large reservoir for water; and we were informed, that, at present, a ten years' supply of water for the town is collected in the different cisterns. Without the gate of the Mosque, and opposite to the entrance of the Seraglio, is a handsome fountain, with basons of white marble, and furnished with drinking cups, very convenient for the inhabitants. Since the campaign of the French in Syria, the fortifications of *Acre* have been repaired, and considerably increased: those which have been added are much more substantial than the old; the masonry, though not finely wrought, is solid and well executed; the stones which compose it are taken from the walls and foundations of the ancient *Ptolemaïs*. The whole of the ramparts are surmounted with a sort of battlement, which Djezzar told us was very useful when the enemy mounted to the assault: for these stones, being loosened, were tumbled down upon the French, and occasioned very great confusion. When the French besieged *Acre*, their attack was directed on the *Bourge Ali*, at the north-east angle; and the besiegers took advantage of irregularities in the ground, of the garden walls, and of a small ravine, and more particularly of the remains of an aqueduct which once conveyed water to Acre. Djezzar, profiting by this experience, has entirely levelled the aqueduct near the town, and is determined that, for the future, the enemy shall not have the smallest shelter.

"The

"The Bay of *Acre*, or *Caiffa*, is seven miles in width, and perhaps a league and an half in length: the sweep is nearly semicircular: the soundings in general ten or eleven fathoms; and the holding ground near the village *Caiffa*, on the south side, excellent.

"A low sandy ridge, projecting from the south point of the bay, forms a secure road-stead abreast of *Caiffa*, and is always preferred. Two small streams discharge themselves into the Bay of *Acre*: one about a mile east of *Caiffa*, supposed to be the *Kishon* of the Sacred Scripture: a second, called the *River of Acre*, discharges itself into the sea, perhaps a mile and an half from the town. This stream is shallow, inconsiderable, and frequently changes its direction. The beach of the bay does not seem convenient for landing, being much exposed to the westerly winds, flat and shallow, with a continual surf.

"April the 13th. Soon after breakfast we visited Djezzar, who was very talkative, and shewed us several specimens of his ingenuity: he cut out, in our presence, a gun, in paper, with a pair of scissars; told us he was a great adept at this art, and would let us see his performances: these consisted of vases and flowers, very neatly cut, and adorned with different inscriptions from the Koran, and had been further decorated by a painter in the town: he also showed us the model of a powder-mill to be worked by horses, of his own invention. When we made him a compliment on the gallant defence of *Acre*, by himself and Sir Sidney Smith,—'Ah! (*replied he*) all events are from God. 'Fate has always favoured Djezzar; and confident in my own strength and means, I 'never feared Buonaparté. Nor do I care for the Vizier: when he marched through 'this part of Syria, he did not dare to approach *Acre*; for he knew I was well able to 'receive him.'

"After having taken our leave, we wished to visit the fortifications towards the sea: we were however told, that it would be better to walk without the town; for Djezzar could not be responsible for our safety within, as it was the time of a festival (the *Kourban Beiram*, the sacrifice of lambs), during which the soldiers fire their pistols continually (always with ball), and perhaps some accident might befal us. Mr. Hamilton returned to Djezzar, to make some diplomatic arrangements; while Major Leake and myself took a walk on the north side of the fortifications.

"Djezzar's Dragoman (Bertocini, a Genoese) informed us, that thirteen years ago, on account of a suspected conspiracy between his Mamaluke slaves and his Georgian and Circassian women, he put them all to death, eleven females, by throwing them alive into a well, and thus leaving them to expire: he also mutilated a vast number of them, by cutting off their noses, who had had the smallest communication with the Mamalukes. It is supposed that Djezzar has thirteen women in his Charem: their dresses being made in the town, and a billet being sent to the workmen for a dress for such a particular number.

"At four P. M. we re-embark.

"April the 14th. After breakfast we visited Djezzar. We brought with us a packet, which we requested him to forward by a courier to Aleppo. 'Am I (said 'he, in a violent rage,) the *Sais Bashi* (Chief of the Couriers). Your conduct is very 'extraordinary:

'extraordinary: the first day you visit me as a friend;—you make me no present. 'You suspected my friendship from the first. Instead of coming directly to *Acre*, why 'did you anchor at *Caiffa?*' [We were prevented by the weather, and our pilot's entire ignorance of the harbour.] 'On the second visit you desire to see the plans of 'my fortifications; and while the two others go without, and examine my fortifications, 'you (*addressing himself to Mr. Hamilton*) remain with me, open the object of your 'mission, and wish me to make peace with the Druzes; a subject I cannot bear to advert 'to.' Mr. Hamilton attempted an explanation; and told him that the simple subject of his inquiry was, whether Sir Sidney Smith had interfered in the affair of the Druzes, or not;—that Lord Elgin was extremely sorry to have heard a report of that nature;—that the conduct of those persons who had communicated with the enemies of Djezzar should be strictly inquired into: and he concluded by observing, that he hoped Djezzar would receive an English Consul at Acre. This, indeed, was the subject of the conversation of yesterday. Djezzar has mistaken the whole: like a true tyrant, always filled with jealousy and suspicion, he imagined that we were emissaries from the English, and wished to re-establish the affairs of the Druzes. He would hearken to no explanation; but entertained suspicions which we saw it would be wholly impossible to erase. The *Emir Bechir* (Prince) of the Druzes, who governs the Mountains (of the Lebanon) inhabited by this people and the Maronites, is continually at war with Djezzar, and has refused the contributions annually levied in the Mountains. Djezzar retains two nephews of the Emir in his Seraglio, as hostages, in case any act of hostility should be shewn by the Prince of the Mountains. When the French were before Acre, they attempted to bring over the Druzes and Maronites to their alliance. Sir Sidney Smith, gaining intelligence of this, very prudently despatched emissaries to counteract the French intrigue in the Mountains; and made ample promises of his friendship and protection to the Druzes. This people had always been the declared enemies of Djezzar; and the short-sighted policy of the tyrant made him most inveterate against Sir Sidney and the English, on account of their correspondence in the Mountains.

"'I can (*added Djezzar*) let the English know that I am as powerful in my 'enmities, as I am faithful and sincere in my friendships. Am I to be dictated to? 'I, who have held the sword over the heads of the Beys, shall I lower it, and be 'humbled by the English? No, (*exclaimed he,*) I can withstand them all. I will have 'no communication with the English. I will have no Consul of that nation; not one 'of their ships shall come into my harbour; they shall not approach within gun-shot 'of my fortifications.' Mr. Hamilton still attempted to explain: and at last, Djezzar went so far as to say, that it was not with Sir Sidney Smith that he was offended; that it was with a Mr. Wright, Lieutenant of the Tigre, and the Vice-Consul of Tripoli, a Frenchman, whom he considered the cause of the breach between him (Djezzar) and Sir Sidney. 'Mr. Wright (*continued he*) and the other had been to visit the Chiefs of the 'Druzes; had made arrangements with them, and had even returned with some of the 'Princes to *Acre*; and Sir Sidney ought certainly to have prevented this communication: however,

'however, (*said he*) I am not offended with him.' In short, in his extreme anger, he frequently contradicted himself. Leake and myself smiled upon some observations between ourselves. Djezzar became furious. 'I, who have been a Pasha of three tails 'these five years; I, (*said he*) who have defeated twelve thousand Druzes with twenty 'horsemen, am I to be insulted in this manner?—I am speaking seriously. Am I to be 'laughed at and derided?—I am an old man: you are children: look at my beard.— 'I am choleric; I know not what may be the consequences!' Had I not been in my 'own house, I should instantly have bursted forth and died with indignation! I am 'now in such a rage, and have talked so much, that I can neither see nor distinguish 'any of you!' His mouth, at different times, was so parched with anger and exertion, that he took large draughts of water, and remarked, that he had never drank so much water in his life. After a violent conversation of two hours, in which the cruelty, the tyranny, the ingratitude of this monster were displayed in their blackest colours, we took our departure; telling him, that we would repeat our visit in the evening.'

"In the course of this morning's interview, he told us, that he was a just man, and fond of order and regularity. 'If my soldiers touch me, or have the appearance of 'offering the smallest insult, I immediately order them to be beheaded. If a man 'insults a woman, his punishment is the same. If I desire a man to sit down in my 'presence, and I go out of the apartment, and he quits his seat before my return, the 'loss of his head is the consequence.'

"In the afternoon, we again landed with an intention to visit the Pasha; but we were told by the Dragoman, that he had gone into his Charem, and would not be visible this evening: we therefore returned to the ship.

"April 15th. After breakfast we went ashore with an intention to visit Djezzar; but we were told by his Dragoman, that he had issued orders at the gates of the Seraglio to refuse our admission. We then inquired if it were possible to hire horses, to pass by land to Tripoli: the Dragoman answered in the negative; for there would be no security for our persons. We then determined to get under weigh, and proceed to Tripoli by sea. At one P. M. we were unmoored, and got out of the bay, with a small breeze from the northward."

N° II.

ON THE

DISCOVERY BY COLONEL CAPPER

OF THE EXISTENCE OF

ANTIENT PAGAN SUPERSTITIONS IN MOUNT LIBANUS,

PARTICULARLY THOSE WHICH RELATE TO THE WORSHIP OF VENUS.

THE superstition discovered by Colonel CAPPER can be considered as nothing less than the expiring embers of those holocausts which once blazed in honour of Sidonian Astarté[1]. The Venus of Libanus was called *Asthoreth*, from the number of sacrifices offered to her. Eusebius mentions this situation of her temple; it was built in the most secluded solitude of that mountain[2]. Constantine overthrew the temple, and, according to Augustine[3], abolished its detestable rites; but these, however, have in some measure survived, and remain at the present day among those wretched superstitions which degrade

(1) Astarté, Astaroth, Ashtaroth, Asthoreth, ASTARA, (*See the Inscriptions communicated to Part* I. *of these Travels, by* Charles Kelsall, Esq. *from the Cimmerian Bosporus, p.* 402. *Second edit.*) AESTAR, (*whence our word* AESTER: *See chap.* X. *p.* 317. *Note* 2, *of the former Volume: also Gale's Court of the Gentiles, B.* ii. *c.* 2.) Nothing tends more to elucidate and simplify Heathen mythology, than the constantly bearing in recollection the identity of all those Pagan idols which were distinguished by these several names; (to which may be added the other less similar appellations of the same Phœnician Goddess;) viz: Atergatis, Juno, Isis, Hecate, Proserpine, Ceres, Diana, Europa, (*Cicer. de Natur. Deor. lib.* iii.) Venus, Urania, Dercetis, (*Ovid. Metam. lib.* iv.) and Luna. The Arabians called her *Alilat*, and still preserve their *Alilua*. Among the Chaldeans she was called *Militta*.

(2) Eusebius de Laudib. Constant. Orat. et de Præp. lib. iv. cap. 7.

(3) Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, lib. iv. cap. 10.

degrade a multitude of human beings, to whom the Holy Scriptures have been hitherto denied. However impious and abominable these superstitions at last became, they were, in their origin, of a purer nature; having resulted solely from the veneration paid by a grateful people to those luminaries of heaven, whence they supposed all their blessings to be derived. Before the coming of the Jews into the Promised Land, it is evident, from Scripture, that the worship of the *Moon*[4] was cultivated by the original inhabitants of the country; and there cannot be pointed out a truth connected with their history more capable of demonstration, than that the DEA SYRIA who obtained, by her *ten thousand* appellations, the epithet of *Myrionymus*, with all the fabulous history of her favourite Adonis, or the *Earth*[5], was, under all its modifications, but so many testimonies of this antient worship[6]. The numerous instances of popular Pagan superstitions retained in the Greek and Roman churches have been often before noticed; these were made subservient to the propagation of a more enlightened system of faith: and as, in our reformed religion, a part of the Liturgy of the Roman Church has been preserved, so it may be said that certain of the external

(4) It was from the Phœnicians and Canaanites that the Israelites learned this worship. "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven." (*Jerem.* vii. 8.) The Canaanites and Phœnicians called the moon *Ashteroth, Astarté, Baaltis.* Lucian expressly says, that *Astarté*, that is to say, the *Venus of Libanus*, or *Queen of Heaven*, was the *moon;* and Herodotus (*lib.* 5.) calls *Astarté*, Ἀφροδίτη; as it is said by Herodian that the Carthaginians did, who affirmed her to be the same with the *moon.* This deity was worshipped by the Philistines in the shape of a *fish.* Lucian (*Dea Syria*) saw the image in Phœnicia; the upper part resembling a *woman;* the lower, a *fish.* And to this Horace has been supposed to allude in the following line:

"*Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè.*"

(5) Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 21.

(6) See particularly the Harpocrates of Cuper, (*p.* 108. *Utrecht*, 1687.) and the figure of Isis, as engraved by him.

external forms, and even of the prayers[1], in use among the Heathens, are still retained. A Roman-catholic, however, who prostrates himself before a wooden crucifix, or a member of the Greek Church making the sign of the cross, will not readily admit that the figure of a cross was used, as a symbol of *resurrection from the dead*, long before the sufferings of our Saviour. Like Albericus examining the writings of Abelard[2], either of them reading such an assertion would deem it pregnant with the most noxious heresy; and yet, exactly after the manner in which Abelard refuted the charge of Albericus[3], we have only to open a volume of one of their own Fathers, to prove that this is indisputably true[4]. The enemies of Christianity long ago endeavoured to vilify and blaspheme its rites, by pointing out a resemblance between the history of our Saviour's death and resurrection, and the annual lamentations for Adonis, followed by the joy expressed for his supposed resuscitation[5]. But the fable of Adonis,

(1) The *Ghospody Pomilui* of the Russians, and "*Lord have mercy upon us,*" as it stands in our Liturgy, was a part of the Pagan Litany. (*See Young's Diss. &c. Vol.* II. *p.* 7. *Lond.* 1734.) Vossius says, that Κύριε ἐλέησον was an usual form of prayer among the Gentiles, as well as Jews. So Arrian, (*Epict. lib.* ii. *c.* 7.) Τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δηλοῦμεν αὐτῷ Κύριε ἐλέησον· "*Calling upon God, we pray, Lord have mercy upon us.*"

(2) See that most entertaining History of the Lives of Abelard and Heloise, as compiled from original documents by the Rev. Joseph Berrington, printed at Birmingham in 1787. The passage alluded to is in page 136, and contains a salutary lesson for bigots of every sect and denomination. Mr. Berrington's Work perhaps comprises the most able survey extant, and certainly the most amusing, of the state of literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

(3) See Berrington's Hist. of the Lives of Abelard and Heloise, p. 137.

(4) Socrates Scholasticus, lib. v. cap. 17. *Camb.* 1720.—See "Greek Marbles," p. 78. The learned author of "An Historical Dissertation on Idolatrous Corruptions," (*Vol.* II. *p.* 58. *Note. Lond.* 1734.) says the Cross in Egyptian Hieroglyphics denoted *Life Eternal*; and that upon this extraordinary coincidence between a Pagan symbol and the instrument of our Saviour's death, many of the Gentiles were converted to Christianity. *See Ruffinus, lib.* ii. *c.* 29. *Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib.* vii. *c.* 15.

(5) Julius Firmicus de Errore Profan. Relig. &c.

Adonis, although afterwards the foundation of detestable and degrading superstition, originally typified nothing more than the vicissitudes of winter and summer[6],—the seeming *death* and *revival* of Nature; whence a doubtful hope was occasionally excited of the soul's existence in a future state. This expectation so naturally results from the contemplation of such phænomena, that traces of it may be discerned among the most barbarous nations[7]. Some glimmering, therefore, of a brighter light, which was afterwards fully manifested in the Gospel, must naturally have occasioned indistinct traces of similitude between the Heathen mythology and the Christian dispensation. It was owing to such coincidence that St. Paul declared to the Athenians, "That God whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." In viewing these occasional resemblances, whether or not we be permitted to investigate their causes, the fact of their existence is indisputable. No one, duly considering the solemnities observed at *Easter* by the antient Saxons prior to the introduction of Christianity[8], or viewing at this day the ceremony of the Greek Church, particularly that of Moscow, when the priests are occupied in searching for the supposed body of the Messiah[9], previous to a declaration which ushers in the festivities of a whole empire, but must call to mind the circumstance related by Gregory Nazianzen, of the manner in which popular Pagan rites were made subservient to

(6) Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 21. *L. Bat.* 1670.

(7) Beattie enables his Minstrel to derive a hope of the soul's immortality, from observing the vicissitude of the Seasons:——

"Shall I be left abandon'd in the dust,
When Fate, relenting, lets the flower revive?"

Minst. xxvii. *p.* 16. *Edin.* 1807.

(8) See Gale's Court of the Gentiles, Book ii. ch. 2.

(9) See Vol. I. of these Travels, Chap. IV. p. 56. second edit.

to the advancement of the Christian faith[1]; as well as the remarkable fact[2], that, *on a certain night in the same season of the year, the Heathens similarly laid an image in their temples, and, after numbering their lamentations according to the beads upon a string, thus ended the appointed days of privation and sorrow; that then light was brought in; and the high-priest delivered an expression, similar in its import, of resuscitation and deliverance from grief.* In tracing such resemblances, the celebrated Middleton, writing from Rome, observes, "We see the people worshipping, at this day, in the same temples—at the same altars,—sometimes the same images—and always with the same ceremonies—as the old Romans."

(1) Orat. de Vitâ Greg. Thaum. tom. III. p. 574.
(2) Vid. Jul. Firmic. de Errore Profan. Relig. &c.

N° III.

THE *following* CATALOGUE *is inserted by way of* SURVEY *of the* PRESENT STATE *of* LITERATURE *in* GREECE. *It contains a* LIST *of* BOOKS *in the* HELLENIC *and in the* ROMAIC LANGUAGES, *printed at* VENICE *at the Press of* THEODOSIUS *of* YANINA, *with their* Prices *in Venetian* Liri *and* Soldi.

The Number has of course augmented since the period of the Author's return to England.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ

ΤΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝ

Τῆς Τυπογραφίας τῦ Πάνου Θεοδοσίου τῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.

Ἐνιτήσι ᾳωβ'. 1802. φιβ. 15.

	Lir.	Sol.
Ἀγιασματαριον μέγα, ἤτοι Ἐκλογὴ ἐκ τοῦ Εὐχολογίου. μετὰ νέας προσθήκης	3	0
—— Ἕτερον μικρὸν	1	10
Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου Χαραλάμπους	1	10
—— Ἑτέρα ἁγίου Νικολάου	1	0
—— Ἑτέρα ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ	1	0
—— Ἑτέρα τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων Τιμοθέου, καὶ Μαῦρας	1	0
—— Ἑτέρα τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δονάτου	1	0
—— Ἑτέρα τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου ἐπισκόπου Αἰγίνης	1	10
—— Ἑτέρα τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους τοῦ νέου	1	0
—— Ἑτέρα τῆς ὁσίας Μητρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρας τῆς Βασιλίσσης	1	0
Αἰσώπου Βίος, καὶ Μύθοι Ἑλληνιστὶ μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς Χρηστοηθείας Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου	3	0
—— Ἕτερος μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Θεωφράστου	3	10
Ἀλεξάνδρα τῦ Μακέδονος ἱστορία διὰ στίχων	1	0
Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία, νεοτυπωθὲν	7	0
Ἀμύντα τοῦ Τάσου Τραγῳδεία	2	0
Ἀμωνίου περὶ διαφόρων Λεξέων	1	10
Ἄνθος Χαρίτων Νέον εἰς Ἰταλικὴν, καὶ ἁπλῆν Ῥωμαϊκὴν φράσιν	1	10
Ἀνθολόγιον, νεοτυπωθὲν διορθωμένον εἰς τὰ ἐλλιπῆ τῶν ἄλλων τύπων	16	0
Ἀόρατος Πόλεμος	6	0
Ἀπόστολος νεοτυπωθεὶς, καὶ καλὰ δεμένος εἰς πετζὶ φίνος	6	10
—— Ἕτερος ὀρδινάριος	5	10
Ἀπολλώνιος Τύρου διὰ στίχων ἁπλῶν	0	10
Βίος Αἰσώπου εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν	0	15
Βοσκοπούλα ἡ εὔμορφη	0	4
Βοσποροµαχία διὰ στίχων κοινῶν περιγράφουσα τὸ κατάστενον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως	2	0
Γαϊδάρου, Λύκου, καὶ Ἀλουπούς. καὶ ὄνου προεστῶτος διήγησις ἀστεία	0	4
Γεωπονικὸν, ὁποῦ περιέχει ἑρμηνείας διαφόρου	3	0
Γεωργίου Λεξικὸν τὸ Τετράγλωσσον, νεωστὶ τυπωθὲν, ηὐξημένον μὲ λέξεις καὶ φωνὰς μάλιστα εἰς τὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἄλφα. γράμματα. πλουτισμένον μὲ τὰς πλέον ἀναγκαίας, ἱστορίας καὶ μυθολογίας εἰς ἐκείνας τὰς λέξεις ὁποῦ ἀνήκουσι, πρὸς περισ-		

	Lir.	Sol.
σοτέραν καταλειψιν τοῦ νοήματος τῆς λέξεως, μὲ τὰς ὀνομασίας τῶν θεῶν, μὲ παραδείγματα, κατὰ πᾶσαν λέξιν, καὶ μὲ ἄλλους τινὰς καλωπισμοὺς χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν	80	0
Γλιζούνιος περὶ ἀριθμητικῆς μεθόδου	3	10
Γνωμικὰ παλαιῶν τινῶν Φιλοσόφων εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν	1	10
Γνωμολογικὸν Γρυσολωρᾶ, νεωστὶ τυπωθὲν .	0	15
Γραμματικὴ τοῦ Λασκάρεως μετὰ προσθήκης καὶ καλλωπισμῶν δεσίματος	4	0
Γραμματικὴ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἀντωνίου Κατηφόρου	3	10
Γραμματικὴ Βεσσαρίωνος	3	0
Γραμματικὴ Θεοδώρου Γαζῆ Βιβλία Τέσσαρα	3	0
Γραμματικὴ τῶν φιλοσοφικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν ἢ σύντομος Ἀνάλυσις τῆς πειραματικῆς νεωτέρας φιλοσοφίας συγγραφεῖσα μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἄγγελον Βενιαμὴν Μαρτίνου, μετενεχθεῖσα δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διάλεκτον παρὰ Ἀνθίμου γαζῆ τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου εἰς 2 τόμους. Βιέννῃ, 1799. δίχως συγκατάβασιν	16	0
Διακονικὸν, νεωστὶ τυπωθὲν	2	0
—— Ἕτερον μὲ πετζί	3	0
Διάκρισις εἰς τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Βολτέρ. . . .	3	0
Διδασκαλία Χριστιανικὴ	0	4
Διδασκαλία περὶ τοῦ Θρόνου τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶν Φραντζέζων. Τόμ. α'. .	3	0
—— Ετέρα τῆς Γαλλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Τόμ. β'.	3	0
Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, περιέχουσα τὸν βίον, τοὺς πολέμους, τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ . .	1	10
Διογένους Λαερτίου περὶ Βίων, Δογμάτων καὶ Ἀποφθεγμάτων τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκιμησάντων Βιβλία δέκα. Ἐνετίησι 1798 εἰς ὄγδοον δίχως συγκατάβασιν . .	16	0
Ἑβδομαδαρία, ἤτοι Ἐνιαύσιος Βίβλος, περιέχουσα ὅλην τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ χρόνου, ἤγουν τὸ Ὡρολόγιον, τὸ Ψαλτήριον, τὴν Παρακλητικὴν, τὸ Ἀνθολόγιον, τὸ Τριῴδιον, τὸ Πεντηκοστάριον, τὰς τρεῖς Λειτουργίας, καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότερα τοῦ Εὐχολογίου	70	0

	Lir.	Sol.
Ἐκλόγιον, νεωστὶ τυπωθὲν	8	0
Εἱρμολόγιον, νεωστὶ τυπωθὲν	3	0
Ἑορτολόγιον, νεωστὶ τυπωθὲν	4	0
Ἐπιστολάριον μὲ μίαν προσθήκην πολλὰ περίεργον, καὶ χρήσιμον	3	0
Ἐπιστολαὶ διὰ στίχων ἁπλῶν κατὰ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας	0	12
Ἑρμηνείαι Εὐσεβεῖς περὶ Μιμήσεως Χριστοῦ	5	0
Ἐρωτόκριτος, νεωστὶ τυπωθεὶς	3	10
Ἐρωφίλη Τραγῳδία διὰ στίχων	1	10
Ἔλεγχος κατὰ ἀθέων καὶ δυσσεβῶν εἰς Τόμ. δύω	10	0
Εὐσταθείου, τὸ καθ' ὑσμήνην καὶ ὑσμενίαν δρᾶμα	8	0
Ἐγχειρίδιον τῆς τῶν ζώων οἰκονομίας . . .	2	0
Εὐαγγέλιον, διορθωμένον εἰς πολλὰ ἐλλιπῆ, μὲ τὰ Κανόνια τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Χρυσάνθου τοῦ Νοταρᾶ . .	24	0
Ἕτερον χρυσὸν	32	0
Εὐχολόγιον μέγα νεοτυπωθὲν	16	0
Ζητήματα διάφορα Θεολογικὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου	0	10
Ἡ Ἐξάβιβλος (εἰς κοινὴν γλῶσσαν μεταφραθεῖσα) Κωνσταντίνου Ἁρμενοπόλου. Τὰ νῦν αὐξυνθεῖσα μετὰ Ἀποστολικῶν, Συνοδικῶν, καὶ Πατερικῶν Κανόνων . .	18	0
Ἠθικὴ περιήγησις Κύρου βασιλέως Περσῶν .	8	0
Θέατρον Πολιτικὸν μεταγλωττισθὲν ἐκ τῆς Λατινίδος εἰς τὴν κοινὴν Διάλεκτον παρὰ τοῦ ὑψηλωτάτου αὐθέντου Οὐγκροβλαχίας Νικολάου Μαυροκοδράτου. Τρίτη διορθωμένη ἔκδοσις Βενετίᾳ δίχως συγκαταβασίν τινα	15	0
Θεωρία Χριστιανικὴ	1	10
Θησαυρὸς Δαμασκηνοῦ νεοτυπωθεὶς . . .	8	0
Θεοφράστου Ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες εἰκοσιτέσσαρες	0	10
Θεοφυλάκτου Βουλγαρίας ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Ἱερὰ Εὐαγγέλια χωρὶς τινα κατεβασμὸν	30	0
Θεοτοκάριον	3	0
Θυσία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ διὰ στίχων ἁπλῶν . .	0	10
Ἰδία τοῦ ἀληθοῦς Μετανοοῦντος	3	0

	Lir.	Sol.
Ἱστορία τῆς Βυζαντίδος ἀπὸ κτίσεως Κόσμου ἕως τοὺς ἐσχάτους καιρούς μας, εἰς Τόμους ς'. (χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν) . . .	60	0
Ἱστορία Πολέμου ἀναμεταξὺ Ῥωσσίας, καὶ τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Πόρτας, εἰς Τόμους ἓξ	21	0
Ἱστορία Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Μελετίου εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν εἰς Τόμους τρεῖς	60	0
Ἱστορία ἠθικὴ Βελισσαρίου Ἀρχιστρατήγου τοῦ μεγάλου αὐτοκράτορος	6	0
Ἱστορία Σταυράκι διὰ στίχων ἁπλῶν . . .	0	4
Ἱστορία τῆς Σκοτζίας	0	4
Κατάνυξις Μπουνιαλὴ διὰ στίχων	0	10
Κωμῳδία τοῦ Κάρλου Γολδόνη, ἡ στοχαστικὴ καὶ ὡραία χῆρα μεταφρασθεῖσα εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον	3	10
—— Ἑτέρα, Ἀρετὴ τῆς Παμέλας . . .	3	0
—— Ἑτέρα, Διχόνιαι Πενερᾶς καὶ νύμφης	3	10
Κορνηλίου Νέπωτος περὶ τῶν ἐξόχων ἡγεμόνων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων	6	0
—— Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲ εἰκόνας δίχως συγκατάβασιν	7	0
Λεξικὸν Μικρὸν	3	0
Λόγοι Ψυχωφελεῖς εἰς τὸ Σωτήριον Πάθος	1	10
Λεξικὸν Βλάχου χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν . . .	24	0
Λόγοι Πανηγυρικοὶ, εἰς Ἐγκώμιον διαφόρων Ἁγίων	2	0
Λειτουργικὸν εἰς μῆκος καὶ χαρακτῆρα μέγαν	12	0
Λειτουργίαι αἱ τρεῖς, Χρυσοστόμου, Βασιλείου, καὶ ἡ Προηγιασμένη μὲ Εἰκονογραφίας, εἰς πετζὶ	3	10
—— Ἕτεραι εἰς χαρτὸν	1	10
Μαργαρῖται τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	8	0
Μαρκάδας ἱστορία διὰ στίχων	0	6
Μηναῖα τὰ δώδεκα, νεοτυπωθέντα μὲ προσθήκην τοῦ Τυπικοῦ, εἰς κάθε ἑορτὴν τοῦ χρόνου ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ χρησιμεύει. καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τοὺς εἱρμοὺς, καταβασίας, καὶ ἤχους, ἐσφαλμένα εἰς τοὺς πρώτους τύπους	144	0
Μηνιάτη Διδαχαὶ, νεοτυπωθεῖσαι	8	0
Μηνολόγιον τοῦ ἔτους 1802	0	3
Μῦθοι Αἰσώπου, εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν . . .	0	15
Μυθολογικὸν ἠθικοπολιτικὸν τῆς Πυλπαίδος .	6	0
Μωρέως Ἱστορία	1	0
Μυθολογικὸν Ἀραβικὸν ἤτοι ἐξακολούθησις τῆς χαλημᾶς εἰς Τόμους τέσσαρας . .	22	0
Ναυτικῆς θεωρητικο-πρακτικῆς Ἑρμηνεία, ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν τῶν Γραϊκῶν κοινὴν μεταγλωττισθεῖσα καὶ τανῦν ἔτει 1802. πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν πινάκων εἰς δύω Τόμους		
Νέος Παράδεισος, νεωστὶ τυπωμένος . . .	8	0
Ξενοφῶντος τὰ σωζόμενα μὲ εἰκονογραφίας εἰς τέσσαρας Τόμους εἰς Φραντζέζε χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν	44	0
Ὀκτώηχος καλὰ δέμένη	1	2
Οἶκοι τῆς Θεοτόκου, Ἑλληνικὰ, καὶ ἁπλᾶ . .	0	10
Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία	6	0
Παιδαγωγία μὲ προσθήκαις χρήσιμαις . .	0	2
—— Ἑτέρα μεγάλη μετὰ διαφόρους καλλωπισμοὺς	0	10
Παιδαγωγὸς ἢ Γραμματικὴ πρακτικὴ ἐν Βιέννῃ 1800 δίχως συγκατάβασιν . . .	10	0
Παρακλητικὴ νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσα, καὶ ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθεῖσα	20	0
Πεντηκοσταριον παρομοίως	12	0
Περιγραφὴ Ἱερὰ τοῦ Σινᾶ Ὄρους, μετὰ τῆς Ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, καὶ ἑτέρων πάνυ ἀφελίμων διηγήσεων . .	2	10
Περὶ τῆς διατριβῆς εἰς Ἐνετίαν τῶν Κωμήτων τῆς Ἄρκτου τοῦ μεγάλου Δουκὸς τῆς Ῥωσσίας	0	10
Πέτρα Σκανδάλου ἤτοι διασάφησις τῶν διχονιῶν τῶν δύω Ἐκκλησιῶν Ἀνατολικῆς καὶ Δυτικῆς, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ ἡλιοῦ Μηνιάτη	8	0
Πολεμικῆς Τέχνης ἑρμηνεία μετὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν στρατευμάτων τῆς μεγάλης Ῥωσσίας	3	0
Πρακτικὰ, ἤτοι Περιγραφὴ τῶν Πράξεων τῆς Διαίτης, ὁποῦ ἔγινεν εἰς Βαρσοβίαν τῆς Πολωνίας κατὰ τοὺς 1768 . . .	0	10
Προσκυνητάριον τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ σεβασμίας Μονῆς τῆς μεγίστης ἁγίας Λαύρας, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ . .	1	0

	Lir.	Sol.
Σπανος	0	10
Στιχολογία, νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσα μετὰ προσθήκης τινὸς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ, τοῦ Ὄρθρου, καὶ τῆς Λειτουργίας	0	5
Συλλειτουργικὸν μετά τινος νέας προσθήκης .	0	6
Συντίπα τοῦ Φιλοσόφου Ἱστορία	1	0
Σύνταγμάτιον Νέον, περιέχον τὴν πρέπουσαν αὐτῷ Ἀκολουθίαν Παρακλητικὴν τῆς ὅλης Ἑβδομάδος. Νῦν τὸ πρῶτον τυπωθὲν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς διορθωθὲν . . .	1	10
Σύνταγμάτιον Θεολογικῆς παιδείας	16	0
Σύνοψις, νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσα μετὰ προσθήκης, καί τινων εὐχῶν ἐν τῷ τέλει	2	10
—— Ἑτέρα ὁμοία χρυσωμένη	3	10
Σειρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων εἰς τὸν Ἰωβ . .	10	0
Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν	32	0
Τὰ ἅπαντα πρακτικὰ τῶν Τοπικῶν καὶ Οἰκουμενικῶν ἁγίων Συνόδων, εἰς Τόμους δύω	124	0
Ταρίφα μὲ ταῖς Πόσταις	0	15
Τετράευαγγελον εἰς χαρακτῆρα μέγαν, μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ μὲ Πίνακα τῶν ῥητῶν τῆς Παλαιᾶς, τὰ ὁποῖα εὑρίσκονται εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια καὶ Ἀποκάλυψιν	7	0
—— Ἕτερον εἰς χαρακτῆρα μικρὸν διὰ ἐγκόλπιον	7	0
—— Ἕτερον εἰς θήκην χρυσοῦν	10	0
Τραγῳδίαι τοῦ Πέτρου Μεταστασίου. νῦν πρῶτον μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, εἰς Τόμους δύω	4	10
Τριῴδιον νεοτυπωθὲν	22	0
Χριστιανικὴ Θεολογία τοῦ θεολογικωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Μόσκβας Πλάτωνος . .	8	0
Χρονογράφος μετὰ προσθήκης νέας τῶν Τουρκῶν Βασιλέων	8	0
Χρηστοήθεια Ἑλληνιστὶ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς Λατινίδος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν παρὰ Ἀντωνίου Βυζαντίου ἡ πάνυ ὠφελιμωτάτη πρὸς διακόσμησιν ἠθῶν τῶν Νέων .	1	0
Χρυσωπηγὴ Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου. νῦν πρῶτον μεταφρασθεῖσα	32	0
Ψαλτήριον μέγα νεοτυπωθὲν εἰς χαρακτῆρα μέγαν	4	10
—— Ἕτερον μικρὸν	1	2
—— Ἕτερον Ἐξηγητὸν τοῦ Ἁγαπίου . .	8	0
Ὡρολόγιον σκέτο, μετὰ διαφόρων καλλωπισμάτων	6	10
—— Ἕτερον χρυσωμένον	8	0
Ὡρολόγιον μέγα, τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Βλαχίας	10	0
—— Ἕτερον ὅμοιον χρυσωμένον	13	0

N° IV.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE,

ACCORDING TO

DIURNAL OBSERVATION;

WITH

A CORRESPONDING STATEMENT OF TEMPERATURE IN ENGLAND

DURING THE SAME PERIOD:

The latter being extracted from a Register kept in the Apartments of the ROYAL SOCIETY of LONDON, by Order of the President and Council.

N.B. *The Observations during the Journey were always made at Noon; those of the Royal Society at Two* P. M; *and both on the Scale of Fahrenheit.*

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
82°	Acre, in Syria, N. lat. 32°. 57′.	July 17.	66
82	Acre,	July 18.	69
83	Acre,	July 19.	77
83	Acre;	July 20.	73
82	At sea, off Mount Carmel,	July 21.	79
81	At sea, N. lat. 33°. 24′.	July 22.	79
81	At sea, N. lat. 33°. 48′.	July 23.	72
81	At sea, N. lat. 33°. 40′.	July 24.	69
81	At sea, N. lat. 33°. 6′.	July 25.	71
81	At sea, N. lat. 31°. 32′.	July 26.	76
81	At sea, N. lat. 31°. 47′.	July 27.	72
80	At sea, N. lat. 31°. 59′.	July 28.	68
81	At sea, N. lat. 32°. 4′.	July 29.	66

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
81	At sea, N. lat. 32°.	July 30.	74
82	At sea, N. lat. 31°. 40′.	July 31.	72
81	Off the mouth of the Nile, N. lat. 31°. 40′.	August 1.	74
82	Aboukir bay,	August 2.	74
83	Aboukir bay,	August 3.	63
83	Aboukir bay,	August 4.	71
83	Aboukir bay,	August 5.	68
83	Aboukir bay,	August 6.	72
83	Aboukir bay,	August 7.	76
83	Aboukir bay,	August 8.	73
85	Rosetta,	August 9.	68
92	Upon the Nile, near Metubis,	August 10.	74
89	Upon the Nile, near El-Buredgiat,	August 11.	76
89	Upon the Nile, near Bulac,	August 12.	76
90	Upon the Nile, near Bulac,	August 13.	70
91	Upon the Nile, near Bulac,	August 14.	71
91	Caïro,	August 15.	73
91	Caïro,	August 16.	70
93	Caïro,	August 17.	75
92	Caïro,	August 18.	73
91	Caïro,	August 19.	74
91	Caïro,	August 20.	79
91	Caïro,	August 21.	71
90	Desert east of the Nile,	August 22.	71
85	Pinnacle of the Greater Pyramid of Djïza,	August 23.	69
91	Caïro,	August 24.	73
92	Caïro,	August 25.	71
90	Caïro,	August 26.	69
92	Caïro,	August 27.	73
87	Caïro,	August 28.	74
87	Caïro,	August 29.	76
86	Caïro,	August 30.	76
87	Caïro,	August 31.	68

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
89	Caïro,	September 1.	68
90	Caïro,	September 2.	66
83	Upon the Nile, near Amus,	September 3.	69
84	Upon the Nile, near Machallet,	September 4.	66
84	Rosetta,	September 5.	73
82	Rosetta,	September 6.	69
81	Rosetta,	September 7.	66
81	Aboukir bay,	September 8.	68
81	Aboukir bay,	September 9.	70
82	Alexandria,	September 10.	66
83	Alexandria,	September 11.	65
82	Alexandria,	September 12.	62
81	Alexandria,	September 13.	65
81	Alexandria,	September 14.	66
82	Alexandria,	September 15.	70
81	Alexandria,	September 16.	68
81	Alexandria,	September 17.	68
76	Aboukir bay,	September 18.	71
76	Aboukir bay,	September 19	69
78	Aboukir bay,	September 20.	67
80	Aboukir bay,	September 21.	64
80	Aboukir bay,	September 22.	56
78	At sea, off the mouths of the Nile,	September 23.	63
78	At sea, off the mouths of the Nile,	September 24.	61
78	At sea, N. lat. 33^{0}. 30′.	September 25.	59
78	At sea, N. lat. 34^{0}. 50′.	September 26.	61
78	At sea, N. lat. 35^{0}. 55′.	September 27.	70
76	At sea, N. lat. 35^{0}. 50′.	September 28.	67
74	At sea,	September 29.	69
74	At sea,	September 30.	64
72	At sea, near Rhodes,	October 1.	59
71	At sea, near Rhodes,	October 2.	65
74	At sea, near the Island Episcopia,	October 3.	65
75	At sea, near the Island Stanchio,	October 4.	61
76	Stanchio,	October 5.	61
77	Stanchio,	October 6.	57

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
77	Stanchio,	October 7.	58
76	Stanchio,	October 8.	58
76	At sea, near Patmos,	October 9.	61
76	At Patmos, in the port,	October 10.	65
74	At Patmos, Ditto,	October 11.	61
69	At Patmos, Ditto,	October 12.	58
75	Ditto, smaller Harbour of Ditto,	October 13.	63
74	Ditto, smaller Harbour of Ditto,	October 14.	63
75	At sea, near Naxos,	October 15.	60
72	Island of Naxos,	October 16.	60
72	At sea, near Naxos,	October 17.	58
76	Island of Naxos,	October 18.	59
76	At sea, near Paros,	October 19.	54
76	Island of Paros,	October 20.	50
77	Parian marble quarries of Marpessus.	October 21.	45
75	Harbour of Syra,	October 22.	47
78	Harbour of Syra,	October 23.	53
75	At sea, near Zïa,	October 24.	50
74	Island of Zïa,	October 25.	53
76	Island of Zïa,	October 26.	56
80	Cape Sunium,	October 27.	56
78	Near Athens,	October 28.	49
80	Athens,	October 29.	54
66	Athens,	October 30.	59
64	Athens,	October 31.	62
60	Athens,	November 1.	60
62	Athens,	November 2.	56
48	Summit of Mount Hymettus,	November 3.	42
70	Athens,	November 4.	48
68	At sea, near Ægina,	November 5.	38
68	Epiada,	November 6.	42
67	Hieron of Æsculapius,	November 7.	40
67	Nauplia,	November 8.	47
67	Argos,	November 9.	48

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
62	Carvati, near Mycenæ,	November 10.	48
61	Sicyon,	November 11.	53
63	Corinth,	November 12.	48
68	Isthmus of Corinth,	November 13.	44
62	*Stadium* of the ISTHMIA,	November 14.	43
64	Bath of Helen, at Cenchreæ,	November 15.	53
63	Caneta,	November 16.	55
67	Eleusis,	November 17.	54
61	Athens,	November 18.	50
60	Athens,	November 19.	42
62	Athens,	November 20.	41
61	Athens,	November 21.	44
68	Eleusis,	November 22.	41
74	Eleusis,	November 23.	37
64	Athens,	November 24.	48
60	Athens,	November 25.	46
61	Athens,	November 26.	45
65	Athens,	November 27.	36
62	Athens,	November 28.	37
68	Athens,	November 29.	29
67	Athens,	November 30.	36

N° V.

NAMES OF PLACES

VISITED IN THE

AUTHOR'S ROUTE.

N.B. *No attempt has been made upon the present occasion to state the Distances; because, relating principally to Sea Voyages, they are not precisely known.*

1802.		1802.	
July	17. Acre.	*August*	5. Aboukir.
	18. Acre.		6. Aboukir.
	19. Acre.		7. Aboukir.
	20. Acre.		8. Voyage to the Nile.
	21. Sailed from Acre.		9. Rosetta.
	22. At sea.		10. Upon the Nile.
	23. At sea.		11. Upon the Nile[1].
	24. At sea.		12. Caïro.
	25. At sea.		13. Caïro.
	26. At sea.		14. Caïro.
	27. At sea.		15. Caïro.
	28. At sea.		16. Caïro.
	29. At sea.		17. Caïro.
	30. At sea.		18. Caïro.
	31. At sea.		19. Caïro.
August	1. Aboukir.		20. Caïro.
	2. Aboukir.		21. Caïro.
	3. Aboukir.		22. Heliopolis.
	4. Aboukir.		23. Pyramids of Djïza.

(1) A voyage of 200 miles against the whole force of the Inundation, in 36 hours.

1802.		
August	24.	Caïro.
	25.	Caïro.
	26.	Caïro.
	27.	Sheik Atman, beyond Caïro.
	28.	Pyramids of Saccára.
	29.	Caïro.
	30.	Caïro.
	31.	Caïro.
September	1.	Caïro.
	2.	Bulac, upon the Nile.
	3.	Terané, upon the Nile.
	4.	Se'l Hajar—*Ruins of Saïs.*
	5.	Berimbal.
	6.	Rosetta.
	7.	Rosetta.
	8.	Aboukir.
	9.	Aboukir.
	10.	Alexandria.
	11.	Alexandria.
	12.	Alexandria.
	13.	Alexandria.
	14.	Alexandria.
	15.	Alexandria.
	16.	Alexandria.
	17.	Aboukir.
	18.	Aboukir.
	19.	At sea.
	20.	At sea.
	21.	At sea.
	22.	At sea.
	23.	At sea.
	24.	At sea.
	25.	At sea.
	26.	At sea.
	27.	At sea.
	28.	At sea.
	29.	At sea.
	30.	At sea.
October	1.	Off Rhodes.
	2.	Coast of Asia Minor.

1802.		
October	3.	Island Episcopia.
	4.	Island Stanchio.
	5.	Stanchio.
	6.	Stanchio.
	7.	Stanchio.
	8.	Stanchio.
	9.	Island Leria—Patmos.
	10.	Patmos.
	11.	Patmos.
	12.	Off Samos, Icaria, &c.
	13.	Western Port of Patmos.
	14.	Patmos.
	15.	Icaria—Naxos.
	16.	Naxos.
	17.	Naxos.
	18.	Naxos.
	19.	Paros.
	20.	Paros. Antiparos.
	21.	Paros.
	22.	Syra.
	23.	Syra.
	24.	Jura.
	25.	Zia.
	26.	Zia.
	27.	Cape Sunium.
	28.	Sinus Saronicus.
	29.	Athens.
	30.	Athens.
	31.	Athens.
November	1.	Athens.
	2.	Athens.
	3.	Athens.
	4.	Athens.
	5.	Ægina.
	6.	Epiada—Ligurio.
	7.	Hieron of Æsculapius—Nauplia.
	8.	Nauplia.
	9.	Tiryns—Argos.
	10.	Mycenæ—Nemea.
	11.	Sicyon.

1802.			1802.		
November	12.	Corinth.	*November*	22.	Eleusis.
	13.	Corinth.		23.	Eleusis.
	14.	Corinth.		24.	Athens.
	15.	Cenchreæ—Cromyon.		25.	Athens.
	16.	Megara.		26.	Athens.
	17.	Eleusis.		27.	Athens.
	18.	Athens.		28.	Athens.
	19.	Athens.		29.	Athens.
	20.	Athens.		30.	Athens.
	21.	Athens.			

END OF VOL. III.

Containing the SECOND SECTION *of* PART *the* SECOND.

ERRATA.

Page 7, line 8, *for* are *read* is.
— 117, — 15, *for* parisitical *read* parasitical.
— 214, — 13, *for* AMMON *read* PHTHA, the Egyptian Vulcan.
— 224, No. 52, *for* Ham-string *read* Bow-string.
— 304, last line, *dele*, or Said.
— 310, line 1, *for* Mr. Hume *read* Mr. now Dr. John Hume.
— 428, Note, *for* Tinos *read* Tenos.
— 503, Note (6), *for* granite *read* breccia.

The Inscription mentioned p. 420, Note (2), was not discovered by Mr. RAIKES, as there stated, but by Mr. (now Sir WILLIAM) GELL.

ERRORS of the WRITING ENGRAVER.

Plate XVIII. *for* "by the Author" *read* "by Preaux."
Plate XXV. *for* "Temple of Juno" *read* "Temple of Octavia."

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